be troubled; Let us not deſpair of any thing. *Our Saviour is riſen.* Our High-Prieſt is entertained within the vail, hath taken poſſeſſion of the higheſt Heaven, where he continually makes interceſſion for us. Such a High-prieſt as is kind and compaſſionate, and tender-hearted; that knoweth our frame, and remembreth that we are but duſt; that pities our weakneſſes, and is ſenſible of the difficulties we have to conflict with, as having himſelf had ſufficient experience of them. And withal, ſuch a High-Prieſt as is *able to ſave to the uttermoſt all thoſe that come unto God through him.*

Thus have I given ſome account of the Vertue of our Saviour's Reſurrection, in order to the making us ſincerely good. What remains? But that as we ſhould heartily thank God for theſe benefits of it; ſo we ſhould eſpecially endeavour to be partakers of them; not contenting our ſelves with a notional, ineffectual Faith, but labouring with St. *Paul* experimentally to know Chriſt Jeſus *and the power of his Reſurrection.*

Now the God of peace that brought again from the dead our Lord Jeſus that great ſhepherd of the ſheep, through the blood of the everlaſting Covenant; make you perfect in every good work, to do his will, working in you that which is well-pleaſing in his ſight, through Jeſus Chriſt, to whom be glory for and ever. Amen.

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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REFORMATION OF RELIGION

WITHIN THE REALM OF

SCOTLAND.

1935-07

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SCOTLAND.

CONTAINING

The MANNER, and by what PERSONS, the Light of CHRIST's Goſpel has been manifeſted unto this REALM, after that horrible and univerſal Defection from the Truth which has come by the Means of that Roman Antichriſt.

TOGETHER WITH

The LIFE of the AUTHOR, and ſeveral curious Pieces wrote by him, *viz.*

I. His APPELLATION from the cruel and moſt unjuſt Sentence pronounced againſt him, by the falſe Biſhops and Clergy of SCOTLAND; with his Supplication and Exhortation to the Nobility, States, and Commonalty of the ſame Realm.

II. His faithful ADMONITION to the true Profeſſors of the Goſpel of CHRIST within the Kingdom of ENGLAND.

III. His LETTER to Queen MARY, Regent of SCOTLAND.

IV. His EXHORTATION to ENGLAND, for the ſpeedy embracing of CHRIST's Goſpel.

V. The Firſt BLAST OF THE TRUMPET againſt the monſtrous Regiment of Women.

VI. A SERMON, on Iſaiah xxvi. 13. *&c.*

By Mr. JOHN KNOX, Miniſter of the Goſpel at EDINBURGH.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

I. An ADMONITION to ENGLAND and SCOTLAND, to call them to Repentance, written by ANTONI GILBY.

II. The Firſt and Second BOOKS OF DISCIPLINE; together with ſome Acts of the General Aſſemblies, clearing and confirming the ſame; and an Act of Parliament.

III. The FORM OF PROCESS in the Judicatories of the Church of Scotland, with relation to Scandals and Cenſures.

IV. A large Alphabetical INDEX to this Hiſtory, and the other Pieces.

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED BY H. INGLIS, AND SOLD AT HIS PRINTING-OFFICE, WESTPORT.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

TO THE

READER.

CHRISTIAN READER,

HERE I preſent unto thee a piece, I dare promiſe, worthy of thy reading; wherein thou haſt a true and plain relation (without diſguiſing) of many memorable paſſages which happened in the church of God, and likewiſe ſome notable ones in the ſtate of the kingdom of Scotland, from the very firſt ſettling of ſtate and church in that country: but namely, and chiefly, thou haſt here related what principally paſſed in church and ſtate in this country, during the great work of purging the church from ſuperſtitions and idolatry, and freeing both church and ſtate from the tyranny and ſlavery of Popery, until the coming of king James, our late ſovereign, to the crown of Scotland. Further, beſides the true and faithful relation of many occurrences that fell out in theſe days in Scotland, thou haſt unfolded unto thee, and made plain, the ſtrong reaſons, and neceſſary cauſes, that moved theſe men, who are here named, although infirm and weak in themſelves, to undergo the great work of reformation; with the ſolid grounds upon which they went on with this weighty buſineſs willingly and chearfully, notwithſtanding the great rubs and difficulties they met withal, through the help and aſſiſtance of God, who, by them, mean inſtruments, brought things to paſs, in deſpite of the malice and ſtratagems of Satan, with his agents, for the good of his people, and the ſettling of his church in purity and liberty.

All thoſe things are ſet down plainly and ſimply, in familiar and homely language; yet ſo that they may be with eaſe apprehended and underſtood by any one. From what thou haſt written in this volume, although there were no other writings of this kind extant, thou mayeſt eaſily ſee by what means the great myſtery of iniquity, from the very firſt riſe, hath been ſet on foot, and conſtantly, ever ſince, hath been carried on; *viz.* by cunning devices, impudent lies, continued and crafty plots, under ſpecious pretexts, and open oppreſſion, tyranny, and cruelties, within Scotland, until the year of Chriſt 1567. After which time, the enemies of God, and of his people, have not been ſleeping till this preſent, more than formerly. Wherefore, for thy good, Chriſtian Reader, I have thought fit, in this place, to point at ſome main occurrences from that time till now.

Firſt then, the adverſaries of truth and goodneſs, under the ſpecious pretext of reſtoring queen Mary to her liberty, and of re-eſtabliſhing her in full authority and ſole power, did diſquiet and trouble both church and ſtate in Scotland, both with open force and ſubtile plots, for ſome years, that is, to the year 1573. But finding that all their undertakings, under this pretext, proved to be in vain, and without

ſucceſs, and ſtanding to their main deſign of undoing religion and liberty, they bethought themſelves of another way, in appearance more plauſible, for compaſſing their wicked intents: it was, to deal, by way of intreaty and requeſt, with the chief miniſters of ſtate and church then, to have the mother ſet at liberty, and to be joint in authority and power with her ſon: and, for the obtaining this, was employed the credit of the French court for the time, with all its ſkill and cunning; but to ſmall purpoſe; for theſe rude fellows, who managed the public affairs then of ſtate and church, could not be corrupted with the French compliments. In this way the enemies continued till the year 1577, and did not then give over, notwithſtanding their bad ſucceſs; but, according to their wonted and reſolved cuſtom, they went on with their deſign, betaking themſelves to a new courſe; wherein they had indeed more ſucceſs than in either of the former two. It was this, they did ſet a-work certain men, who, with fair words and flattering tales, ſo craftily dealt with the young king, hardly yet twelve years of age, that they made him caſt off, as a yoke, the counſel and ſervice of thoſe who, ever ſince his birth-day, had carefully laboured for the good of ſtate and church, with the preſervation of his authority, and ſafety of his perſon: and ſo the inconſiderate young king, although of moſt nimble wit and knowledge above his years, under the ſhew of freedom, put himſelf in the power of thoſe who wiſhed no good to his perſon and authority, and as little to the church and ſtate, making no ſcruple to trouble both, for their own ends, according to the inſtructions of the maſters who ſet them a-work. So, in a very ſhort time, they gave unto the young king ſuch impreſſions (which did ſtick much to him), that not only he became averſe from thoſe who had been ſo uſeful to the public, and ſo ſerviceable to him, but alſo he ſuffered them to be perſecuted; yea, ſome by death, and others by baniſhment.

While the enemies were thus working buſily with us in Scotland, they were not idle with our neighbours in England; for they were contriving and plotting, under colour of ſetting the impriſoned queen at liberty; and were gone ſo far on in this way in both kingdoms, that, to ſtop the courſe and progreſs of the enemies, both countries thought it neceſſary to enter into a mutual league and covenant one with another, for the defence of the reformed religion and liberties of both kingdoms, with the preſervation of the perſons and authorities of both princes, king James and queen Eliſabeth, againſt the common enemy. This was done by the conſent of both princes, in the year 1586.

After this, the enemy, ſeeing the warineſs of both kingdoms to be ſuch, that in a ſhort time he was not likely to advance the main deſign according to his mind by craft and cunning, leaveth off for a time to act the part of a fox, and openly declares himſelf to be a raviſhing wolf. So, in the year 1588, the Armada cometh againſt both kingdoms, which God, in his mercy unto our fathers and us, brought to nought. About this time, and ſome years before, the agents of the enemy were very buſy with king James, to break with England, and to revenge the hard uſage and ill treatment of his mother: but God did direct him ſo, for his own good, that he did give no conſent to their evil counſel. Upon this refuſal of the king's, the agents of the common enemy beſtir themſelves to trouble both king and kingdom, which they did in a high meaſure, in the year 1595. This gave occaſion then both to

prince and people to enter into covenant, for the defence of the truth and pure doctrine of the church, with the reformed diſcipline, and of the ſafety of the king and kingdom; by which means the proceedings of the enemies were ſtopped for a while.

Now, the time drawing near of the king's coming to the crown of England, the watching enemy returns to work again, in another manner than he had done hitherto, which was this: by the mouths of ſome timerous and wordly men, he cauſeth to preſent unto the king, the conſideration of the great difficulties that he was likely to find in his ſucceeding to the crown of England, by two parties there, who were given out to be the ſtrength of the kingdom, *viz.* the profeſt Papiſts, and the prelatical men; therefore, to facilitate the buſineſs, they muſt be in ſome ſort contented. For the ſatisfaction of the prelates, the king, by degrees, muſt endeavour to bring again into Scotland, prelacy, with all its dependences; for no neglecter or contemner of the holy order could be kindly received to reign in England: and ſo this part of the advice was followed with all poſſible care and diligence. To content the Papiſts, they not only muſt have given unto them underhand, hopes of connivance, and overſeeing their practice, but alſo there muſt be a letter written to the pope, to aſſure his holineſs of the king's affection to the Catholic cauſe. Thus both thoſe parties were calmed ſo far, that the king came to the crown of England *anno* 1602, without manifeſt oppoſition, albeit not without the grumbling and grudging of ſome. As for the ſtricter ſort of profeſſors of the reformed religion, going under the nick-name of Puritans, no oppoſition or trouble to the ſucceſſion was feared from them, becauſe the principles upon which they go on, riſing from the word of God, are far other than thoſe of wordlings, which flow from intereſt; and conſequently, they needed not atonement, or propitiatory ſacrifice, to befriend the king. But the holy father, not finding real performance by the king, what he looked for, remembers the king in good earneſt of his promiſe not kept, by the gunpowder-plot, *anno* 1605. After which (by God's mercy failing) men would have thought, that the Popiſh party ſhould leave off all undertakings hereafter: but they follow their buſineſs more cloſely than ſo; for no ſooner one plot fails, but incontinently they put another a-foot; yea, they have ſeveral plots at one and the ſame time in hand, whereof it is likely that either the one or the other will take. Now, this great plot of the gunpowder being come to nothing, they, as it were, go back for a time, to come forward in due ſeaſon with another; and leaving for a while the open and devouring raviſhing of the wolf, they have recourſe again to the cunning of the fox.

The next care then, after the calming in ſome meaſure the ſpirits of men, after ſo horrid a treaſon, is to look about, and to ſtudy by whom the affairs of theſe dominions were managed: and finding, by ſerious inſpection, that all affairs received great influence from the court, after mature deliberation, they reſolved to make friends there, which they did, by ſubtile inſinuations, fair words, high promiſes, and ſome real performances of good offices; yea, when money was abſolutely neceſſary, it was not ſpared. Thus, by degrees, having gotten friends at court, in it they make a party next, for whoſe ſubſiſtence and increaſe they employ all they can. Now, having more power and credit at court, and clearly perceiving it to be the fountain from whence all preferment to honour, and benefit in church and ſtate, did flow, they judged

it fit for their purpoſe, to make ſure of ſome prime men both in church and ſtate, according to their mind, which was done as they deſired. Thus having gained chief men both in ſtate and church for their uſe, then they went to the corrupting of the univerſities, being the ſeminaries of all liberal education. This likewiſe they did effectuate, firſt, by the overſeers connivance to looſeneſs of life in young people; next, by the bad example of the ſeniors, the juniors were invited to do miſchief; then, the teachers, by their bad inſtructions, did corrupt, namely, in theology, all found doctrine. And, for this purpoſe, the earneſt ſtudy of the Old Teſtament in the original Hebrew was cried down, as beſeeming rather men of the ſynagogue than thoſe of the Chriſtian ſchools. Likewiſe the Greek of the New Teſtament muſt not be read with diligence, for fear of ſpoiling the elegancy of the Greek language, which is to be found in profane authors. So they withdrew the ſtudents from the ſtudy of the Scriptures in the original, and recommended to them the reading of human writings; particularly in theology, the books of the ancients, which are commonly called Fathers. Likewiſe was recommended unto young men the ſtudy of the ſophiſtry of the monks, as of Thomas and Scotus namely, with their expoſitors. True it is, that if young men were well inſtructed in theology from the Scriptures, and taught the true principles of philoſophy, in a ſettled courſe, by ſome judicious and diligent profeſſor, they might read all theſe books, and others in their kind, with pleaſure and benefit: but alas! young men not knowing the rudiments of theology, nor the firſt elements of philoſophy, are let looſe unto themſelves; and ſo, by reading theſe books, having no ſure ground to ſtick to, learn only to doubt, and put queries; yea, of the very principles of all ſound knowledge, both divine and human. Thus being brought to waver and doubt, they are eaſily led, partly by intereſt, partly by weakneſs, to embrace a bad opinion; or, at leaſt, to hold all uncertain, as the ancient Scepticks, not being able to reſolve; yea, doubting is come to that height, that, in the opinion of many, he is the braveſt fellow, and wittieſt, that can raiſe moſt queries, anſwer them who will or can: and ſo wit is greatly cried up, which is but mere froth; and pure ſolid wiſdom is not ſo much as named, or thought on.

Then thoſe of the richer ſort, having ſpent ſome time idly and looſely at the univerſities, go beyond ſea, particularly to Italy, forſooth, either upon their own truſt; or, which is little better, if not worſe, many of thoſe who go along with young men, to adviſe and direct them, have as much need of one for their guide, as the young men themſelves, having neither ſteadineſs, diſcretion, nor probity. So that if there were a juſt account caſt up of all thoſe who either have been bred in the univerſities, or gone beyond ſea theſe many years, I will ſpeak within compaſs, that of twenty you ſhall hardly find one, who has improved in virtue by this breeding, for the good of the church and ſtate, whereof they are members, and perhaps conſiderable too, if they were wiſe and good. At this preſent, both church and ſtate finds this to be true, by woful experience, namely in the clergy, gentry, and nobility.

Now theſe evils have not been in England alone; for Scotland, according to its proportion, in compaſs of bounds, number of people, proviſion of means, and in its diſtance from court, hath its full ſhare of all the evil: for, firſt, the ſchools of breeding young people at home, were become very corrupt; and many, in their travelling abroad, have either miſcarried, or little benefited themſelves: the fruit

of this we have found, namely in our corrupt clergy, yea, and in ſome of our infatuated gentry and nobility: but, bleſſed be God, things are now in a better poſture and condition there than they have been formerly; God grant we may have occaſion to ſay the like of England: for religion, ſound knowledge, and true wiſdom, with probity, have been ſo neglected and contemned there, to the ignominy and reproach of Chriſtianity, that in theſe times, there we have ſeen the doleful effects of want of religion, and of theſe other virtues. But to return to the court:

The Popiſh party, although they had both power and credit at court, yet they were not aſſured to go on ſo ſmoothly and ſpeedily with the great deſign, ſo long as there were any of eminency there, of whom they could not be certain: ſo prince Henry was firſt wiſhed to be out of the way; next, by untimely death, was taken away, to the grief of many honeſt men. This conceived *remora* being laid aſide, they reſolved to go on more freely in their deſign: but, although they had gained much upon the affection of the king, yet they can ſuffer him to expreſs the notions of religion and wiſdom, both by word and writing: yea, they will allow him to follow his former principles ſo far, as to match his daughter to one of his profeſſion: ſo he marries the lady Eliſabeth to the prince elector palatine, although it was not altogether ſo pleaſing to ſome chief ones at court then (theſe things paſſed in the year 1613), who, although they would not ſtop the marriage to go on, yet they managed the buſineſs ſo, that they hindered the prince elector palatine to receive the advantages which in reaſon he ſhould have had by virtue of it, as help and aid at his need, *&c.*

Here we muſt make a little ſtep beyond ſea, and preſently return back. Now then, we muſt know, that as the Popiſh party hath been very buſy in theſe our dominions, in carrying on the work of the great deſign of ſubjecting all to the pope, directly or indirectly; ſo, in other places, where idolatry and tyranny had been caſt off, they have not been ſleeping nor idle, namely, in our neighbouring countries; where, when they had made things up for a combuſtion of war, by their crafty forecaſting diviſions and corruptions in life, and doctrine of men of place, they kindled the fire: witneſs the buſineſs of Bornevel in the Low Countries, in the year 1619: and not long thereafter, the troubles raiſed in France againſt the profeſſors of the truth; then, in Germany likewiſe, having all things ready for a war, as they were thinking that the two houſes of Saxe, *viz.* the Weymerian, and the new Electoral, was moſt fit and eaſy to be embroiled, by reaſon of the emulation of the Weymerian againſt the other, for the electoral dignity taken from it, and given to the other: but, conveniently for their purpoſe, the elector palatine being made king of Bohemia, the great agent of the pope, the houſe of Auſtria, takes occaſion to make war againſt him, leaving the houſe of Saxe, *&c.* Now, to come home again:

King James by this time is turned about, and his affection ſo much cooled and turned from the Proteſtant party diſtreſſed, that for all help or ſupply to the Proteſtants of France, he ſends compliments by ambaſſadors, with fair promiſes: and for his ſon-in-law, with other Proteſtants, his adherents in Germany, he did little more; ſo ſenſeleſs is he of the ſufferings of Jacob, and unmindful of his own intereſt, by ſuffering thoſe in France and Germany to periſh, who not only did ſo much honour him, but they being preſerved, made him the moſt redoubted and conſiderable prince

in Chriſtendom. To ſpeak nothing of his tie by nature unto his own children; then, contradicting his own publiſhed dictates, he muſt ſeek after a Popiſh wife for his ſon; and, to haſte the buſineſs, the young prince muſt be ſent into Spain, where he had two men, by whom he was then adviſed; who, although they did not love one another, yet they did agree among themſelves, to betray their old maſter, with their country, and their young maſter in their company, whom they then counſelled to embrace Popery, and by writing engage himſelf unto the pope. This is upon record. At laſt, the prince cometh home without the wife, which was never really intended for him; howſoever things were given out, notwithſtanding all the pains of the young prince, and the earneſt ſolicitude of the father, with the compliance of both. If it had not been for the hatred to the palatine houſe, and fear of its advancement to the ſucceſſion of theſe dominions, the prince never had ſeen this iſland again but in a map. Howſoever king James is glad to have his ſon ſafe returned; and at length, ſeeing clearly how he had been miſled and gulled, bethinks himſelf how to amend his former miſtakes and errors: but, alas! it is too late; for as he was thus conſulting with himſelf, death takes him away, *anno* 1625, not without ſuſpicion of wrong done unto him. The new king muſt have a Popiſh wife (according to the former intention); ſhe cometh from France, and bringeth along with her her ſtrange gods. The prelates had a main hand in this Popiſh match, by actual furtherance thereof, and by opening the way how the free exerciſe of Popery might be had, in favour of the queen and her adherents, without breach of the laws of the land.

The ſame year of the death of the late king, and of the marriage of our now ſovereign, there was an expedition made againſt the Spaniards, without any real intention to do harm, as appears by the ſlack performance of the war, and by the ſhameful peace made thereafter. The main drift of this undertaking was, firſt, to try how ready the people would be to endure ſoldiers in the country, which they had not been for a long time, and how willing they would be to undergo a war, at the command of a corrupt court, and uphold it with ſupplies of men and money. Next, there muſt be an expedition againſt France, under pretext to help the then diſtreſſed Proteſtants there; which really was intended for the haſtening of their ruin, and increaſe of their deſolation; and ſo it proved indeed, although the main and chief undertaker was prevented by death to ſee the effect of his intents. The other end of his undertaking was, to have forces at command, both horſe and foot by land, and a well provided navy at ſea, for the enſlaving of the people to ſpiritual and temporal bondage; which, in all human probability, had not been difficult to effectuate then, ſuch was the ſheepiſh ſillineſs and knaviſh baſeneſs of many men in theſe dominions, of all ranks, conditions, and profeſſions; as alſo, the unpreparedneſs of the wiſer and better patriots and members of the church, to withſtand this miſchief; if God, in his mercy, by the unexpected death of the court-ruler and chief agent in the buſineſs, had not put in a *remora* and let: at which time, if men had turned unto God, amending their lives in private, and had expreſſed their true zeal then to the good of the church and country whereof they are members, according to their ſeveral ranks and conditions, the deſign of the common enemy had been fully daſhed: but God, in his wiſdom, hath been pleaſed to keep us yet a while longer under the rod of trial, to ſee if we will return unto him at laſt.

The Romiſh party, although aſtoniſhed and ſurpriſed at the death of their engine and main inſtrument here among us, gives not over, but continues the great deſign without intermiſſion, albeit not with ſuch ſpeed as formerly; for thoſe to whoſe care principally the buſineſs was committed, and in whoſe hands the managing of matters had fallen, by the death of the late *Fac totum*, were not ſo powerful to obtain, without refuſal, what they pleaſed at the king's hands; neither were they in ſuch opinion and reputation with inferiors, to make them go on in the work ſo earneſtly; wherefore the queen muſt be brought now of neceſſity to take upon her the main care, and to obtain from the king whatſoever may conduce and further the buſineſs, and take away all lets and ſtops which may hinder the proceedings; then to employ all her credit abroad for countenancing and advancing affairs; and next, by her authority, to draw on inferiors to act their part with affection and ardour. Now, all things being thus cunningly and carefully, by degrees, in few years, prepared and diſpoſed for enſlaving church and ſtate, prince and people, to Rome again, it was thought fit, by the hotteſt of the party, *viz.* the Jeſuits, to haſten the work openly, and delay no longer (the compaſſing of the deſign being conceived to be infallible). By this means they thought to ſhorten the buſineſs, and to make themſelves ſo conſiderable as to ſhare deeply in the booty, of which they looked for but little, if things were ſtill lingered and carried on ſlowly.

But how and where to begin this new undertaking, was conſulted upon; and, after deliberation, the Scots muſt be begun at. The way is reſolved on; there muſt be a new Prayer-book put upon theſe rude fellows, that they may ſay their prayers *in modo et figura a la Romaine*, and not ſo rudely and irregularly as they were wont to do in the northern way. Then they muſt have high commiſſion-courts, canons, and *et ceteras*: which things, if the Scots be ſo wiſe as to accept, as doubtleſs they will (reaſoned theſe men; but he that reckons without his hoſt reckons twice), for their chief men of ſtate are either actually at court, or provided to places in the country from court; at leaſt, they can do no buſineſs of moment without the favour of the court. At this time the devout and religious prelates, with the reſt of their good clergy, are not only in all earneſtneſs bent for the work, according to their ſeveral places in the church, but alſo they overſway all buſineſs in ſtate. Wherefore, without difficulty, we will compaſs our main deſign through all theſe dominions (ſaid they).

And truly ſo they had in all likelihood, as we may ſee by the woful carriage of buſineſs, and ſo ill managing ſo good a cauſe in England ſince; but God had, in his mercy toward us all, ordained otherwiſe. And if the Scots (ſay they) ſhould be ſo mad as to refuſe the commands from the court, and think upon reſiſtance, they ſhall be made obey the holy mandate with a vengeance, and ſay their prayers with a rod; for we ſhall over-run their country ſpeedily, and ſubdue them, as poor, ſilly, ignorant fools, deſtitute of all means for war, *viz.* wiſdom, with reſolution, not having breeding, and preſſed down with poverty, to undertake and undergo ſuch a buſineſs as war, and money and armies to go on in it; for the ſoil being barren, and the havens bad, they cannot have the advantage of a fertile country, furniſhed with good harbours, and commanders or leaders to manage a war, their military men being abroad, who will not eaſily quit the honourable and beneficial employments they

have in foreign countries, and come home to ſuffer want, with loſs of credit: but God, who laughs from above at the fooliſh counſels of vain men, in this particular hath made us ſee, that he hath an over-ruling power over the affairs of men, making little and contemptible ones do great things, and bring to nothing the undertakings of the mighty and wiſe of this world.

By this time the new Prayer-book, deſigned at Rome, and perfected at London, is ſent down to Scotland. After ſome little reluctancy, it is received by the council there, the major part whereof then were either church-men, or their addicted friends: then it is ſent to the churches, to be put in uſe and practice; but, unexpected and unlooked for, it is oppoſed by inferior people, from whence the oppoſition riſeth to thoſe of higher ranks; whereupon petitions are drawn up and ſent to the king, to ſupplicate his majeſty, in all due reſpect, to free the church of Scotland from this new Prayer-book, with the high commiſſion-courts, canons, *et ceteras*. To theſe demands of the Scots no anſwer is given, but hot threatenings, after which preparatives for war were made againſt the Scots; and becauſe the king did not ſhew himſelf propenſe enough to the undertaking of the war, nor the queen forward enough to engage the king in this holy war, the queen-mother, who, for her own faithfulneſs to her huſband, and for her care of her ſon, both late kings of France, muſt come to her ſon-in-law (againſt his will) to help him with her beſt advice and counſel, and to better inſtruct her daughter, how to carry herſelf with earneſtneſs and addreſs in the buſineſs.

Things being thus diſpoſed, there is an expedition undertaken againſt the Scots, and followed to the borders by the king preſent in perſon; but to ſmall purpoſe: for the Scots came to the borders duly prepared, notwithſtanding their preconceived wants and indiſpoſition, to ſell their religion and liberty at a dear rate; which being perceived by the court, the Scots demands, formerly rejected, are granted, and a peace concluded: then ſome of the chief men of the Scots were invited to go to court, for the time, at Berwick; who, upon certain advice of a plot againſt them, were ſtopped by their friends to truſt themſelves to the faith of the court.

After things were in ſome meaſure calmed there, the king, not ſuffered by his council to go into Edinburgh to ſettle things fully, ſends deputies thither, and returns to London. At his return, the Scots commiſſioners are impriſoned at London, againſt their ſafe conduct; and the agreement with the Scots is burnt publickly by the hand of the hangman, and a new expedition, with more cunning and ſtrength than the former, is undertaken againſt the Scots; whereof the Scots, duely adverтiſed, judging it not to be ſafe to play always after-games, ſettle their country, make ſure the ſtrong holds (which they had delivered, in ſimplicity of heart, unto the king at the late agreement), and come into England with ſuch an army that they made their enemies retire. Upon this point of neceſſity, the king aſſembled divers of the nobles, by whom he is adviſed to call a parliament, which is granted, although with difficulty. At the overture of the parliament, having gained all the party poſſible, the king is made to demand aſſiſtance to repel the Scots from England, and chaſtiſe them; but to no purpoſe: wherefore the parliament muſt pay for it; and to this purpoſe the Engliſh army of foot muſt be brought to London under ſome pretext. This plot failing and diſcovered, the Scots muſt be tempted under great offers, no leſs

than the plunder of London, and the propriety of the adjacent counties to their country. The Scots not only refuſed theſe great offers, but alſo gave advice of them to the parliament. Then the Scots muſt be haſtened home, and the king muſt go into Scotland, under pretext to ſettle things there; but really to make a party, viewing by the way the Scots army, and to make ſure of ſome men diſaffected to the deſign of the court. Theſe things not ſucceeding, to ſmooth a little the ſhameful buſineſs, titles of honour and penſions are given to many.

While the king is in Scotland, the rebellion riſeth in Ireland, having its influence from the court, whether by ſealed patents, or otherwiſe, I will not now inquire (more than of the Spaniſh navy); but certain it is, it had its riſe from the court. Some days after the rebellion began in Ireland, the king muſt return in all ſpeed to London, under pretext to conſult with the parliament how to repreſs this odious rebellion; but really to be revenged upon the parliament, for not aſſiſting againſt the Scots, and for puniſhing the main agents of the Scottiſh party: witneſs the faction the queen had made in the city, during the king's abode in Scotland, to divide the city and parliament, and the demanding of the members of the houſes, againſt all law, upon accuſation of treaſon (whereof the chief and main point was, to have favoured the Scots affairs in England), and againſt expreſs acts of oblivion of both parliaments of Scotland and England.

As for the repreſſing the rebellion in Ireland, it is ſo little taken to heart, that the king ſeldom goes to the houſe; and, being there, ſpeaks but a little of the buſineſs. After a while, with much ado, the Popiſh Iriſh, in arms, are declared rebels, when they had ruined many families, and killed many of the innocent Proteſtants: but of the king's declaration there were but few copies printed, and, of the few, harldly any diſperſed; when the Scots, before they had gathered any head, were prelatically excommunicated, and curſed through all the pariſhes of England, and declared rebels every where, by printed papers; who, as they intended no ill, ſo, bleſſed be God, never men of war in a country did leſs harm than the Scots did. Yea, which is more, all the good intentions of both parliament and city, with the ready offers of the Scots, for the ſpeedy help of the poor Proteſtants, againſt the bloody butchers in Ireland, was delayed, eluded, yea, almoſt put off by the court, and the corrupt members of both houſes, who ſince have ſhewed themſelves openly what they are in public affairs. But theſe deſigns of apprehending the members, and of dividing the city and parliament, failing, as was ſeen by accompanying the members to the houſes again, the king muſt leave London.

Here, before we proceed any farther, we ſhall go a little back.

When the firſt undertaking was againſt the Scots, all things within theſe dominions being diſpoſed for the beſt furthering of the work, the holy Conclave of Rome, forecaſting all chances, and fearing that England would not altogether be ſo forward, to contribute much unto the deſtruction of Scotland; wherefore the king muſt be aſſured of ſome good friend abroad, and not far off, who may help in caſe of need; none is thought ſo fit as the prince of Orange, being able to help with money, arms, and men, for command: he muſt be gained, by offering him for his ſon one of the king's daughters: who, notwithſtanding his high mind, would have been glad of a lower match. Now, at the firſt, the prince of Orange did only look

to have the ſecond daughter in due time: but, to engage him further, he ſhall have the elder (and that preſently, not ſtaying for her till marriageable), although ſhe did little more than well diſcern her right hand from her left: but this is not all, for the mother muſt carry the daughter to the prince of Orange, to gain him more ſpeedily, and make him more affectionate and ſure to the deſigns of our corrupted court: ſo the king's daughter is ſold, and made a ſacrifice, for the furtherance of the Catholic cauſe, as his grandmother was ſold to France for the ſame deſign, by the corrupt court of Scotland at the time. What miſchief this marriage, and the queen's voyage into Holland, hath brought upon this country, and what ſtain ſhe hath brought upon herſelf by it, we all ſee. And ſo many evils fell upon Scotland, after the ſending the then young queen into France.

Here you ſhall obſerve the juggling knavery of our corrupt court, who cry out againſt the Scots for taking arms for the juſt defence of their liberty and religion, without any by-reſpect, as their whole proceedings to this inſtant do teſtify, as guilty of the moſt horrid crime of rebellion againſt higher powers, as they call it; yet the ſame corrupt court makes the king give his daughter unto him, who is not only a chief man, but a main inſtrument, to make war for the liberty and religion of the country where he liveth, againſt the unjuſt oppreſſion of their ſovereign, as his renowned brother, and moſt virtuous father, did before him; and as he intends to make his ſon after him witneſs the reverſion of his place he had obtained unto him from the States. If the king of Spain, by neceſſity hath been conſtrained to acknowledge the United Provinces free, it is nothing for the juſtice of their taking arms to defend their religion and liberty; and if he had power, they would not be long free; witneſs the ſecret plots to divide and over-reach them. Further, he is very ſly in his writs to call them free, as every man knows.

The queen of Bohemia muſt not only be neglected, and ſeen loſe all that ſhe and hers can claim for their own, but ſhe and hers muſt be ſerviceable to thoſe who have undone them: for this end ſhe muſt have people about her, namely, court-chaplains, to diſguiſe buſineſs unto her, and ſo make her have a bad conception of thoſe who are her beſt friends, *viz.* the true profeſſors of the truth and good patriots in theſe dominions. Next, her eldeſt ſon, after a long and great neglect of yielding him an help for the recovery of his own, is betrayed at our corrupt court, when he is put in a way to do ſomewhat for his own reſtoring, *&c.* And, after this, by the ſame court, he is ſolicited to take arms here againſt the only men, who, really and conſtantly, have expreſſed unto him, and his, true affection; but they, being ſtopped by the court, could not effectuate much by their good will. He in wiſdom refuſeth to fight againſt his friends: ſince he will not, his two next brothers muſt be employed, the eldeſt whereof is releaſed from priſon to that effect; and ſo they hazard their lives, and ſpend their blood, to ſerve the party who hath undone their fortunes, and now ſtrives to undo their perſons.

The king having left London, after he had been in ſeveral places, retires to York, where he begins to raiſe men againſt the parliament. The Scots ſeeing this, ſent to him thither, to intreat him to lay aſide all ſuch intentions, and offer their ſervice by way of mediation betwixt him and the parliament, to take away all known miſtakes. The Scots commiſſioners were not then ſuffered to proceed any further in the buſi-

neſs, but were ſent back, beyond the expectation of men. After long ſkirmiſhing with the pen on both ſides, armies are levied, many men killed and taken at divers times on each ſide; yea, a ſet battle fought, where numbers of men are ſlain.

The Scots not being able any longer to ſee their brethren in England deſtroyed, and the executioners of Ireland butchering man, woman and child (the help that the innocents ſhould have had from England being almoſt altogether diverted, by the inteſtine war), and neither ſay nor do in the buſineſs, under ſafe conduct ſent to the king and parliament commiſſioners, to intercede for an agreement; but they being arrived at court, were neglected with their commiſſion, and not ſuffered to repair unto the parliament: at laſt they are diſmiſſed, not without difficulty; and, having done nothing, return.

Upon this, the Scots convene the ſtates to conſult concerning their own ſafety, and the help of their friends: at this nick of time, when they received many fair promiſes from the court, with a requeſt to be quiet, a plot of the Papiſts, ſet a-foot by the court, for embroiling the country, is diſcovered; by the means whereof they were incited to look more narrowly to themſelves and their friends. Then the parliament of England ſends to the Scots for help. Upon this a covenant is made betwixt the two nations, for the defence of the true religion and liberty of the countries, with the king's juſt rights; and after due preparation, the Scots having ſettled their own country, entered into England with a ſtrong army, to fight the battles of the Lord; having, for the ſcope of their expedition, the glory of God, and the good of his people, with the honour of the king.

Here we ſhall obſerve, in theſe our countries, in theſe laſt years, ſuch riddles of ſtate and church as have hardly been heard of: a Proteſtant prince makes one Proteſtant nation fight againſt another for the Proteſtant religion, which have been thought to be of one and the ſame doctrine in the main; one church thunders curſes againſt another: then, a prince miſled with the aid of Papiſts and Athieſts, ſpoiling and deſtroying the profeſſors of the truth, becauſe they profeſs it, for the good and advancement of the Proteſtant religion: next, in a very ſhort time, a prince, to have all his ſubjects declared rebels, firſt, he is made declare the Scots, then he is conſtrained to declare the Iriſh; an army, gotten together in the king's name, declares all thoſe that did oppoſe them rebels: the parliament declares all thoſe, who in the king's name oppoſe them, rebels and traitors: further, under the king's authority, the named rebels in England by the king, maintain a war againſt the declared rebels in Ireland. But the late carriage of things at court, and by the court-inſtruments at home and abroad, have reſolved the riddle, namely, the patent for the rebellion in Ireland; the detaining of the help ordained for the repreſſing of it; the king's offer to go into Ireland; the ceſſation, and bringing over of the Iriſh, and the laſt diſcovered plot in Scotland, all other things laid aſide, tell us clearly, howſoever the proclamations and proteſtations, going in the king's name, be ſoft and ſmooth as the voice of Jacob, yet the hands are rough as Eſau's, deſtroying and ſeeking to deſtroy the true religion, grounded in God's word, with the profeſſors thereof; as alſo the lawful liberty of the country, and bringing all into ſlavery. Let Ireland and England ſay, if this be not true, and Scotland likewiſe, according to its genius, ſpeak truth.

I ſhall cloſe up all with two or three inſtances of eminent men among the Popiſh clergy, to ſhew clearly how they ſtand affected to the Proteſtants.

Cardinal Pool, in an oration to Charles V. emperor, ſaith, 'You muſt leave off 'the war againſt the Turks, and hereafter make war againſt the heretics:' ſo names he the profeſſors of the truth: he adds the reaſon, 'Becauſe the Turks are leſs to be feared than the heretics.' Paul Rodmeck, in a book, expreſsly tells us, 'That the heretics muſt be put to death, ſlain, cut off, burnt, quartered, &c.' Stapleton, the Jeſuit, tells us, 'That the heretics are worſe than the Turks,' in an oration he made at Doway. Campian, the Jeſuit, in a book of his, printed in the year 1583, at Trevers, declares thus, in the name of his holy order, 'Our 'will is, that it come to the knowledge of every one, ſo far as it concerns our ſo-'ciety; that we all, diſperſed in great numbers through the world, have made a 'league, and holy ſolemn oath, That as long as there are any of us alive, that all 'our care and induſtry, all our deliberations and counſels, ſhall never ceaſe to 'trouble your calm and ſafety: that is to ſay, we ſhall procure and purſue for ever 'your ruin, the whole deſtruction of your religion, and of your kingdom.' He ſpeaks to the Engliſh. 'Now it is long ſince we have taken this reſolution, with 'the hazard of our lives; ſo that the buſineſs being already well begun and ad-'vanced, it is impoſſible that the Engliſh can do any thing to ſtop our deſign, or 'ſurmount it.'

Let theſe few paſſages ſatisfy for this time, I wiſh that thou mayeſt reap ſome benefit from what is written here for thy good.

So, praying for your happineſs,

I reſt,

Yours, in the Lord,

D. B.

THE

LIFE

OF

MR. JOHN KNOX.

THE country of Scotland, though in many other reſpects inferior to ſeveral other countries, yet hath in all times been happy in producing to the world ſome of the moſt eminent perſons in all profeſſions: The ſixteenth century in a ſpecial manner is remarkable upon this account, for in that period we ſhall find as conſiderable a number of remarkable Scotſmen as any age ever brought forth: I am perſuaded, that none of Mr. Knox's greateſt adverſaries can deny, that upon many accounts he deſerves to have his memory tranſmitted to poſterity: The great revolution in matters of religion, in which he was ſo remarkably inſtrumental, makes it abſolutely neceſſary to mention him frequently, when that matter is treated of; and it will be evident from the ſequel of this diſcourſe, that all the conſiderable perſons, who were convinced of the neceſſity of a ſeparation from the church of Rome, at the time it was made, had the higheſt eſteem of Mr. Knox, and that no Proteſtant of any name wrote of him but in terms of the greateſt reſpect, during the currency of the ſixteenth century: It is very true, that he has not been ſpared by ſome virulent Popiſh writers in that time; but theſe are of ſuch a ſort, that they have very little authority among the men of note of their own profeſſion; and I think that ſome late profeſſed Proteſtant writers add very little credit to their writings, by copying after them. I intend in this narrative to give a fair and undiſguiſed account of the actions of Mr. Knox, and, without interpoſing my opinion, leave the reader to form his own judgment of him, which, I hope, will be much more agreeable to all impartial perſons, than the method of ſome, who fill all accounts of this kind, either with encomiums of, or invectives againſt the perſons they write of; for praiſeworthy actions will always be valued by virtuous perſons, whereas, vicious and enormous deeds, however artfully diſguiſed, will always appear at laſt in their native colours.

Mr. JOHN KNOX, as all writers of his Life allow, was born at Gifford, near Haddington, in Lothian, in the year of Chriſt 1505. His father was a brother's ſon of the houſe of Ranferlie, which is an ancient family of gentlemen in the Weſt. When he left the grammar-ſchool in the country, he was ſent to the univerſity of St. Andrews, to ſtudy under Mr. John Mair (a man in thoſe days very famous for his learning), by whoſe inſtructions, he became ſuch a proficient, that he was thought worthy of degrees even when he was yet but very young in years; yea, in the diſputa-

tive part of philoſophy, and in ſchool-divinity (wherein, at that time, almoſt all learning was placed), he far ſurpaſſed his maſter; and ſo was advanced to church-orders before the time uſually allowed by the canons. Thereafter, laying aſide all idle, fooliſh, and ſophiſtical ſchool-diſputes, he betook himſelf to the reading of the Ancients, eſpecially of Auguſtine, with whoſe plainneſs and ſolidity of writing he was exceedingly ſolaced. At laſt, by the preaching of Thomas Guilliam (a black-friar of ſound judgment and wholeſome doctrine), having gotten a lively impreſſion of the truth, he henceforward ſpent his whole endeavours in the earneſt ſtudy of the holy Scriptures; and, by the illumination thereof, attained to ſo great a meaſure of ſpiritual knowledge, that he was honoured to be one of the prime public actors in that worthy work of our primitive reformation. And becauſe ſome ſingular fruit, more than ordinary, is expected from him who has ſome ſingular endowments more than ordinary, therefore, to ſhew to the world how far his thoughts were buſied upon the good of poſterity, and how little he did leave to himſelf, he brought out of the intrails of actions many choice and worthy ſecrets, as the laudable travels of his pious and judicious mind; the truth whereof is evidently apparent throughout the whole progreſs of this Church-hiſtory, which may juſtly be publiſhed and ſent abroad under his name; becauſe the moſt part thereof hath either been penned with his own hand, or ſpoken and uttered by the word of his mouth, or gathered and collected out of his papers and manuſcripts. His hiſtorical relations are without partiality. He hated no man's perſon, no not the enemy, but his ſin; and therefore, I hope, his impartial expreſſions ſhall be unſeaſonable to no good man, be he never ſo great. Weary not then in reading, but adventure your patience, as he hath done his pains; and I doubt not but, in each particular, you ſhall get ſuch a full and ſatisfactory information of the truth, that you ſhall not afterwards need to ſtrike fire, and light your candle at another man's torch. But to return to his Life.

Before the Lord employed him as an inſtrument of his glory in his own native country, he travelled and ſuffered much among foreigners and ſtrangers. And firſt, being conſtrained by the violence of perſecution at home to fly to England, he preached certain years in London, Newcaſtle, and Berwick, with a great deal of content and benefit to thoſe who had the happineſs to hear him. At that time, when a biſhoprick was offered to him by king Edward VI. with whom he was then in no ſmall reputation, he refuſed the ſame, and declared in a grave and bold manner, 'That the proud title of Lordſhip, and that great ſtate (having *quid commune cum* '*Antichriſto*, ſomewhat common with Antichriſt), was not lawful to be in the 'church of God.' Moreover, in a letter written with his own hand, the 14th of April 1553, I find, That he was called before the council of England, who demanded of him theſe three queſtions: Firſt, Why he refuſed the benefice provided for him at London? Secondly, Whether he thought that no Chriſtian might ſerve in the eccleſiaſtical miniſtration, according to the rites and laws of the realm of England? Thirdly, If kneeling at the Lord's Table was not indifferent? To the firſt he anſwered, That his conſcience did witneſs, that he might profit more in ſome other place than in London; and therefore had no pleaſure to accept any office in the ſame: However, he might have anſwered otherwiſe, that he refuſed that parſonage, becauſe of Northumberland's contrary command. To the ſecond, That many

things at that time were worthy of reformation in the miniſtry of England, without the reformation whereof no miniſter did, or could diſcharge his conſcience before God; for no miniſters in England had any authority to ſeparate the lepers from the whole, which was a chief point of his office; and he did refuſe no office which might in any, yea, the leaſt degree, promote God's glory in the preaching of Chriſt's goſpel. To the third, That Chriſt's action was moſt perfect, that it was moſt ſure to follow his example, and that kneeling was man's addition and invention. With regard to this laſt queſtion, there was great contention betwixt the lords of the Engliſh council and him. There were then preſent the biſhops of Canterbury and Ely, the lord treaſurer, the earls of Bedford, Northampton, Shrewſbury, the chamberlain, and both the ſecretaries. After long reaſoning, it was ſaid to him, that he was not called out of any evil meaning or intention, and that they were ſorry to know him of a contrary mind to the common order. He anſwered, That he was ſorry that the common order was contrary to Chriſt's inſtitution. He was diſmiſſed with ſome gentle ſpeeches, and deſired to adviſe with himſelf, if he would communicate according to that order; but he ever abhorred it, as a profanation of Chriſt's true religion, and cenſured the Engliſh divines who juſtified and retained it.

King Edward VI. being dead, and bloody queen Mary being advanced to the crown, John Knox retired to Geneva; and within a ſhort ſpace thereafter departed to Francfort, upon the receipt of a letter ſent from the Engliſh congregation there, the 24th of September 1554, declaring that they had choſen him to be their paſtor. Having preached the goſpel for a certain ſeaſon at Francfort, he wrote from thence his Admonition to England. But becauſe he oppoſed the Engliſh liturgy there, (averring, that it was a ſuperſtitious model borrowed from Popery), and refuſed to celebrate the communion conform to the preſcript thereof, Mr. Iſaac, and one Parrey (two falſe brethren, ſet on edge with malice by the inſtigation of D. Coxe, D. Bale, Turner of Windſor, Jewel of Oxford, and others), not only cauſed diſcharge him from preaching, but alſo aſſayed, by a moſt cruel, barbarous, and inhuman practice, to diſpatch him out of the way, accuſing him before the magiſtates (as he himſelf recordeth, in a brief diſcourſe of his proceedings at Francfort, ſet down with his own hand), *Læſæ Majeſtatis Imperatoriæ*, of high treaſon againſt the emperor, his ſon Philip, and the queen of England: And for probation thereof, they extracted out of his foreſaid Admonition to England, theſe articles againſt him; 1. 'If Mary and her 'counſellors had been dead before theſe days, then ſhould not her iniquity and cru-'elty ſo manifeſtly have appeared to the world. 2. Jezebel never erected half ſo many 'gibbets in all Iſrael, as miſchievous Mary hath done in London alone. 3. Would 'any of you have confeſſed two years ago, that Mary, your mirror, had been falſe, 'diſſembling, inconſtant, proud, and a breaker of promiſes, except ſuch promiſes as 'ſhe has made to your god the pope, to the great ſhame and diſhonour of her noble 'father? 4. The love of her native country could not move that wicked woman's 'heart to pity. 5. She declareth herſelf an open traitereſs to the realm of England, 'contrary to the juſt laws of the ſame, to bring in a ſtranger, and to make a proud 'ſtranger king, to the deſtruction of the nobility, and ſubverſion of the realm. 6. If 'God, for our ſcourge, ſuffered her and her cruel council to come to authority? '7. Under an Engliſh name ſhe hath a Spaniard's heart. 8. Much trouble in Eng-

'land for the eſtabliſhing of that moſt unhappy and wicked woman's authority, I 'mean, of her that now reigneth in God's wrath. 9. Marriage ought not to be 'contracted with thoſe who maintain and advance idolatry, ſuch as the emperor, 'who is no leſs an enemy to Chriſt than ever Nero was.' By theſe preceding articles, John Knox's fraternal enemies proclaimed to the world how virulent the Service-book made them. They alledged treaſon againſt him, who knew nothing thereof. Innocency is no ſhelter againſt malignant adverſaries. Malice never regards how unjuſt an accuſation is, but how deſpiteful. John Knox could not be juſtly blamed, but his oppoſites were ſelf-willed. Their ſelf-will being croſſed, did boil in choler to the extraction of a deſtructive deſign. *Rumpantur et ilia Codri:* They could take no reſt till they were delivered of their malicious birth. But bleſſed be God, who, by his ſingular love, providence towards his faithful ſervant, prevented the evil intended by ſuch a prodigious production; for the magiſtrates of Francfort, diſliking the former bloody attempt, and unnatural project of the falſe brethren, above ſpecified, ſent for Mr. Williams and Mr. Whittinghame, deſiring them to adviſe John Knox to depart, otherwiſe they would be conſtrained to deliver him, if the emperor's council (which was then at Augſburgh) ſhould upon like information ſend for him. John Knox being advertiſed thereof, after he had made a comfortable ſermon at his lodging to fifty perſons, or thereabout, of the death and reſurrection of Chriſt, and of the unſpeakable joys prepared for God's elect, departed towards Geneva the 26th of May 1555; and was convoyed three or four miles on his way, by ſome of thoſe to whom he had made the foreſaid exhortation, who with great heavineſs of heart, and plenty of tears, committed him to the Lord.

During his abode at Geneva, he wrote an Admonition or Warning to London, Newcaſtle, and Berwick; a Letter to queen Mary, regent of Scotland; an Appeal to the Nobility of Scotland; an Admonition to the Commons of Scotland; an Exhortation to the Realm of England, for their ſpeedy embracing of Chriſt's goſpel; and the Firſt Blaſt of the Trumpet, *&c.* In this laſt tractate, he gave a ſufficient proof of his erudition and learning. The reign of queen Mary in England, and the government of Mary of Lorrain in Scotland, provoked him to ſet forth that treatiſe. In the preface, he proteſts he did not conceal his name for fear of corporal puniſhment; and promiſeth at the Third Blaſt to ſet down his name, and to take the blame upon him, that others might be purged. His purpoſe was to have blown the trumpet thrice, which he would have performed, if queen Mary had not ended her days ſooner. And becauſe he underſtood that ſome had promiſed a confutation of his Firſt Blaſt, he delayed his Second till ſuch time as their reaſons appeared, by which he might be either reformed in his opinion, or elſe might have further occaſion more ſimply and plainly to utter his judgment. Yet for diſcharge of his conſcience, and avoiding of ſuſpicion which might have been occaſioned by reaſon of his ſilence, he did notify to the world (as may be gathered in the poſtſcript extant at the end of Antoni Gilby's Admonition to England and Scotland), theſe ſubſequent propoſitions, which he purpoſed to prove and amplify in his Second Blaſt promiſed; 1. 'It is not birth only, nor propinquity 'of blood, that maketh a king lawfully to reign above a people, profeſſing Chriſt 'Jeſus and his eternal verity; but, in his election, the ordinance which God hath 'eſtabliſhed in the election of inferior judges muſt be obſerved. 2. No manifeſt idola-

'ter, nor notorious tranſgreſſor of God's holy precepts, ought to be promoted to 'any public government, honour, or dignity, in any realm, province, or city, that 'hath ſubjected themſelves to Chriſt Jeſus and his bleſſed goſpel. 3. Neither can 'oath nor promiſe bind any ſuch people to obey and maintain tyrants againſt God, 'and againſt his known truth. 4. But if raſhly they have promoted any manifeſt 'wicked perſon, or yet ignorantly have choſen ſuch an one, as after declareth him-'ſelf unworthy of government above the people of God (and ſuch are all idolaters 'and cruel perſecutors), moſt juſtly may the ſame men depoſe and puniſh him, whom 'they, unadviſedly, before did nominate, appoint, and elect.' Within a ſhort ſpace thereafter (being ſolicited by ſome Scots noblemen, and others, to return homeward, and to join with them in the public work of reformation) he came to Diep; from whence he wrote to Mrs. Anna Lock, a clear declaration of his judgment concerning the great Service-book of England, as follows: 'Our Captain, Chriſt Jeſus, and 'Satan his adverſary, are now at plain defiance; their banners are diſplayed, and 'the trumpets blow on either ſide for aſſembling of their armies. Our maſter calleth 'upon his own, and that with vehemency, that they may depart from Babylon; yea, 'he ſeverely threateneth death and damnation to ſuch as either in their forehead or 'hand bear the mark of the beaſt. And a portion of his mark are all theſe dregs of 'Popery, which are left in your great book of England (*viz.* croſſing in baptiſm, 'kneeling at the Lord's table, mumbling or ſinging of the Litany, *A fulgure et tem-'peſtate, A ſubitanea & improviſa morte*), any one jot of which diabolical inventions 'I will never counſel any man to uſe. The whole order of your book appeareth 'rather to be deviſed for upholding of maſſing prieſts, than for any good inſtruction 'which the ſimple people can receive therefrom. Your ſacraments were miniſtered 'for the moſt part without the ſoul, and by theſe who to Chriſt Jeſus are no true 'miniſters; and God grant that ſo yet they be not. Without the ſoul, I ſay, they 'were miniſtered, becauſe they were miniſtered without the word truly and openly 'preached; and your miniſters before, for the moſt part, were none of Chriſt's 'miniſters, but maſs-monging prieſts.' And therefore, towards the end of the former letter, he very pathetically diſſuadeth the gentlewoman, to whom he wrote, from countenancing of ſuch ſuperſtitious prieſts in their corrupt, lifeleſs, liturgical, ſervices; affirming, with great fervency, 'That all things ſhould be judged abomi-'nable, yea, execrable and accurſed, which God, by his word, hath not ſanctified 'in his religion.'

The ſecond of May 1559, John Knox, being then fifty-four years of age, came home again to his own country, where (after the church had attained to ſome degree of reformation) he was ſettled miniſter at Edinburgh; in which place he continued in the exerciſe of preaching till his death, but not without manifold interruptions, by reaſon of the inteſtine diſorders and domeſtic broils that fell out in theſe times. In his ſermons he was powerful and perſuaſive, and ſo aſſiſted with the irreſiſtible power of God's all-ſufficient grace, that when he ſpoke but *Ephphatha* (deſiring the Lord's people to lift up their everlaſting doors, that the King of Glory might enter in), preſently there was ſuch a piercing and opening in the hearts of his hearers, that they were forced to cry out, 'Doubtleſs God is here, God is with the preacher.' By this means the work of the Lord was wonderfully advanced, and mightily promoted

over the bellies of all oppoſite powers. There were few of his ſermons printed, although he was both learned and eloquent, he not being willing to buſy himſelf much with the preſs, nor to apply his mind to compoſe tractates for poſterity; for he was wont to ſay, 'That God had called him rather to inſtruct the ignorant, comfort the 'ſorrowful, rebuke ſinners, and confirm the weak, living in his time, than to make 'books for ages to come;' yet we have ſome of his ſermons, eſpecially that which he preached the 19th of Auguſt 1565, and for which he was prohibited to preach for a ſeaſon, which you will find at the end of this Hiſtory, to teſtify to all men what ground there was to deal ſo with him. Beſides the former ſermon, and ſeveral other good pieces, of which I have already ſpoken, he wrote alſo a learned treatiſe againſt the blaſphemous Anabaptiſts, two treatiſes againſt the Maſs, one of the Euchariſt, ſome ſermons upon Geneſis, ſome alſo upon the Pſalms, an Exhortation to all Afflicted Churches, an Advice in Time of Trouble, &c. Theſe refreſhing ſtreams of his Chriſtian labours are like moſt precious ointment, the fragrant ſavour whereof does exceedingly rejoice the hearts of Chriſt's faithful members. Valiant Ziſca had never greater affection towards the Bohemians (when he deſired that a drum might be made of his ſkin after his death, when his body could no more do them ſervice in their wars), than this worthy light of the goſpel has had towards the people of God in Scotland: for not only was he affectionate towards them in his life, but even yet (now after his diſſolution) the ſpikenard of his Chriſtian love, bottled up in his pious works, above mentioned, is ſo freſh and fragrant that whoſoever findeth the ſmell thereof, muſt be forced to acknowledge, that his affection is outliving, permanent, and durable.

As his godly ſermons were lively and operative, ſo his prophetical predictions were true and effectual; an inſtance whereof, in one remarkable particular, I thought proper to ſubjoin in this place, as follows:. Upon the 24th of January 1570 (which was the next day after the murder of the good regent the earl of Murray), John Knox being in the public preaching-place at Edinburgh, a certain paper, among the names of theſe who deſired the prayers of the church, was cunningly conveyed to his hand, wherein were written theſe words, 'Take up the man whom you accounted 'another God.' He having privately read the ſame without expreſſing any ſign of diſpleaſure, and having after ſermon made a great mone for the loſs which the church and ſtate of Scotland had by the death of that virtuous nobleman, ſhewing, that as God in his mercy giveth good and wiſe rulers, ſo he taketh them away from a people in his wrath: at laſt he thus vented and uttered his mind; 'There is one in this 'company, who maketh that horrible murder (whereat all good men have occaſion 'to be ſorry), the prime motive and ſubject of his mirth. I tell him that he ſhall 'die in a ſtrange land, where he ſhall not have a friend near him to hold up his 'head.' Mr. Thomas Maitland, the author of the inſulting ſpeeches, contained in the paper above ſpecified (a youthful gentleman, bearing ſmall affection to the good regent), having heard John Knox's threatening, confeſſed the truth of what he had done to his ſiſter the lady Trabrown: but John Knox, ſaid he, was raving to ſpeak of he knew not whom. His ſiſter replied, with tears in her eyes, that none of John Knox's threatenings fell to the ground without effect. And ſo it came to paſs in the prediction foreſaid; for ſhortly thereafter, the young gentleman, having gone be-

yond ſeas to travel, died in Italy, while he was going to Rome, having no man to aſſiſt him, much leſs to lament him.

I will not here ſpeak of the indefatigable travels, and great hoſtility, which John Knox endured, in helping to ſet forward the work of reformation in Scotland, becauſe they are all ſet down at large in the body of this Hiſtory: but will only clear him, and his fellows, from ſome aſperſions, which have been caſt upon them and their proceedings by the adverſaries of the truth, and then will make haſte to ſpeak of his death.

The enemies of reformation, perceiving there was no hope to get their deſigns proſecuted, ſo long as John Knox and his aſſociates had any credit among the people, blazed abroad (like ſo many infernal furies inflamed with an helliſh rage) divers deviliſh reports and malicious forgeries againſt them; alledging, That in their enterpriſe of the work of reformation, they attempted and did many things without any good ground or warrant, yea, contrary to all lawful authority. I might anſwer for an excuſe, That the radiant light of the goſpel ſo dazzled their eyes, coming out of darkneſs, that they conſidered not well what they did, ſo that they might enjoy ſo great a benefit; and therefore hazarded lands, lives, goods, and children. Yet I need not excuſe them, when they may be defended by good reaſon in the judgment of the learned: for John Knox (in his letter written from Diep, the year 1557, to the Scots nobility, who had taken upon them the public reformation) ſignifieth, That he had the judgment of the moſt godly and learned in Europe (meaning, no doubt, Mr. Calvin, and other learned miniſters at Geneva), to warrant both his and their conſciences for the enterpriſe of reformation.

The poſition maintained by them, which is the ground of their enterpriſe, was this, 'That if kings and princes refuſe to reform religion, the inferior magiſtrates 'and people, being directed and inſtructed in the truth before by their preachers, 'may lawfully reform within their own bounds themſelves. And if all, or the far 'greateſt part be enlightened by the truth, they may make a public reformation.' This ground was amplified and confirmed at large afterwards, by the author of that treatiſe called, *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos*, which is aſcribed to Gentiletus; and by him who wrote that other treatiſe, *De Jure Magiſtratuum in Subditos*, which ſome aſcribe to Beza. And Pareus, of late, in his Commentary upon the Romans, has maintained the like. I acknowledge indeed, that there were ſome outrages committed in the manner of diſſolution and deſtruction of abbacies, priories, and nunneries; and many manuſcripts, guilty of no other ſuperſtition than red letters in the front, were torn in pieces, or committed to the fire: but in ſudden alterations it is not to be expected that all things can be done by ſquare and compaſs. And although they demoliſhed the manſions of friars, monks, and nuns, yet they demoliſhed no pariſh-churches, their main intention being only to eradicate all monuments of idolatry, to reform religion, to erect the face of a viſible church in the bounds committed to their charge, and to aſſiſt others in the work of reformation by a mutual aid and concurrence.

And where it is objected, That ſuch gorgeous fabrics might have been reſerved and converted to many good and lawful uſes; I anſwer, That in free and reformed cities or countries, ſuch as are among the Germans, where the ſtate (governed and directed

by laws rather than by rulers) remaineth always alike and unchangeable, who doubteth but ſuch houſes, ſtanding there ſtill, might be transferred to ſome good and lawful uſes, without any fear or danger? But in ſuch a realm and kingdom as Scotland, where laws and parliaments are not always one, but are arbitrary and ſubject to the diſpoſition of the prince, it being uncertain what princes may come, the ſureſt work is to imitate the example of ſkilful and judicious ſurgeons, who, in cutting of a gangrene leg, always cut it off above the joint, even where the fleſh is heal and ſound. Hence was it, that, for prevention of further infection, our firſt reformers did well to overturn the very foundations of abbacies, priories, and nunneries, that being the beſt means to baniſh ſuperſtition and idolatry out of the realm for ever. And truly it is a point of no ſmall wiſdom, not only to conſider what may be done preſently in a commonweath, but what may alſo follow. Giraldus maketh mention, how the king of Meath aſked the advice of one Turgheſy, how ſome noiſome birds, that were lately come in to Ireland, might be driven away: He anſwered, Let their neſts be deſtroyed. It had been good for God's church that there had not been ſo much left as the title of abbots, priors, biſhops, deans, archdeans, or ſuch like Antichriſtian offices and callings; for they remain ſtill as lures to allure theſe hawks to come again, to rebuild their old neſts.

The malignant party above ſpecified, finding themſelves unable, by their deſpiteful calumnies, to alienate or eſtrange the hearts of the people from John Knox, they laboured not only ſecretly to work his deſtruction, but alſo, having fortified the town and caſtle of Edinburgh with their godleſs garriſons, did publicly vent their malice againſt him by many furious threatenings. Whereupon, being moved by the urgent importunity and preſſing deſires of the godly to depart from the town, for his greater ſafety and ſecurity, he went to St. Andrews, in the month of May 1571, where he remained till about the end of Auguſt 1572; and then (the civil troubles being pacified) he returned to Edinburgh, upon the receipt of a letter ſent to him from his flock, earneſtly requiring his preſence: but becauſe his body was infirm, and his voice ſo weak that people could not hear him in the ordinary place of preaching, he made choice of another more commodious place within the town, where he exerciſed his paſtoral gift ſo long as the Lord enabled him. At length, foreſeeing that he was not to remain long in his earthly tabernacle with them, he was inſtant with the town-council, to provide themſelves of a worthy man to ſucceed in his place.

And ſo, Mr. James Lawſon, who at that time profeſſed philoſophy in the univerſity of Aberdeen, being commended for a good preacher, commiſſioners were directed from the body of the church of Edinburgh, and from John Knox in particular, who deſired him by a letter to accept of the charge; to which letter he added this poſtſcript, *Accelera, mi frater, alioqui ſero venies;* that is, 'Make haſte, 'brother, otherwiſe you will come too late.' Meaning, that if he retarded his coming, he would find him dead and gone ere he came. Mr. James Lawſon, being much moved with theſe laſt words, took journey the morrow thereafter, and made haſte towards Edinburgh, where, after two ſeveral preachings to the good liking of the people, the 9th of November was appointed for his admiſſion.

John Knox preached at that diet, though he could ſcarce walk on foot to the pulpit, with ſuch fervency of ſpirit, that at no time before was he heard to ſpeak

with greater power, and more content to the hearers. In the close of his sermon, 'He called God to witness, that he had walked in a good conscience amongst them, 'not seeking to please men, nor serving either his own or other mens affections, 'but in all sincerity and truth preaching the gospel of Christ.' Then having praised God, who had given them one in his room, and having zealously prayed for the continuance of the Lord's favour amongst them, and for augmentation of grace to the preacher, he pathetically exhorted them to stedfastness in the faith; and so, concluding with a blessing, he gave them his last farewell: for his vital spirits were so far spent, that the same day, in the afternoon, he was forced to take bed. All his sermons were religiously tuned; but his last farewell sermon made the sweetest music in the close.

Upon the 13th of November 1572, he was so enfeebled with a cough, that he left his ordinary reading of the Scripture; for every day he read some chapters of the Old and New Testaments, with some psalms, which he passed through every month once. Upon Friday, the 14th, he arose beside his accustomed diet [for preaching]; and yet, when he was risen, could scarce sit upon a stool. Being demanded what he would do up? he said, 'He would go to the church, and preach,' thinking it had been the Lord's Day; and told, 'That he had been meditating all 'that night upon the resurrection of Christ;' which he should have taught in order after the death of Christ, which he had finished the Sabbath before. Many times desired he of God, that he might end his days in teaching and meditating upon that doctrine; and so he did indeed. He desired the elders and deacons to be sent for, that he might take his last good-night of them, as he had done before of the people. Upon the Lord's Day, the 16th, he kept his bed, and would take no meat, supposing it had been the first Sabbath of the fast, till the laird of Braid, sitting at his bed-side, called him to remembrance, and caused him to eat a little.

Upon Monday, the 17th, the elders and deacons of the church being come to him, he said, 'The time is approaching for which I have long thirsted, wherein I shall 'be relieved of all cares, and be with my Saviour Christ for ever: and now, God 'is my witness, whom I have served with my spirit in the gospel of his Son, that I 'have taught nothing but the true and solid doctrine of the gospel; and that the 'end which I proposed in all my doctrine, was to instruct the ignorant, to confirm 'the weak, to comfort the consciences of those that were humbled under the sense 'of their sins, and to beat down, with the threatenings of God's judgments, such 'as were proud and rebellious. I am not ignorant, that many have blamed, and 'yet do blame, my too great rigour and severity: but God knoweth, that, in my 'heart, I never hated the persons of these against whom I thundered God's judgments; I did only hate their sins, and laboured, according to my power, to gain 'them to Christ: that I did forbear none, of whatsoever condition, I did it out of 'the fear of my God, who hath placed me in this function of the ministry, and, I 'know, will bring me to an account.' Then he exhorted them to abide constant in the doctrine which they had heard out of his mouth, and desired them never to join with the wickedness of these in the castle of Edinburgh, although they should triumph in the world; but rather chuse, with David, to fly to the mountains, than to remain in the company of the wicked.

Having closed his exhortation to the elders and deacons, he directed his speech to Mr. David Lindsay minister at Leith, and Mr. James Lawson, as followeth: 'For

'you, brethren, I have nothing to ſay, but to warn you, that you take heed to the 'flock over which God hath placed you overſeers, which he hath redeemed by the 'blood of his only begotten Son. And you, Mr. James Lawſon, fight a good fight, 'do the work of the Lord with courage, and with a willing mind; and God from 'above bleſs you, and the church whereof you have the charge, againſt which church, 'ſo long as it continueth in the doctrine of the truth, the gates of hell ſhall not pre-'vail.' Thus having commended to God by prayer the whole company who were preſent, they went out from him with tears. A little before he took bed, he commanded his wife, and Richard Bannatyne his ſervant, that when God ſhould viſit him with ſickneſs, ſo that he was unable to read any portion of Scripture himſelf, that then one of them ſhould read to him every day the 17th chapter of St. John's Goſpel, a chapter of the Epiſtle to the Epheſians, and the 33d chapter of the Prophecy of Iſaiah; which was done. Few or no hours of the day paſt wherein ſomewhat was not read, as he would appoint; and ſometimes ſome of Mr. Calvin's ſermons in French. While they were reading a certain ſermon of Calvin's upon the Epheſians, they aſked (ſuppoſing he had been ſleeping) if he heard? He anſwered, 'I hear, I praiſe God, and underſtand far better.'

Mr. David Lindſay reported to divers, that at one time when he came to viſit him, and aſked how he did? he anſwered, 'Well, brother, I thank God, I 'have deſired all this day to have had you, that I may ſend you to that man in the 'caſtle, the laird of Grange, whom, you know, I have loved ſo dearly, and whoſe 'courage and conſtancy in the cauſe of God you have ſometimes ſeen, although 'now moſt unhappily he hath caſt himſelf away. Go, I pray you, and tell him 'from me, in the name of God, That unleſs he leave that evil cauſe, and forſake 'that wicked courſe, wherein he hath entered, neither ſhall the rock (meaning Edin-'burgh caſtle, which he kept againſt the king's lawful authority), in which he con-'fideth, defend him, nor the carnal wiſdom of that man, whom he counteth half 'a god (meaning young Lethington), afford him any help: but he ſhall be pulled 'out of that neſt, and brought down over the walls with ſhame, and his carcaſe 'ſhall be hung before the ſun; ſo God hath aſſured me.' Mr. David thought the meſſage hard, yet went to the caſtle, where, firſt, meeting with ſir Robert Melvil walking on the wall, he told him what was his errand, who, as he thought, was much moved with the matter; then he communed with Grange the captain, whom he thought alſo ſomewhat moved: but after the captain had conferred a little with Lethington, he came out again to Mr. David, and ſo diſmiſſed him with a diſdainful anſwer. Mr. David returned to John Knox, and reported how he had diſcharged his commiſſion; but that it was not well accepted by the captain. 'Well,' ſaid John Knox, 'I have been earneſt with my God in that man's behalf; I am ſorry that 'thus it ſhall befal his body, yet God aſſureth me that there is mercy for his ſoul.' Mr. David laid up that ſpeech in his mind till John Knox was at reſt with God, and found the truth of that which had been foretold, within a ſhort ſpace thereafter.

John Knox's ſickneſs and infirmity did ſo much at this time increaſe, that he could not utter any words but with very great pain; yet none came unto him to whom he gave not ſome admonition. When a certain gentlewoman, fearing God, began to commend him, deſiring him to praiſe the Lord for the good which he had done; he anſwered, 'Tongue, tongue, lady, fleſh of itſelf is too proud, and need-

'eth no means to puff it up;' and proteſted, that he did only claim to the free mercy of God in Chriſt. He exhorted her to humility, and to caſt away her ſtinking pride; and called to her remembrance theſe words, which a woman had ſpoken to her long ago, 'Lady, lady, the black ox hath never trode upon your foot.' Among others, to the earl of Morton (who was then immediately to be advanced to the public regency of the realm, the earl of Marr, late regent being now only dead), he was heard to ſpeak theſe words: 'My lord, God hath given you many bleſſings; 'he hath given you wiſdom, honour, high birth, riches, many good and great 'friends, and is now to prefer you to the government of the realm: in his name, I 'charge you, that you will uſe theſe bleſſings better in time to come than you have 'done in time paſt. In all your actions, ſeek firſt the glory of God, the further-'ance of his goſpel, the maintenance of his church and miniſtry; and next, be 'careful of the king, to procure his good, and the welfare of the realm. If you 'ſhall do this, God will be with you; if otherwiſe, he ſhall deprive you of all theſe 'benefits, and your end ſhall be ſhame and ignominy.' And ſo it came to paſs; yea, the earl himſelf, at the time of his execution, which was in the month of June 1581, calling to mind John Knox's ſpeeches, ſaid, 'That he had found them to be 'true, and him therein a prophet.'

Upon the Lord's Day, the 23d of November, which was the firſt Sabbath of the faſt, none being preſent but theſe of his own houſehold, after he had been a long ſpace, in the time of afternoon's ſermon, very quiet, as they thought, he ſaid, 'If 'any man be preſent, let him come and ſee the work of God;' for he thought, as they ſuppoſed, then to have inſtantly expired. His ſervant having ſent for John Johnſton writer, he burſt forth in theſe words: 'I have been in meditation, theſe 'two laſt nights, upon the troubled kirk of God, deſpiſed of the world, but pre-'cious in his ſight; and have called to God for it, and commended it to Chriſt 'her head. I have been fighting againſt Satan, who is ever ready to aſſault. 'I have fought againſt ſpiritual wickedneſs, and have prevailed. I have been in 'heaven, where preſently I am, and have taſted of the heavenly joys.' After ſermon, divers who came to viſit him, perceiving his breath to be ſhortened, aſked if he had any pain; he anſwered, 'I have no more pain than he that is 'now in heaven, and am content, if it pleaſe God, to lie here ſeven years.' He ſaid often, 'Live in Chriſt, and let never fleſh fear death.' Many times when he would be lying, as was thought, aſleep, he was at his meditations, and would diſcover the ſame by theſe ſpeeches. 'Lord grant true paſtors to thy church, that pu-'rity of doctrine may be retained. Reſtore peace to this commonwealth, with godly 'rulers and magiſtrates. Lord make an end of troubles. O ſerve the Lord in fear, and 'death ſhall not be troubleſome unto you! Bleſſed is the death of thoſe that have part 'in the death of Jeſus. Come, Lord Jeſus; ſweet Jeſus, into thy hands I commend my 'ſpirit.' In the evening he ſleeped ſome hours together, but with great unquietneſs.

That night about nine o'clock, Dr. Preſton being come to him, and underſtanding, by Robert Campbell of Kinzeancleugh and John Johnſton (two of his diligent and conſtant attenders), what unſettledneſs he had in his ſleep, aſked after he awaked, How he found himſelf, and what it was that moved him to mourn ſo heavily in his ſleep? To whom he anſwered, 'In my life-time I have been often aſſaulted with 'Satan, and many times he hath caſt in my teeth my ſins, to bring me to deſpair;

'yet God gave me ſtrength to overcome all his temptations: and now, that ſubtile 'ſerpent, who never ceaſeth to tempt, hath taken another courſe, and ſeeks to per-'ſuade me, that all my labours in the miniſtry, and the fidelity that I have ſhewed 'in that ſervice, have merited heaven and immortality; but bleſſed be God, that 'brought to my mind theſe Scriptures,' "What haſt thou that thou haſt not received; "*and* Not I, but the grace of God in me;" 'with which he is gone away aſhamed, 'and ſhall no more return. And now, I am ſure my battle is at an end; and that I 'ſhall ſhortly, without pain of body, or trouble of ſpirit, change this mortal and 'miſerable life, for that happy and immortal life, which ſhall never have an end.'

Upon Monday, the 24th of November, he aroſe about nine or ten o'clock, and yet was not able to ſtand by himſelf, put on his hoſe and his doublet, and ſat in a chair the ſpace of half an hour, and then went to bed again. Being aſked by Kinzeancleugh, if he had any pain? he anſwered, 'No great pain, but ſuch as I truſt 'will put an end to this battle. Yea, I do not eſteem that a pain, which will be to 'me an end of all troubles, and the beginning of eternal joys.' In the afternoon, he cauſed his wife read the 15th chapter of the Firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians. When it was ended, he ſaid, 'Is not that a comfortable chapter?' Within a little ſpace after, he ſaid, 'I commend my ſoul, ſpirit, and body, into thy hands, O Lord!' About five o'clock at night, he ſaid to his wife, 'Go read where I caſt my firſt an-'chor.' And ſo ſhe read the 17th chapter of St. John's Goſpel, and after that, ſome of Mr. Calvin's ſermons upon the Epheſians. About half an hour before ten, they went to prayer; which being ended, Dr. Preſton ſaid unto him, 'Sir, heard you the prayer?' He anſwered, 'Would to God that you, and all men, had heard it with 'ſuch an ear and heart as I have done: I praiſe God for that heavenly ſound;' adding, 'Lord Jeſus receive my ſpirit.' At laſt, when his ſervant, Richard Bannatyne, heard him give a long ſigh and ſob, he ſaid unto him, Now, ſir, the time you have long called to God for doth inſtantly approach; and, ſeeing all natural powers fail, give us ſome ſign that you remember upon the comfortable promiſes which you have often ſhewed unto us. At theſe ſpeeches he lifted up one of his hands, and immediately thereafter, without further motion, as one falling aſleep, rather than dying, he departed about eleven o'clock at night, in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age.

After the foreſaid manner died bleſſed old Knox *(plenus dierum)*, in a full age, having fought that good fight, and overcome all his enemies. He was a mirror of godlineſs; and a pattern to miniſters, for a holy life, ſoundneſs in doctrine, and boldneſs in reproving vice. And although court-paraſites, and proud prelates, have been, and are diſpleaſed and offended, the one ſort with his doctrine touching the power of princes, the other ſort with his doctrine concerning the government of the church, yet there was never man born who did more heartily reverence, nor more willingly obey, all the lawful commands of civil authority: neither was there ever any man more obſervant of the true and juſt orders of eccleſiaſtical policy, according to the word of God, and the practice of the pureſt primitive times. He was a man endowed with ſo great a meaſure of the Spirit, that the trouble never came to the church, after his entry in public preaching, but he foreſaw the end thereof. Many things in particular did he foretell, which came truly to paſs, as you may perceive, partly by the predictions already mentioned, and partly by ſeveral

paſſages of the following Hiſtory. I add, how he foretold the queen, becauſe ſhe would not come and hear God's word, that ſhe ſhould be compelled to hear it, whether ſhe would or not; and ſo ſhe was at her arraignment. Alſo to her huſband, ſitting on the king's ſeat in the Great Kirk at Edinburgh, he ſaid, 'Have you, for 'the pleaſure of that dame, caſt the Pſalm-book in the fire? The Lord ſhall ſtrike 'both head and tail.' Mr. Thomas Smeton, in the deſcription of his life, ſheweth, that the death of the good regent (whom he calleth, *Ornamentum et lumen hujus nationis, quo nullus unquam extitit, aut religionis obſervantior, aut amantior æqui*, 'The 'ornament and light of the Scots nation, than whom there was none a greater ob-'ſerver of religion, nor lover of equity') made a wonderful deep impreſſion in his heart: but the maſſacre of Paris did almoſt exanimate him: and he giveth him this commendation, *De quo aut vere aut ingenue dicam, neſcio an unquam Deus magis pium aut majus ingenium in fragili et imbecillo corpuſculo collocavit. Certe ſcio haud facile quenquam inveniri poſſe, in quo plura Spiritus Sancti dona, in ſolidum Scoticanæ eccleſiæ gaudium illuxerint. Nemo, in ſubeundis animi et corporis laboribus minus, ſibi pepercit; nemo, in concreditam ſibi provinciam, intentior fuit: nemo tamen, dum viveret, odiis impiorum hominum magis impetitus eſt, et maledicorum calumniis laceratus: quamvis illi ea fuit animi magnitudo, ut contra audentior iret.* That is, 'I know not if ever God 'placed in a frail and weak little body a more godly or great ſpirit. I am certain 'that ſcarcely could any man be found, in whom more gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, for 'the ſolid comfort of the church of Scotland, did ſhine. None leſs ſpared himſelf, 'in undertaking of ſpiritual and bodily exerciſes; none more diligent in the charge 'intruſted unto him: yet no man, while he lived, more aſſaulted with the hatred of 'wicked men, and more vexed with the reproaches of evil-ſpeakers: notwithſtand-'ing whereof, he had ſuch reſolute courage, that he went forward in God's ways 'with the greater Chriſtian boldneſs.' But has the malice of the wicked againſt him been ſilent ſince he died? No certainly, nor never will, ſo long as the devil's goats are permitted to live amongſt Chriſt's ſheep. I wiſh his malignant enemies may take heed what they do: *Tot enim poſt ſe famæ ſuæ vindices reliquit, quot ex fœdo errorum barathro detractos, ad Evangelii puritatem, fideliter prædicando, perduxit;* 'For he 'has left ſo many maintainers of his good name behind him, as he hath brought from 'the filthy gulf of errors to the purity of the goſpel, by his faithful preaching.' Neither wanteth he the defence of learned Beza, who calleth him, 'The Apoſtle of 'the Scots,' and comprehended all his praiſes in a few words, when, in his Icones, he calleth him, 'GREAT MASTER KNOX.' In a word, he was ſo zealous for God's glory, ſo careful for the church's good, and ſo conſtantly conſcionable in all his practices, that I am fully confident, there is no man, except he have a vertigo in his brain, will be ſo blockiſh, as to imagine that ſuch a fixed ſtar can be made ſubject, by any vile aſperſions, to the falling ſickneſs of diſgrace.

Upon Wedneſday, the 26th of November, John Knox was buried in the church-yard of St. Giles, at Edinburgh, being conveyed by the earl of Morton, and ſeveral lords, with people of all ranks. When he was laid in the grave, the earl of Morton, pronounced his eulogium in theſe words, 'Here lies a man, who in his life never 'feared the face of man; who hath been often threatened with dag and dagger, but yet 'hath ended his days in peace and honour.' For he had God's providence watching over him in a ſpecial manner, even when his life was ſought, as by the remark-

able ſign following, of God's ſingular care towards him, may evidently appear. It was his cuſtom in his own houſe, to ſit at the head of the table with his back to the window; yet, upon a certain night, he ſat at the ſide of the table, when a bullet was ſhot in at the window, on purpoſe to kill him: but the conſpirator miſſed, and the bullet lighted upon the candleſtick, and made a hole in the foot of it.

An ACROSTIC on that famous and renowned Light of the Goſpel,
JOHN KNOX.

J CHABOD * ! O Ichabod !
O nce was Scotland bleſt of God ;
H ouſe of Chriſt in it ſhin'd clear :
N ow Heav'n's Light doth diſappear.

K NOX our great Apoſtle's gone :
N ight o'erclouds our Horizon.
O ! but yet he lives by Story ;
X iſtus-like †, being crown'd in Glory.

* 1 Sam. iv. 21. † Xiſtus was a primitive Martyr.

To the precious Memory of JOHN KNOX, that worthy primitive Reformer in the Church of Scotland.

HEAV'N's Joy, Earth's Praiſe, Truth's Champion, Scotland's Brightneſs,
Pope's fatal Foe, prime Patron of Uprightneſs,
Choice Pearl of Price, pure Orient Gem,
Grand Zealot for the God of Shem,
A burning Lamp moſt clear.
Light of the World's round Sphere
Was much eclips'd,
5 JY61
When this Day-ſtar
Was hid by Death.
His Virtues are
Tranſparent ; but his Glory
No Tongue can tell by Story.
Earth's Fabric is too baſe a Place
For thrice bleſt KNOX, ſo full of Grace.
A ſupreme Orb's moſt fit for Heaven's great Light :
Sun's radiant Beams do dazzle Man's weak Sight.

J. L.

THE

PREFACE.

THE Scots, by the moſt judicious writers, and by thoſe who have moſt diligently ſtudied their antiquities, are acknowledged to be among the firſt who embraced the faith of Chriſt; yea, they are ſaid, by ſome, to be of the very firſt fruits of the Gentiles: for, in a few years after the aſcenſion of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, the apoſtles and diſciples being conſtrained to leave Jeruſalem and Judea, by reaſon of the perſecutions raiſed againſt them by the Jews, according to the diſpenſation of the all-wiſe God, went up and down the world; and, ſpeaking to every people in their own language, declared unto them the glad tidings of ſalvation in Chriſt Jeſus. Thoſe who came into our northern parts, *viz.* into Scotland, and firſt made known unto our fathers the myſteries of heaven, were of the diſciples of John the apoſtle *.

Some years thereafter, *viz.* in the ſecond perſecution raiſed againſt the Chriſtians, many Britons, provincials of the empire, profeſſing the name of Chriſt, left their own country, and went into Scotland, for ſhelter from the general maſſacre, then executed throughout the whole empire, by that bloody butcher Domitian; and to enjoy the freedom of the goſpel, which they knew to be received then in Scotland †. Among theſe fugitive Britons there were ſundry learned and pious men who ſtaid in Scotland, after the perſecution ended, propagating the faith of Chriſt there, by their preaching. This we have related unto us by the hiſtorians of beſt truſt. We have not then from the ſee of Rome our firſt inſtitution in the Chriſtian faith; yea, we are ſo far from it, that, for many years together, we hardly had any communication with Rome at all. Palladius was the firſt, ſome years after the beginning of the fifth age, who made our acquaintance with Rome. Although the general current of the Romiſh writers give out, that the goſpel was firſt planted among us in Scotland, by means of Victor, biſhop of Rome; yet Baronius, that renowned chronologer, albeit he would fain have the Scots owe this obligation unto Rome, diſclaimeth this opinion of his party, as untrue, and diſagreeing with the beſt antiquity.

Tertullian ‡, who lived in the ſecond age, and wrote books ſeveral years before the end thereof, and ſo was ſo near the planting of the Chriſtian faith amongſt the nations, that in a manner he may be ſaid to have been an eye-witneſs unto it, in his book againſt the Jews, ſpeaking how the light of the goſpel was ſpread through the world, ſaith thus, ‘ The goſpel was diffuſed into all the parts of the world, yea, into ‘ Britain, and into that part of the iſland whereunto the Roman forces did never ‘ pierce.’ By theſe laſt words of Tertullian, are meant the inhabitants of that part of the iſland which lieth on the north ſide of the walls, firſt built by Adrian, then by Antonius Pius, thirdly by Severus; and thoſe were the Scots by name:

* Buchan. lib. v. † Ibid. lib. iv. ‡ Lib. contra Judeos.

for the Romans put walls betwixt them and the Scots bow-men, as our poet expreſſeth it:

Roma ſagittiferis prætendit mœnia Scotis.

And Claudian, many hundred years before this our poet, ſpeaking of the legion which then was called from its garriſon on the foreſaid walls, ſaith thus, 'The 'legion came, which was placed before the utmoſt Britons, and which bridled the 'fierce Scots *.

Lucius Florus, many years before Claudian, who wrote towards the latter end of the fourth age, *viz.* in the beginning of the ſecond age; and Spartianus, who alledgeth Florus wrote towards the latter end of the third age; Lucius Florus the poet (is the ſame with the hiſtorian who wrote the ſhort hiſtory of the Romans, as Salmaſius judgeth) is brought in by Ælius Spartianus, in the hiſtory of the Life of Adrian the emperor, ſaying theſe words, 'I would not be Cæſar, to walk among the Bri-'tons, and ſuffer the Scots morning hoar froſts.' The word *pruina*, which the author uſeth, doth ſignify ſo much; for it is *quaſi* πρωίνη *a* Πρωι, morning. What Florus, in theſe words here alledged, calleth in his language *Scoticas pruinas*, Claudian calleth *Caledonias pruinas*, ſpeaking of another Roman, in theſe words, 'And he placed 'his camp in the middle of the Caledonian morning hoar froſts.' I know that commonly in Spartian, of whom we have theſe verſes of Florus, it is read *Scythicas* for *Scoticas*, but wrong, notwithſtanding that the great critics have not corrected it: for how, I pray you, can Adrian be ſaid to ſuffer *Scythicas pruinas*, who never was in the country which then went under the name of Scythia? Yea, the Romans had never any war with the Scythes; for albeit the Scythes heard of the Roman arms, yet they never felt them: beſides, what ſenſe had it been in Florus to ſay unto Adrian, 'That he would not be Cæſar, to walk in Britany, and endure the morning hoar 'froſts of Scythia?' For although the Romans heard it ſaid, that Scythia was a cold country, yet they more perfectly knew Scotland to be cold, having been upon the place. Now it was very eaſy to thoſe who copied books of old, and hardly underſtood what they wrote, to change one letter for another, namely, when two letters are ſo like one another, as theſe two vowels υ, ο; for υ, not being initial or capital, was written formerly without the draught under it, which hath been written for diſtinction ſake, as we ſee it commonly now thus ꭒ. This change of theſe two vowels hath been found elſewhere than in this place of Florus, by the critics, in the ſame words; who ſeeing the name of the ſea upon the coaſt of Scotland written *Scythicum*, preſently mended it, and made it *Scoticum*. Then Eraſmus found the ſame fault in Jerome's Epiſtle to Cteſiphon, againſt Palladius, and his diſciple Cæleſtius, in theſe words, 'Britany and the Scots nations had not then known Moſes 'and the prophets.' Eraſmus finding *Scythicæ*, he changed it into *Scoticæ*.

Lucius Seneca, about an hundred years before Florus, that is, about forty years after Chriſt, in his ſatire upon the death of Claudius, makes mention of the Scots in the compound word *Scoto-Brigantes*, as followeth; 'He (*i. e.* Claudius) 'commanded the Britons beyond the known ſeas, and the blue *Scoto-Brigantes*, 'to ſubmit their necks to the Roman chains.' This word hath puzzled many of the critics how to read it, ſo that a right meaning or ſenſe might be had of

* Buchan. lib. i.

theſe lines, with the true meaſure of the verſe, ſome reading it one way, ſome another way; till at laſt, the learned Joſeph Scaliger corrected it, as you have it here, giving to theſe words a plain and eaſy ſenſe, and keeping the law of the verſes, againſt which all others did fail: and to this correction of Scaliger have many learned men ſubmitted; yet ſome, partly for envy aganſt the nation of whom it is here ſpoken, partly for vanity, will ſtand out againſt the truth, becauſe of the author of this correction, at whoſe great and moſt rare learning they are offended, as the former are, at any advantage that the nation whom theſe words doth concern may have. The Scots are called *Cerulæi*, or *Blue*, becauſe they uſed much blue in their garments; and ſo do the old Scots to this day; witneſs their plaids, whereof the beſt ſort ordinarily hath the ground blue; as alſo their blue caps.

Mamertin, in his Panegyric to Maximinian, tells us, That the Britons had war with the Scots and Picts before Julius Cæſar entered into the iſland. So by theſe teſtimonies you may ſee how injurious they are unto the Scots, that will not have their name known for many years, yea, ſome hundred years, after the entry of the Romans into the iſland.

The Romans having ſettled themſelves in the iſland, they divided the whole into two parts. Their part, or the ſouth part, they called *Britannia Major et Superior*; and their provincials went moſt commonly under the name of *Britones*, although ſometimes under the name of *Britanni*, but not ſo oft; and they were ſubdivided into ſeveral peoples. The other part of the iſland without the Roman province, that is, the northern part, was called *Britannia Minor et Inferior*: now all the inhabitants of the northern part, who were in continual bickerings and war with the Romans and their provincials, were called *Scoti*, ſometimes *Tranſmarins*, ſometimes *Foreigners*; and they did conſiſt of two chief peoples, *viz.* *Brigantes* and *Picti*; which both were ſubdivided into ſeveral leſſer peoples, of which we forbear to ſpeak at this time. So the name of *Scoti* was at firſt appellative, and given to more than to one people; but, in ſucceſs of time, appropriated to one *.

And this is not ſingular in this name, for the proper names of divers peoples at firſt hath been appellative, and thereafter appropriated to one alone: I will inſtance only in one, for brevity's ſake, which is this, The name *Franck*, or *French*, at firſt was common to all thoſe that ſtood out together for *franchiſe* and liberty againſt the Romans, about the Rhyne, and other parts of Germany; but at length it became peculiar unto one people, as we ſee it is at this day. Moreover, that the name of *Scoti* was appellative, and given to more than one people, you may clearly ſee, by the ordinary expreſſion of ancient writers in the plural number, thus, *Scotorum gentes*, *Scoticæ gentes*; when otherwiſe all men ordinarily, both by word and writing, have ever uſed, and to this day uſe, the ſingular number, ſpeaking of one people; as *gens*, not *gentes*; *populus*, not *populi*; nation, not nations.

As all the northern people of the main land, or continent, both in Europe and Aſia, went anciently under the name of *Scythæ*, witneſs Strabo, in theſe words, 'The 'ancients commonly called the northern people Scythes †;' and in another place he ſaith, 'The ancients did call by one name of Scythes all the known places towards

* Scaliger, Euſeb. Beda, Buchan. † Strabo, lib. xi.

' the north;' he means in the continent, or main land; ſo the northern people of Britany, which is another little world, were of old, and to this day are, called *Scoti*. The two names *Scytha* and *Scotus* ſignify one and the ſame thing, *viz.* an archer or bow-man; in Latin, *Arcuarius*; in Greek, Τοξότης. The ancient writers tell us, That the Scythes were much given to archery, and to hunting; ſo were anciently, and to this day are, the old Scots bow-men; in Hebrew, *Keſhut*, from *Keſhet*, bow. And ſo you have the ſignification of *Scytha* and *Scotus*, which are truly one and the ſame, with little change, more in Latin than in Greek; for the one is written Σκυθὴς, ſo at firſt the other was written Σκυθὸς, which afterwards they turned into Σκοτὸς. This is the true original of the name *Scotus*: it comes neither then from the fabulous *Scota*, neither from the fooliſhly-invented Σκοτὸς, darkneſs; for if the days be as long in ſummer as the nights are in winter, why ſhould the country be called *Scotia*, from Σκοτὸς, rather than *Photia*, from φῶς, light? Alſo, the Britain writers uſe one and the ſame word, when they ſpeak of Scyth and Scot, viz. *y Scot*; as likewiſe the Low German calleth them both *Schutten*: from the Hebrew *Keſhet*, we have the vulgar *Schut* and *Schot*.

Now this etymology of Scot, as it is true, ſo it is eaſy, by the tranſpoſition of a letter; *viz.* by putting *Koph* behind *Schin*, which is ordinary, not only in the derivation of words from one language into another, but alſo obvious in one and the ſame language, in common diſcourſe. Let this one example ſatisfy for all: To be ſhort, Is not one and the ſame word both written and pronounced, according to the writing *thirty* and *thrity*, in our vulgar tongue? as the names of Scyth and Scot do ſignify one thing? ſo the people, in many things, may be ſaid to be like one another? as for example, The Scythes in the continent generally were of two kinds, *viz.* European and Aſiatic: ſo the Scots in Britany were of two ſorts in general, *viz.* the *Brigantes* and the *Picti*. Next, the Scythes did not till the ground, but, feeding cattle and ſheep, had a cuſtom to remove from one place, or ſolitude, to another: of old, ſo did all the Scots; and to this day the ancient or *priſci* Scots do. The Scythes did live much upon milk, and ſo do our old Scots. The Scythes, not knowing the uſe of riches, did not deſire them; and ſo it is with many of our old Scots. The Scythes were never vanquiſhed by foreigners; ſo the Scots were never utterly overthrown, although they have ſuffered very much by their enemies at ſeveral times. The Scythes were hard for toiling and war; ſo are our Scots, as is known to all, *&c.*

We have ſaid, That the indwellers of the north part of the iſland were named *Scoti*; and that by a general diviſion they were of two kinds, *Brigantes* and *Picti*: now, we muſt enquire who are *Brigantes*, and who *Picti*, where they both lived, and from whence they came. And to begin at *Picti*, they inhabited the eaſt ſide of *Britannia Minor*, which is the beſt; and, for the moſt part, they were of the ancient native Britons, of whom, ſundry of old, before the entry of the Romans into the iſland, had drawn themſelves northward, to have more elbow-room for their courſe of life, which was to feed cattle, and to hunt, removing from one place to another, whereunto largeneſs of bounds is required. Then others of the old Britons, flying from the tyranny of the Romans, upon grievance, went from time to time northward, beyond the limits of the empire, to their ancient com-patriots.

Next came in to theſe North Britons, at divers times, ſeveral colonies of northern people, from beyond ſea. Hence it is, that ſome late authors have written, That the inhabitants of the eaſt ſide of *Britannia Minor* came from Scandy. The North Britons having received theſe men come from beyond ſea into their ſociety, and being joined with them, made up a people, called, by the Romans and South Britons, *Picti*, becauſe they continued the cuſtom of painting their bodies, of old in uſe among many nations: which cuſtom the South Britons left off, with other rites, having now become provincials of the empire. The whole iſland was firſt called *Albion;* of which we ſhall ſpeak anon, God willing.

Then Βρεταννία, *Britannia*, which ſignifieth a woody country; for of old it was κατάδρυμος, *ſylvias obſita*, covered with woods, as Strabo terms it: and to this day we ſee that part of the country oppoſite to the continent full of woods and incloſures. We find in ancient authors, the peninſula of Italy, next Sicily, whereof Rhegium was the metropolis, called Βρετία, and Βρεταννία, for the ſame reaſon, becauſe it was κατάδρυμος. So Strabo names it alſo. The original of the word is *Barat*, which ſignifieth ſeveral kinds of trees, fir, aſh, cedar, &c.

The *Picti* had divers people under them, whereof the chief were *Caledonii;* by whoſe name ſometimes all the Picts were named, although *Caledonii* properly were thoſe of the Picts who dwelt among the leſſer hills; of which hills, ſome are called *Ocelli Montes*, in vulgar language, Ochel Hills. The country of the *Caledonii* did begin at Forth, and went northward beyond Tay; where their chief city was *Caledon*, now Dunkeld, by a tranſpoſition. In this country were the woods called, *Saltus Caledonius*, or *Sylvia Caledonia*. The rocky and hilly part of Ætolia, in Greece, was called by the ſame name; and there was there a town of this name, yea, and a foreſt, ſo much ſpoken of by the old poets: true it is, that the ſecond vowel is now and then changed, which makes no difference: for in words the conſonants are mainly regarded. Strabo, lib. x. calleth the one and the other country ἄπραν, καὶ πετρήεσσαν, hilly, and ſtony or rocky. The name cometh from *Galeætan*, which is as much as βουνὸς τραχὺς, *tumulus aſper*, a rough little hill.

On the north of the limits of the empire of this iſland, all people beſide the Picts were called *Brigantes*, which importeth as much as indwellers of mountains or high hills: ſo you have the *Brigantes* near the lake of Conſtance, indwelling mountains. On the Alps in Dauphine you have *Brigantium Brianſon*, the higheſt town in Europe. The *Brigantes* of Spain, as thoſe of Ireland, of old did inhabit mountains; and ſo did our *Brigantes* in this iſland mainly keep upon the mountains. The name cometh from *Briga*, *Brica*, or *Bria*, as it is differently written: it ſignifieth a high place, or mountain. Our vulgar hath interpreted it Brae; hence we haply call our *Brigantes* Brae-men, whom we call otherwiſe Highlanders, or Highlandmen. Strabo tells us, that *Bria*, among the Thracians, doth ſignify a town or city. And ſo the word *Bria* muſt needs come from the Hebrew *Bira*, town or palace, by the tranſpoſition of a letter; which is ordinary in the derivation of words, as we have ſaid a little before. Here, for further proof of the tranſpoſition of a letter, in a derivative word, take this example only, Dunbarton for *Dumbriton*.

Cauſabon, in his notes upon Strabo, tells us, from Heſychius, That *Bria* ſignifieth a village or town upon a hill: ſo *Bria* ſignifieth not ſimply a town or village,

but ſuch an one as is built upon a hill. And truly, in the moſt ancient times, towns or villages were, for the moſt part, built upon high places; as any man, that hath taken pains to remark, either by hiſtories, or by conſidering the places he may have ſeen, knoweth. So then *Brigantes* are men inhabiting the hills, or having their towns, cities, villages, upon the hills. Yea, in old times, when they had not yet fixed their abode certain, they were wont to remove from hill to hill, as we have ſaid formerly; and to this day ſome of our Highlanders do, within their own extent and limits.

The *Brigantes* in the continent, namely, were ſo given anciently to take away goods from their enemies, with a ſtrong hand, that, by ſucceſs of time, all thoſe that openly did rob and plunder, were called *Brigantes;* and the French has from hence derived the verb *brigander*, to rob or plunder. Next, there is a kind of armour called *Brigantine*, the uſe and manner whereof is borrowed from the *Brigantes:* it is like a mail coat. Laſtly, there is a kind of ſhip uſed at the ſea, called *Brigantine*, of the middle ſize, as being moſt proper for war at ſea. Thus much for the name of *Brigantes*.

The *Brigantes* of this iſland came hither from Ireland, at ſeveral times, and upon ſeveral occaſions. The *Brigantes* in Ireland, by Ptolomy, are placed well ſouthward: but thoſe that are come after Ptolomy, I mean thoſe of nearer antiquity, have placed them more northerly by many miles, as may eaſily be ſeen, by looking upon Ptolomy's maps, and Ortelius's maps of the geography of the ancients. So you ſee that the *Brigantes*, at their firſt coming to Ireland from Spain (for thence they came, with many other inhabitants of that iſland), dwelt in the ſouth parts, but by degrees drew northward, for convenience to their wandering courſe of life, in keeping cattle and hunting, and for freedom from the trouble of too near neighbours: they went, by ſucceſs of time, ſo far north, till at length having come to the part next to Britany, they came hither, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the little iſlands and hills next unto Ireland; and finding themſelves fitted in this new found land for their purpoſe, according to their mind, they made their abode there, and drew daily more and more company unto them, till at length they made up a great body of people in Britany, and by little and little came all along the weſt ſide of Britany, keeping the hills, till they came to the river *Beliſana*, that is, Rhibet, in Lancaſhire, and from thence went ſtraight eaſtward, till they came to the mouth of *Abus*, now Humber.

The North Britons were glad to give them way, contenting themſelves with the eaſt ſide of *Britannia Minor* (which indeed was, and is the beſt), and were glad alſo to have them for a rampart againſt their enemies in the ſouth, or in *Majore Britannia*. The *Brigantes* were great enemies to the Romans, with whom they had divers bickerings: but at laſt they were compelled to go northward, and were hemmed in by the wall built by the Romans, betwixt the *Fluvius Tina*, now Tyne, on the eaſt ſide, and *Itrina*, now Eden in Cumberland, on the weſt ſide. Although they left the country on the ſouth of this wall, yet the Romans continued there the names of *Brigantes*; yea, ſome of the *Brigantes*, allured by the bounty of the ſoil, did chuſe rather to ſubmit to the Roman yoke than change their abode, although it was with thraldom. Then, after various encounters with the Romans, they were yet conſtrained to yield more ground unto the Romans, who hedged in both them

and the Picts northward with a wall, betwixt *Bodotria* or Forth, and *Glotta* or Clyde. At laſt the Romans, by cunning, raiſed jealouſies betwixt the *Brigantes* and Picts, and ſo not only withdrew the Picts from the friendſhip of the *Brigantes*, but made them join with them to overthrow the *Brigantes*; and, taking occaſion of the *Brigantes*'s domeſtic troubles, fight with them; yea, at length, after a bloody well-fought battle, defeat them, and give the beſt of their lands they poſſeſſed to the Picts, for their reward. After this, the *Brigantes* were conſtrained, for the moſt part (I mean of the better ſort), to retire thence, whereof ſome went to the next iſles; ſome returned to Ireland, to their ancient *Patriæ*; and ſome went to the north countries beyond ſeas; and ſo they were for a time diſtreſſed, and in exile, till, after divers attempts, they were reſtored again under the conduct of Fergus II. Here let us remember, that the whole iſland of Britany was firſt named Albion, from *Albe*, or *Alpe*, which ſignifieth hill, or high place. This word *Albe*, or *Alpe*, cometh from *Albus*, white; and this from the Hebrew *Laban*, *per metatheſin*, *Alban*, *Albus*, *et* Αλιφ in Greek, becauſe the high hills and mountains, yea in the hot countries, are frequently covered with ſnow, and ſo appear white; witneſs the high hills betwixt France and Italy, which, by reaſon of their highneſs above other mountains, are named particularly Alps. The iſland, when it had the name of *Britannia* given unto it, by little and little left off the old name of Albion, which continued in the north part of the iſland, on the north ſide of the limits of the empire; and ſo the whole country beneath the Humber was called; and Albion, in this ſecond ſenſe, in following times, was called *Britannia Minor*, as we have heard: but as the Romans did gain ground upon the indwellers of Albion, or *Britannia Minor*, beating them northward, they leſſened Albion, or *Britannia Minor*, ſo far, till they brought them to keep north of *Bodotria* or Forth, and *Glotta* or Clyde.

Laſt of all, the Romans having, by their cunning, divided the *Brigantes* and Picts, and having drawn the Picts on their ſide againſt the *Brigantes*, Albion was taken for that part of *Britannia Minor*, beyond Clyde and Forth, which did not belong to the Picts; that is, the north-weſt ſide of that hilly continent, with the hilly iſlands adjacent, where to this day dwell our Highlandmen, or Highlanders, who are the remnant of the ancient *Brigantes*. That the ancient name of a whole great country, as this iſland is, ſhould be kept in one corner, or a little portion thereof, may not ſeem ſtrange, I have thought fit to tell you, That you have the like in our neighbouring country, of old called Gaul, now France; where the ancient name of Gaul, among the vulgar, is only kept in a little country lying about Sens, of old *Sinones:* this little country is called *Pays Gaulois*, and is divided in *Haute et baſſe Gaule*. So it was judiciouſly ſaid by the hiſtoriographer, 'The name of the iſle Albion is 'derived from *Albe*, and remains in Scotland, as it were in its native ſoil *.'

Of *Albe*, or *Alpe*, ſignifying hill, or high place, you have the indwellers thereof ſometimes named *Albani*, as in Aſia, Dalmatia, Italy, and North *Britannia*, and their country *Albania;* ſometimes *Albici*, *Albigois* in Languedock, and their country *Albium*, or *Albi*, in vulgar language; ſometimes *Albini*, or *Alpini*, and *Albienſes*, as the indwellers of our Albion, who to this day call themſelves, as they have done of

* Buchan.

old, &c.; which name is one and the ſame with *Brigantes*. Here let us remark, That as the provincials or indwellers of *Britannia Superior*, ſubject to the Romans, are ordinarily called by the writers *Britones;* ſo the others, on the north ſide of the empire, have been called by the writers *Britanni*, *Peregrini*, *et Tranſmarini*, ſtrangers and beyond-ſea-men, as if they had been of another iſland. And truly, if it were not for the ſtrait betwixt the rivers afore-named, which did ſerve for a border unto them, they were in another iſland. Hence England is ſaid to be *inter quatuor maria*.

Ptolomeus, Tacitus, and Seneca, tell us, That the *Brigantes* inhabited Albion, which, when they wrote, was that part of the iſland beyond the Roman empire: therefore the *Brigantes* were then *Albini*, or *Albani*.

Moreover, the *Brigantes* about *Eboracum*, now York, were of the Scots, who came from Ireland, a great and mighty people.

John Fordon, in his *Scoti-Chronicon*, writes, That the Scots came ſo far ſouth as Humber, and poſſeſſed lands there. Alſo the Iſle of Man was for a long time under the crown of Scotland, which iſle is as far ſouth as the country about York, although it be weſtward, and in the ſea: and theſe were the *Brigantes* we now have ſpoken of. The *Brigantes*, at their firſt coming into Albion, came, as we have ſaid, without any certain or ſettled way of government; but, being grown to a conſiderable number or body, they ſent unto Ireland for Fergus I. to be their king, whoſe coming into Albion, with a new colony, is reckoned to be about the time of Alexander the Great; that is, about 300 years before the birth of Chriſt.

The *Brigantes*, alias *Albini*, for a certain time, by ſome have been called *Dalreudini* (although this name did not laſt long), from the king *Reuda*, who brought into Albion the ſecond remarkable colony from Ireland, after Fergus, about 180 years before Chriſt, that is, about 220 years after Fergus; and *Dale*, which ſignifieth country and province, as is known to this day. There is a certain place, in the weſt of Scotland, called to this very day Ridſdale.

We have heard, That the people on the north ſide of the Roman province, upon the eaſt ſide, were originally Britons, whence they were called *Britanni Picti*, or ſometimes *Britanni Caledonii*, from one of the chief people; ſometimes ſimply *Picti*, or *Caledonii*. Alſo we have heard, That the people on the north ſide of the province, weſtward, were come from Ireland, and called *Brigantes*, or *Albini;* yea, for a time *Dalreudini*. Likewiſe we have heard, That all the people on the north of the empire, by a general appellation, were called *Scoti*, where they were all ſpoken of together; but when they were ſpoken of apart, thoſe of the eaſt were called *Scoto-Britanni*, thoſe of the weſt were called *Scoto-Brigantes*, as we have heard out of Seneca.

Moreover, by progreſs of time, the Iriſh came to go under the name of Scots, with thoſe of *Britannia Minor*, or Albion; who from them had help, ſupply, and recruits, in their war againſt the Roman and Briton provincials. This naming the Iriſh by the name of Scots began ſome hundred years after Chriſt; that is, towards the middle ages. And about that time Ireland was called by the name of *Scotia*, as Abrahamus Ortelius hath remarked in theſe words; 'I have obſerved Ireland to be 'named *Scotia*, by the writers of the middle age.' And ſo it hath been obſerved by the learned, That ancient authors did never name Ireland *Scotia;* as you may ſee by thoſe who have exactly reckoned up the old names of Ireland, out of the ancient

and claſſic authors*. So it was not ſaid much amiſs by one, That this naming of Ireland by the name of Scotland, was firſt about Beda's time, who lived in the beginning of the eighth age. Scaliger tells us, That the word Scot is no Iriſh word, but Britiſh; that it is not uſed in Ireland, but in *Britannia:* what is the original and ſignification of the word, we have heard before.

As the Iriſh began to be called Scots, ſo the Picts left off to be ſo named; now withdrawing themſelves from the *Brigantes*, or *Albini*, and ſtriking in with their enemies, the Iriſh by the writers were called *Scoti Hibernienſes*, and the Albins were called *Scoti Albienſes;* and Ireland was called *Scotia Major*, becauſe *Albania*, or Albion, in thoſe days, which they called *Scotia Minor*, was of leſs extent. But this name of Scots was not for any long time given to the Iriſh; ſo that at length the name of Scots became peculiar to the Albins or *Brigantes* alone.

Laſtly, The Albins having ſubdued the Picts, and made them no more a people, communicated unto the country, newly conquered by them, the name of *Scotia*, as one country with *Albinia*; and ſo all the indwellers there were called Scots with the Albins, as one people with them, and ſo they are to this day.

Now the Albins or *Brigantes*, being the only maſters of *Britannia Minor*, came to be called *Scoto-Britanni*, as the Picts had been of old; and are upon occaſion called ſo to this day, to diſtinguiſh them from the South Britons, of whom ſome are called *Cambro-Britanni*, the reſt *Anglo-Britanni*.

Although the ancient *Brigantes* were called by foreigners *Scoti*, namely, by the Briton provincials, and the Romans, yet they never named themſelves ſo; neither do the Highlanders to this day, in their own language, call themſelves Scots, but Albins: ſo Scaliger had juſt reaſon to ſay, That *Scoti* was not an Iriſh name: as the Hellenes did never name themſelves Greeks, although they were ſo commonly called by foreigners: and the Miſraims did not call themſelves Egyptians, although foreigners named them ſo.

The Scots now-a-days are divided into Highlandmen and Lowlandmen: the Highlanders are the true progeny of the ancient *Brigantes*, or Albins, for the moſt part, I ſay, becauſe ſome are come in later times from other countries. And to this day our Highlanders, as the *Brigantes* of old, make main uſe of their bows and arrows in their war, namely, when they are among the hills; ſo, when they praiſe one for a military man, they ſay he is a good bow-man, and brae-man; which two epithets were expreſſed by the ancients of one compound word, *Scoto-Brigantes*.

The Lowlandmen are made up of divers nations; for a few of them are a little remnant of the ancient Picts; another few are deſcended from the ancient Albins, who, leaving the hills, after the defeat of the Picts, did betake themſelves to the Low Country. Divers from the ſouth parts of Britany had fled thither from the tyranny of the Saxons, Danes, and Normans, as they did of old from the tyranny of the Romans. Then the Engliſh, being ſo oft in Scotland with their armies, have left divers in the country. Alſo marriages, and other private occaſions, have drawn ſundry men from England into Scotland. Laſtly, ſome of the Low Country people are come from beyond ſeas, as from France, Germany, Hungary, Flanders, Ireland, &c. of

* Videſis Hermolaum Barbarum in Plinium, et Vadianum, in Solinum.

late days: ſo all being reckoned, there are but few in the Low Country come of the old Albins, *Brigantes*, or old Picts.

The Low Countrymen call the Highlanders Iriſh, not ſo much for their ancient deſcent, as for their language, only differing from the Iriſh by dialect; and for their ways of living, not much unlike: yet one main difference is to be ſeen in the activity of the Scots, and the lazineſs of the Iriſh. On the other ſide, the Highlanders call the Low Countrymen Saxons, not ſo much for their deſcent (although many of them are come from the ſouthern people, as we have ſaid, who are a progeny of the Saxons), as for the language, which differeth only by dialect from the language of the ſouth, which acknowledgeth the Saxon language for its mother tongue; and for the way of living not ſo different, ſave that the Scots are harder bred, and conſequently more fitted for toiling, namely at war, than the Engliſh are: for we ſee the Engliſh account it painful to toil, and endure wars at the firſt going to the fields, by reaſon of their tender and ſoft breeding. The language of the South Britons of old was not much different from that of the Gauls, from whence they came into Albion; witneſs Tacitus, in Agricola's life. The Gauls then did ſpeak a corrupt Greek; for they are come of the Greeks. Beſides, many words of the old *Gaulois*, the phraſe and conſtruction, are to this day in the French language kept; which doth ſignify, that of old the Greek was ſpoken in Gaul, although groſsly corrupted by ignorant men, who could neither read nor write: yet in the ſouth parts of Gaul, near the Mediterranean ſea, wherein the Greek iſlands are, the Greek was ſpoken and taught, at Marſeilles namely. The ancient language of the Britons ſuffered a great change by the Romans, and other foreigners, who brought in among them their terms of law, of divine ſervice, of war, and of policy, with the names of divers commodities, and the names of divers trades.

When the Saxons and Danes came into the land, they confined the remnant of the ancient Britons unto the weſt country, with their language, ſuch as it was left unto them by the Romans, and other foreigners of old; and with themſelves planted the language which is ſpoken in all England now-a-days, with ſome alteration and change. The firſt notable change happened by the Normans, in whoſe language the law hath been adminiſtered, *&c.*: the next change is from the Latin, in which language divine ſervice hath been for many years officiated: then the Engliſh language hath borrowed from all neighbouring nations many words, without any great change; ſo that the Engliſh language is ſaid to be the quinteſſence of all neighbouring languages: from it the Scots tongue differs but in dialect, as we have ſaid. The language of the Highlanders, as hath been ſaid, is likewiſe Iriſh, which of old was a corrupt Greek alſo; for the Iriſh came into Ireland from the north parts of Spain, who ſpake a corrupt Greek, as thoſe of Gaul did; for the ancient indwellers of the north parts of Spain came alſo from the Greek iſlands: ſo that of old, the language of the ancient Britons was not altogether ſtrange unto the *Brigantes*, or Alpins: yea, in this time wherein we live, notwithſtanding the great changes that both the languages have ſuſtained, by time, and commerce of foreign nations, they have many words, which are one and the ſame, ſignifying the ſame thing.

Thus much I have written of the beginning, names, way of living, and languages, of Scotland, to make known to all, how unjuſt and injurious unto us are ſome mo-

dern antiquaries of our neighbouring countries; who firſt think they cannot prove their own people to be ſufficiently ancient, except they take from their neighbours their juſt right of good antiquity. Next, they conceive they cannot ſet forth fully enough the greatneſs of their own country, except they make their neighbours no people at all, or at leaſt hardly conſiderable. Thirdly, they imagine, that they cannot extol and magnify the glory of their country highly enough, unleſs they not only depreſs and extenuate their neighbour's name, but alſo attribute unto themſelves the advantages of their neighbours. But if theſe antiquaries had conſidered with the eyes of men, that there is enough to be ſaid for the credit of their own country, without wronging others, they had not ſtuffed their books with miſtaken and miſapplied allegations of good ancient authors, or with a collection of fabulous and lying monks tales, wherein ſome of them do fancy learning mainly to conſiſt. But of this enough.

For here I will only add this: As the Scots, although they are not of the greateſt people, yet they are truly one of the moſt ancient people in Europe; ſo I dare be bold to ſay, that God, to whoſe praiſe be it ſpoken, in his goodneſs towards them, hath raiſed up of them, and among them, ſo many excellent and virtuous men, in church and ſtate, in piety and learning, in policy and war, at home and abroad, of old and of late, that few nations, ancient or modern, although of greater bounds, can compare with them, fewer equal them, and hardly any at all go beyond them in this: for which we praiſe God, who of the beſt things hath given us the beſt meaſure; and ſay with the hiſtorian, 'That the land is more fertile of good men than of 'good fruits.'

But now, ſince all former walls of ſeparation and diviſion, both ancient and modern, civil and eccleſiaſtical, are in a great meaſure taken away by God's bleſſing; and ſince, in ſo many reſpects, the Scots and Engliſh are ſo near one to another, as we have ſaid; but, above all, ſince they both are members of the true church, and pure ſpouſe of Chriſt Jeſus, to the upholding of whoſe truth, and purging of it from uncleanneſs, they have newly bound themſelves together as one people, yea, as one man; let them then, in God's name, laying aſide all excuſes, envies, jealouſies, and by-ends, as feeling members of one and the ſame body, concur unanimouſly, with their mutual and beſt endeavours, to ſettle the true worſhip of God in all true purity, and quiet all things ſpeedily with wiſdom, to the good of the people, with due obedience to our lawful ſovereign under God, as we are taught by the law of God, the law of nature, the law of nations, and the municipal laws of our ſeveral countries. But to return to the church.

The Scots, although they received among them the light of the goſpel with the very firſt of the Gentiles, as we have ſaid, yet they had not the goſpel ſo univerſally profeſſed through the whole country, till towards the firſt years of the third age; that is, till Donald I. who not only profeſſed the faith of Chriſt himſelf, with his family, but did his beſt to caſt out idolatry wholly from his dominions, and to ſettle the miniſtry of the goſpel in every corner thereof. But this religious king could not bring to paſs this good deſign fully, being diverted by continual wars againſt the Romans the whole courſe of his life.

After the death of Donald, till toward the latter end of the third age, that is, to the reign of Crathilinth, this work of totally putting down idolatry, and ſettling the

goſpel every where in the country, by the negligence of the following princes, was at a ſtay. In the days of this king Crathilinth happened the ninth perſecution under Aurelius, and the tenth under Diocleſian; which gave occaſion to many Chriſtians, from ſeveral parts of the empire, but namely from the ſouth parts of Britany, now another time to flee into Scotland for refuge, as they had done before under Domitian. Among thoſe fugitives who did then repair into Scotland, for ſhelter from the general maſſacre, were many excellent men in piety and learning, whom the king Crathilinth not only kindly received, but alſo employed to aid and help him and his council, in the further ſettling of Chriſt's truth in his kingdom, and in the total extirpation of idolatry out of it; which was ſo much the harder work, becauſe of the Druides, the principal falſe prophets and idolatrous prieſts in thoſe days; who, not only by their ſubtile hypocriſy, and ſenſe-pleaſing divine ſervice, but alſo by a cunning forecaſt, having drawn into their hands the hearing and determining of civil affairs, had ſo gained upon the ſpirits of the poor and ſimple people, that they could not imagine how to be without them, and live. The reſolute care and diligence of king Crathilinth and his council, with the help of theſe pious and learned men, ſurpaſſeth all difficulties; and having put quite down the groves and altars under the oaks, and, in a word, all idol ſervice, eſtabliſhed the pure worſhip of the true God in every place of his dominions, and filled up the room of thoſe falſe prophets with godly and learned teachers of the people; which was done every where through the kingdom, but particularly in the iſlands, which thoſe pious men choſe for their principal abode, as being moſt fit for a retired life; and namely, in the Iſle of Man the king Crathilinth cauſed to build a church to the honour of our Saviour, which, in following times, by corruptions, was called, *Fanum Sodorenſe*, for *Soterenſe*; the original word is σωτηρ. Hence the town near the church was called *Sodora*, as Minſter in our vulgar language, and *Mouſtier* in French, ſignifying a town, in a ſecondary ſignification, near a church. Theſe godly men being ſettled as aforeſaid, and having withdrawn themſelves from the ſolicitude of worldly affairs, did wholly give themſelves to divine ſervice; that is, to inſtruct the ignorant, comfort the weak, adminiſter the ſacraments to the people, and to train up novices and diſciples to do the ſame ſervice in their due time. Theſe men, for their ſingle and retired life, were called μοναχοι, or monks, by abbreviation; and for their travelling altogether in God's worſhip and ſervice, were called *Colidei*, or Culdees.

Theſe Culdees were ſo given to the exerciſe of devotion, by meditating upon the myſteries of the kingdom of heaven, and by prayers, that the very cells whereinto they had incloſed and ſeparated themſelves from the world, after their death, were reputed ſo many temples or chapels ſet aſide for divine ſervice; hence, to this day, *Cella* is taken for a church among the ancient Scots, as you may ſee in theſe compounded names, *Celmarnoc*, Marnoc's church, *Celpatric*, Patrick's church *.

The Culdees thus ſettled, as we have ſeen, did chuſe out of themſelves ſome eminent men in piety, knowledge, and wiſdom, to overſee the reſt, and to keep them to the diſcharge of their duty towards the people, and towards the diſciples, with an orderly and diſcreet carriage of each one towards another, in their ſeveral

* Buchan.

ſocieties, and in their private. Theſe overſeers, or ſuperintendents, choſen of themſelves, and by themſelves, did diſcharge the duties of their function indifferently every where, throughout the whole kingdom, without reſtraining themſelves to any certain place, or lording over their brethren, or any part of the flock of Jeſus Chriſt, not attributing unto themſelves any particular diſtinct holy order from the reſt, belonging only to them, and to be only conferred by them. This way of inſtructing the people, and governing the church by Culdees, did continue for many years under God's mercy; the miniſtry of God's church, as yet, having not become a buſineſs of gain, and of wordly pomp and pride: ſo theſe Culdees, and overſeers of others, had no other emulation but of well-doing, nor ſtriving, but to advance true piety and godly learning. The overſeers, or ſuperintendents, of the Culdees, were commonly called by the writers who wrote of thoſe days, *Scotorum Epiſcopi*, without any definition of place, or pre-eminence of one above another. But to return to Crathilinth, who, till his dying day, which was about the year 312, did conſtantly continue to advance the kingdom of Chriſt, as likewiſe his ſucceſſor Fincormac, under whoſe days the goſpel did flouriſh in purity and in peace; he died about the year 358. After the death of Fincormac, both the church and ſtate of Scotland fell into great diſorder and troubles, by domeſtic diſſenſions aud factions for ſome years. The Roman lieutenant, Maximus, ſeeing the inteſtine troubles of Scotland, began to lay hold upon the occaſion. Firſt, he foments their diviſions within them: next, he not only withdraws, under fair promiſes, from the Scots their ancient allies the Picts, but alſo obtained help of the Picts to make war againſt the Scots, and ſo to defeat them; which he did effectuate indeed, in a battle fought with much bloodſhed on both ſides, at the water of Dunne, in Carrick, wherein the king Ewen was killed (this defeat happened about the year of Chriſt 380): the moſt part of the nobility, and numbers of the people who eſcaped, fled into the weſtern iſles, ſome into Ireland, and others to the northern parts of Germany or Scandia; ſome ſubmitted themſelves to the will and diſcretion of the conqueror, with the poor people that had not taken arms. Among thoſe that fled away, was Ethod the king's brother, who went with ſeveral of the nobility into Scandia, where he and they ſtaid ſeveral years, and from whence, now and then, they made ſecret attempts upon Scotland, with the help of their brethren, retired into the iſlands and Ireland; but to ſmall effect.

Now, as the face of the politic ſtate of the country was quite altered and undone, ſo the condition of the church alſo was much diſordered, and the Culdees were conſtrained to withdraw, and ſeek ſhelter up and down where they could find any; namely, they returned into the iſles, and into Ireland: at laſt, the Picts perceiving, by ſeveral attempts made by the exiled Scots to return home, and re-eſtabliſh their ſtate (although with little ſucceſs, as we have ſaid), that the Scots were fully reſolved to beſtir themſelves continually, till they were reſtored, and re-eſtabliſhed in their ancient inheritances; the Picts themſelves being moved with the groaning miſeries of their neighbouring poor people of Scotland, now under the Roman yoke, chiefly by their means; and taking to their conſideration, how fooliſhly they had ſuffered themſelves to be ſo far circumvented and deluded by the Romans, as to contribute to the ruin of their old friends, by whom mainly, in former times, they had with-

ſtood the common enemy, did not only comfort the poor oppreſſed remainder of the Scots at home, but alſo did invite theſe that were in exile to return, promiſing unto them the lands which they had of theirs, and to help them with all their ſtrength and counſel, in the recovery of their whole ſtate from the Roman tyrants.

The exiled Scots, under the conduct of Fergus II. ſon to Ethod, beyond ſea, gathered all they could, both of their own people, and of their friends, from the places of their exile, namely from Scandy, and from Ireland likewiſe, and came into Scotland; from whence they chaſed away the Romans, by ſtrong hand, with the help of the Picts, who made good their promiſe unto them, both in aſſiſting them in the action of war, and in reſtoring unto them the land they had been diſpoſſeſſed of by the Romans. The auxiliaries from Ireland ſtaid ſtill in Scotland, and had allowed unto them the country of Galloway for their reward; and, becauſe they were of the ancient *Brigantes* of Ireland, ſome of the late writers have ſaid, That the *Brigantes* of Albion had their abode in Galloway. No ſooner was Fergus crowned in the fatal chair, and ſettled in his kingdom, than he takes to his firſt care to reſtore the purity of divine ſervice, which had been eclipſed in theſe bounds for ſeveral years; and, to this effect, he calls ſome of the diſperſed Culdees of his country, whom he ſettles in their ancient abodes; namely in the Iſle of Iona, where he furniſhed them with a library of books, which he had gathered beyond ſea, as the ſtory tells us.

This return of Fergus into Scotland (ſon of Ethod, brother to the late Ewen) happened about the year 420. The regaining by the Scots of their native country, under the command of Fergus II. will not ſeem ſtrange unto thoſe who have read what they did under the command of William Wallace; and how, under the conduct of Robert Bruce, they recovered their liberty from the thraldom wherewith they were then oppreſſed.

Ewen, ſon to Fergus II. by the counſel and aid of his grandfather by his mother Graham, did not only keep his father's ancient kingdom, but did alſo enlarge the limits thereof, having paſſed the next wall of the Romans, which by Graham was pulled down in many places (hence it is called Graham's dyke): and he poſſeſſed himſelf, and the Picts, with all the lands lying an hundred miles ſouthward, that is, unto Tyne, and kept them till the entry of the Saxons into the iſland. Next, he took unto his care not only to ſeek out the Culdee fugitives, which had not yet returned, under his father, but alſo he ſent for others into the neighbouring country of Britain, and aſſigned unto them convenient places for their abode, with a moderate competency of means for their maintenance, that they ſhould be in no ways burdenſome to the people, now looking to have ſome reſpite from their preſſures and grievances. And ſuch was the happineſs of theſe days, that a very ſmall proportion did content the churchmen, ſetting wholly their minds to the conſcionable diſcharge of their calling, which they did, preaching God's word carefully, truly, and ſimply, inſtructing the people in the fear of God, and ſo gaining their ſouls to their Maker and Redeemer. By this their carriage, they gained very much reſpect among the people, who honoured them as fathers, inſtructors, and guiders to heaven, under God: the virtuous civil magiſtrate was the ſecondary cauſe of this good behaviour of churchmen, who by his authority kept them in order, and by his

own example taught them to diſcharge their duty faithfully, and live diſcreetly: but ſo ſoon as the civil magiſtrate left them to themſelves, then they, neglecting their calling, ſet their minds upon ambition and avarice, and conſequently upon all evil, thinking of nothing leſs than of that they were called to.

Here we are to obſerve, That as the Scots did conſtantly withſtand the ancient Romans, and kept themſelves ſo free of their yoke, that they neither acknowledged their authority, nor received any law from them, although it was not without great ſtruggling and hazard, yea, almoſt to their utter ruin, as it fell out under Ewen I. but after ſome few years, the Scots, under the conduct of Fergus II. and Ewen II. not only regained what they had loſt by the Romans and Picts, but alſo conquered a great deal of ground beyond their laſt limits, as we have newly ſaid; ſo the Scots, in church-affairs, for many years together, had nothing to do with the biſhop of Rome, neither made they acknowledgment unto him in any way, neither did they receive any laws from him; for as they had the goſpel planted among them, without his help, *viz.* by the diſciples of St. John the apoſtle, ſo they kept themſelves under the conſtitutions and canons ſettled by the ſame firſt planters of the goſpel amongſt them. But, by ſucceſs of time, they became to be infected, by their neighbouring nations, with the poiſon of the Pelagian hereſy. Celeſtine, then biſhop of Rome, takes occaſion to ſend unto the Britons, a learned man called Palladius, to help the orthodox Britons to convince the hereſy of Pelagius, then ſpreading itſelf amongſt them; which was done accordingly.

Ewen II. king of Scots, hearing how the Britons, by the help of Palladius, had repreſſed the Pelagianiſm, being moſt deſirous to purge the church of his kingdom alſo, where this Pelagian error had crept in, ſends for Palladius; who with ſmall difficulty aſſiſted the orthodox to diſabuſe thoſe who had been carried away by Pelagianiſm; and thereafter, in a very ſhort time, by ſubtile inſinuations, gained ſo far upon the well-meaning Scots, that they conſented to take new governors of their church, who were to have a degree and pre-eminency above their brethren, *viz.* the prelate biſhops. Hitherto the church of Scotland had been governed by monks and prieſts, without any ſuch dignity or pomp. I call their new governors Prelate biſhops, to diſtinguiſh them from their former overſeers and ſuperintendents of the Culdees, who are ſometimes by writers called Biſhops, as they were indeed; but they had no pre-eminence, or rank of dignity, above the reſt, neitherwere they of any diſtinct order from the reſt of their brethren. That at this time, by Palladius, were brought into Scotland theſe new kind of biſhops, appears by the relations of the authors following. Thus,

Palladius is thought to be the firſt who made biſhops (that is, of this new order) in Scotland *; for, till then, the churches were without biſhops, governed by monks; with leſs vanity truly, and outward pomp, but with greater ſimplicity and holineſs.

Before him, ſaith Hector Boece †, 'Palladius was the firſt of all that did bear the 'holy magiſtrature among the Scots, being made biſhop by the great pontiff or 'biſhop; for till then, by the ſuffrage of the people, the biſhops were made of the 'monks and Culdees.'

John Mair ſpeaks thus ‡, 'Before Palladius, by prieſts and monks, without 'biſhops, the Scots were inſtructed in the faith.'

* Buchan. lib. iii. † Lib. vii. cap. 28. ‡ Lib. ii. cap. 2.

John Leſlie ſaith this *, ‘ Among us (Scots) the biſhops were only deſigned by the ‘ ſuffrage of monks.’

John of Fordon, in his Scots Chronicle, ſaith †, ‘ Before the incoming of Palla- ‘ dius, the Scots had for teachers of the faith, and miniſters of the ſacraments, ‘ preſbyters only, or monks following the rites and cuſtoms of the primitive church.’ Mark the latter words; for according to this ſaying goes the judgment of the beſt divines, who write the truth without any reſpect: whoſe mind John Semeca de- clareth thus, ‘ In the firſt primitive church, the office of biſhops and prieſts was com- ‘ mon to the one and the other; and both the names were common, and the office ‘ common, to the one and the other: but in the ſecond primitive church, the names ‘ and offices began to be diſtinguiſhed.’

Baleus, one of the Briton writers, before Palladius, ‘ The Scots had their biſhops ‘ and miniſters, according to the miniſtry of the ſacred word, choſen by the ſuffrage ‘ of the people, after the cuſtom of thoſe of Aſia: but thoſe things did not pleaſe ‘ the Romans, who hated the Aſiatics.’

Baronius, in his Annals, ſaith this, ‘ The Scots got their firſt biſhop from Celeſ- ‘ tine pontiff Roman.’

Proſper, in his Chronicle, ‘ The pontiff Celeſtine ſendeth unto the Scots Palla- ‘ dius to be their biſhop.’

Item, ‘ Unto the Scots, then believing in Chriſt, Palladius is ordained by pope ‘ Celeſtine, and ſent thither the firſt biſhop.’

Beda, in the Hiſtory of England, ‘ Palladius was ſent firſt biſhop unto the Scots ‘ by Celeſtine, pontiff of the Roman church.’

By all theſe authorities we ſee, that the Scots, before Palladius, had no biſhops at all; or, at leaſt, their biſhops were not of any diſtinct order from other prieſts and Culdees, by whom they were ordained, and of whom they were choſen, as we have touched before; and ſo they were not as thoſe biſhops have been with us in theſe later times.

Next, let us obſerve, That the Scots biſhops, ſince Palladius, muſt acknowledge themſelves clients of the Roman Antichriſt, ſeeing of him they have their beginning and dependence: although in words, yea, in ſome part of doctrine, they ſeem to diſclaim him, yet in many parts they ſhew themſelves to be of his family, namely in government; for they, with him, ‘ lord over the inheritance of Chriſt,’ and, for- ſooth, take unto themſelves the name of Lords ſpiritual, as if they were ‘ lords of ‘ the ſpirits of men,’ contrary to God’s word, wherein we are taught, that the Father and Maker of ſpirits is the only Lord over them: or, at leaſt, ‘ lords of ſpiritual ‘ things,’ againſt the expreſs words of the apoſtles, who acknowledge themſelves to be only miniſters of the Spirit, and ſpiritual things, reputing it the greateſt honour in the world to be ſo; and Peter, who after he had ſtyled himſelf no more than co- preſbyter with the reſt of the preſbyters, he forbids them to exerciſe lordſhip over the flock of Chriſt. Then, ſince, in the firſt primitive church, the functions of biſhop, and paſtor, and preſbyter, were undiſtinguiſhed, and any one of the names indiffer- ently denoted the office, it muſt be confeſſed, that the change of government which

* Lib. iv. in Eugenio 2. † Lib. iii. cap. 8.

hath entered into the church, is not immediately from Chriſt and his apoſtles, neither by precept nor example, but contrary to Chriſt's will and intention declared in his word, and according to the inventions of men, ſerving the exorbitant affections of avarice, ambition, and luſt; to the ſatisfaction of which they have domineered over the flock of Chriſt like tyrants, devoured the ſubſtance thereof, like ravening wolves; yea, what is worſe, they have not only been negligent and careleſs to diſtribute unto the people the word of God, but alſo with their might and power have hindered and ſtopped others to make known unto God's people the pure light of his goſpel, the ordinary means of ſalvation; and conſequently, ſo far as in them lieth, by thus ſtarving the people of this heavenly food, ſend them to hell.

Such were thoſe ſpiritual lords; who as they have encroached upon the ſpiritual lordſhip of Chriſt Jeſus over his flock, and uſurped his authority, yea, and oppoſed it flatly, under the name of ſpiritual authority and juriſdiction; ſo have they boldly and cunningly invaded the prerogative of civil magiſtrates, by their courts and regalities within the dominions of princes where they live; yea, in ſundry places they uſurped the full authority of princes, and in others they flatly oppoſed it: and all this hath been done, not only of old, by thoſe who were called Romiſh biſhops, but alſo in our days by biſhops, who in ſome things make a ſhew that they diſclaim their father the Roman pontiff, whom in their heart they love and reſpect, as their actions do witneſs.

Although by Palladius, Prelacy was brought into the church of Scotland, and by that means the government was changed; and thereafter immediately, by degrees, other alterations crept into the church; yet thoſe times after Palladius, till the ſixth age, I mean till Auguſtine the monk, may be ſaid to be golden times, and pure, in regard of the following days, wherein churchmen, without any reſtraint, abandoned themſelves to ambition, avarice, and luſt, neglecting altogether their function; for, in theſe fourth and fifth ages, there were many godly and learned men, who were diligent in diſcharging the true duty of a paſtor, as Colomb, Libthac, Ethernan, *&c.* Then Kintogern, who by nickname was called Mongo; becauſe his maſter Servian, ſpeaking unto him, uſed ordinarily this expreſſion, *Monga*, which, in corrupt French, is as much as to ſay, 'My boy.'

Palladius having brought into the church of Scotland Hierarchy, as we have ſaid, takes to his next care to provide for the maintenance of this new degree and order, which was obtained without great difficulty, both of prince and people, under pretext of piety, but with bad ſucceſs, as by the woful experience of following times we have found.

Theſe new biſhop prelates, having pretty well ſettled their own condition for maintenance, which although it did exceed much the allowance of former ages to churchmen, yet it was very moderate in regard of the following times: next, they obtained great lands and revenues from prince and people; for other preſbyters and miniſters, who formerly had been very little burdenſome to the people, by their own induſtry and work of their hands, did provide for themſelves neceſſaries for the moſt part: by this means, the prelates tie the other preſbyters and miniſters to them; and ſecondarily bring in, by little and little, idleneſs, and ſlackneſs in diſcharging their calling; from whence are riſen all the evils we have ſince ſeen in the church. After the

beginning of the ſixth age, *viz.* 521 years, in this iſland began the old *Saturnalia* of Rome, which firſt was kept in honour of Saturn, but by the ſucceſſors of Julius Cæſar, it was ordained to be kept to the memory of him, and was called Julia, to be celebrated unto the honour of Chriſt's birth, in the latter end of December. The occaſion was this, Arthur, that renowned prince, wintering at York (whereof he newly had made himſelf maſter), with his nobles, bethought himſelf with them to paſs ſome days, in the dead of winter, in good cheer and mirth, which was done forthwith, as it is given out, for devotion to Chriſt, although that then true devotion was very little regarded; for as theſe men did exceed the Romans, during this feaſt, in riot and licentiouſneſs, ſo they continued the feaſt double the time that the Ethnick Romans were wont to keep it; for the Romans kept it only five days, but theſe kept it ten days with their new devotion; yea, thoſe of the richer ſort, in time following, have kept it fifteen days. This was the beginning of the profane idleneſs and riot of Chriſtmas, now kept twelve days with fooliſh exceſs and riot.

As theſe Chriſtmas-keepers did miſtake the way of honouring Chriſt's birth, by this kind of ſolemnity, ſo did they miſtake the time of his birth; for the moſt exact chronologers tell us, 'That Chriſt was born in October, and not in December.' The Scots retain ſtill the old name *Julia*, of this prepoſterous holy feaſt; for they call it corruptly *Yule*, although they never kept it of old, not being ſubject to the Romans. The French and Italians in this are nothing behind us; for, beſide that they ſhare with us in theſe *Saturnalia*, *Julia*, or Chriſtmas, they go beyond us in riot and fooleries in their *Bacchanalia*, which they call *Carnaval*, or *Mardigras*, before *Lent*; which in old time was kept to the honour of Bacchus. But the corruptions that were brought into our church from Rome, in the fourth and fifth age, were nothing to what was brought in the ſixth and ſeventh age; for then was religion turned upſide-down, and ſo changed into ſuperſtitious ceremonies and idolatry, authorized by falſe miracles, that there was hardly any trace of true religion left among men in theſe days.

Palladius was the firſt that acquainted us with Rome, as we have ſaid, and that brought in Prelacy among us, a little after the beginning of the fourth age; which he and his ſucceſſors by degrees brought unto a great height, both in worldly pomp and means (for the times), by the inconſiderate debonnairity of the prince, and ſimplicity of the people; but not without ſtruggling and reſiſtance by pious and wiſe men for many years. It was the work of the churchmen, ſet a-foot by Palladius ſo till the ſixth age, that is, upon the matter, 200 years, to raiſe themſelves to power, and authority, and means, whereunto they came inſenſibly; ſo much the rather, becauſe they were ſparing, for theſe days, to invert the main doctrine of the true religion. The people and magiſtrate ſeeing their religion remaining in its main, were, without great difficulty, drawn over to give way unto the greatneſs of the churchmen. But when theſe gallant fellows had wrought their own ends, they did ſhew plainly what was within their hearts: for then they declared themſelves to be enemies both to God and man, by their vicious lives, contrary to the laws of God and man; their falſe doctrine, contrary to God's word; their tyrannical domineering over the people, and withdrawing themſelves from due obedience unto the lawful magiſtrate.

In a word, by directly oppoſing God, abuſing men to their utter ruin of ſoul and body, and ſetting up their own inventions for the laws of God and men, they were bringing this height of iniquity to paſs, about the matter of 200 years likewiſe, *viz.* the ſixth and ſeventh age. Although the workers of iniquity did at laſt bring their miſchievous deſign to an end, by the permiſſion of God, irritated againſt men for their ſins, who, not adhering unto him, were abandoned, ſo that they became a prey unto Satan and his inſtruments, to follow all iniquity; yet ſuch was the mercy of God towards men in theſe moſt corrupt times, that the devil and his inſtruments went not ſo clearly on with their wicked buſineſs, but that they had now and then, from time to time, remoras and lets in it, by thoſe whom God raiſed up to bear witneſs to his truth: and, in theſe days, ſundry of the Scots divines were very ſtout in the keeping of the ancient tenets and rites, which they had received from their firſt apoſtles, diſciples to St. John, according to the church of the Eaſt; witneſs the great ſtruggling they had about the keeping of Paſch or Eaſter-day; for, till then, the Scots had kept the day of Paſch upon the fourteenth day of the moon, whatſoever day of the week it happened on: the Romaniſts called thoſe that kept ſo this day, *Quartadecimani*, and condemned them as heretics; and they kept the day conſtantly upon the next Sunday following, and not upon a working-day; at laſt the Scots were conſtrained to yield in this, as in other rites, unto Rome. Colman, and ſeveral other Scotſmen, did ſo ſtoutly oppoſe the Romaniſts in the point of Eaſter-day, and in other tenets, that they choſe (it being given to their choice, either to ſubmit unto Rome, or to quit the ſettlings they had in the north of England) rather to loſe their benefices than to yield. So, ſtanding faſt to the cuſtoms of the Scots church, wherein they had been born and bred, they returned home to Scotland.

About the end of the ſeventh age, men from Scotland, given to ambition and avarice, went frequently to Rome for preferment in the church; and ſeeing it lay much that way then, they did their beſt to advance the deſign of the Romiſh party, wherein all the ſkill of worldly men was employed, both in Rome, and among the Scots of that party. Many men went to and fro, between Rome and Scotland, to bring the Scots to a full obedience unto Rome, and conformity; by name, there was one Boniface ſent from Rome to Scotland, a main agent for Rome in theſe affairs; but he was oppoſed openly by ſeveral of the Scots Culdees, or divines; namely, by Clemens and Sampſon, who told him freely, That he, and thoſe of his party, ſtudied to bring men to the ſubjection of the pope, and ſlavery of Rome, withdrawing them from obedience to Chriſt; and ſo, in plain terms, they reproached to him and to his aſſiſtants, That they were corrupters of Chriſt's doctrine, eſtabliſhing a ſovereignty in the biſhop of Rome, as the only ſucceſſor of the apoſtles, excluding other biſhops; that they uſed and commanded clerical tonſure; that they forbad prieſts marriage, extolling celibacy; that they cauſed prayers to be made for the dead, and erected images in the churches: to be ſhort, that they had introduced in the church many tenets, rites, and ceremonies, unknown to the ancient and pure times, yea, contrary to them: for the which, and the like, the ſaid Clemens, and thoſe that were conſtant to the truth with him, were excommunicated at Rome as heretics, as you have in the third volume of the Councils; although the true reaſons of their excommunication are not there ſet down.

In the eighth age, the poor people were ſo blindly enſlaved and intoxicated with the cup of Rome, that they thought it a truly holy martyrdom to ſuffer for the intereſt of Rome: yet, although moſt men had left God to worſhip the beaſt, in theſe days, God raiſed up ſundry great lights in our church, as, Alcuin, Rabanus Maurus his diſciple, John Scot, and Claudius Clemens. In this we ſhall remark the conſtant goodneſs of God towards his people, who made his light to ſhine, in ſome meaſure, through the greateſt and thickeſt darkneſs, by raiſing up theſe men, who did bear witneſs to the truth both by word and writing; ſo that God did not altogether leave off his people. The biſhop of Rome cauſed declare Alcuin (for his book of the Euchariſt), many years after his death, an heretic. So Rome perſecutes the ſaints of God, even after their death.

In the ninth age, both prince and people, by doleful experience, did find the idleneſs, pride, ambition, avarice, and riot of churchmen, occaſioned by the indulgence of prince and people; wherefore at Scoon, under king Conſtantine II. there was held a convention of eſtates, for reforming the diſorders in the church. In this aſſembly it was ordained, 'That churchmen ſhould reſide upon their charge; have no meddling 'with ſecular affairs; that they ſhould inſtruct the people diligently, and be good 'examples in their converſations; that they ſhould not keep hawks, hounds, and 'horſes, for their pleaſure; that they ſhould carry no weapons, nor be pleaders of civil 'cauſes; but live contented with their own proviſion:' in caſe of failing in the obſervance of theſe points, for the firſt time, they were to pay a pecuniary mulct or fine; for the ſecond, they were to be deprived of office and benefice. Thus you ſee, in theſe moſt blind and confuſed times, that reſolute princes and people did oppoſe manifeſtly the pope's omnipotence, and higheſt ſovereignty. In the latter part of the ſame age, king Gregory was moſt indulgent to the churchmen; he was ſo far from curbing and keeping them under, that he granted them many things they had not had before. Then, in a convention of eſtates holden at Forſane, it was ordained, 'That 'all churchmen ſhould be free of paying taxes and impoſt, from keeping watch, and 'going to warfare. *Item*, They ſhould be exempted from all temporal judicature. '*Item*, All matrimonial cauſes were given over to the judgment of churchmen; as 'alſo, teſtaments, legative actions, and all things depending upon ſimple faith and 'promiſe; likewiſe the right of tithes, with liberty to make laws, canons and con'ſtitutions: to try, without the aſſiſtance of the temporal judge, heretics, blaſphe'mers, perjured perſons, magicians, *&c.*' Laſtly, it was ordained, 'That all kings 'following, at their coronation, ſhould ſwear to maintain churchmen in theſe their 'liberties and privileges.'

In theſe days lived a learned man, called John Scot, ſirnamed *Ærigiena*, becauſe he was born in the town of Air: he publiſhed a treatiſe, *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini in Sacramento*, wherein he maintained the opinion and doctrine of Bertram; whereby he highly offended the ſee of Rome.

In the tenth age, things grew worſe and worſe. The churchmen did ſo blind the king, *viz.* Conſtantine III. that they perſuaded him to quit the royal crown, and take the clerical tonſure of a monk, which he did at St. Andrews. There were ſome prieſts in theſe days, who did ſtrive to have liberty to take lawful wives, but in vain. A little thereafter, there were new diſputes for prieſts marriage: one Bernet,

a Scots biſhop, ſtood much for that cauſe in a national council. In this age, although that avarice and ambition had corrupted and perverted religion generally, yet there were conſtantly ſome godly men, who, albeit they could not openly ſtop and oppoſe the torrent of theſe times, given to idolatry and ſuperſtition, did inſtruct and teach the people, 'That Chriſt was the only propitiation for ſin; and that Chriſt's blood 'only did waſh us from the guilt of ſin.'

In the eleventh age, Malcom gave away a part of the crown lands among his nobles, for their good ſervice againſt the Danes; the nobles, in recompence thereof, did grant unto the crown the ward of theſe lands, with the benefit that was to ariſe by the marriage of the heir. Until the latter part of this age, the biſhops of Scotland, although they had raiſed their order unto great power and riches, yet they were not diſtinguiſhed in dioceſes; ſo till then indifferently, whereſoever they came, they did miniſtrate their function, without lording over any one particular place, or calling themſelves lords of any place. The dioceſes wherein Scotland was divided at firſt, were theſe, St. Andrews, Glaſgow, Murray, Caithneſs, Murthlac or Aberdeen. The biſhops of Rome taking upon them in theſe days to be above kings, and to confer in matters of honour upon kings, how, and where they pleaſed; and ſo, by this means, to put a farther tie of vaſſalage and ſubjection upon princes.

To this effect, in the year 1098, the pope ordained king Edgar to be anointed with external oil, by the biſhop of St. Andrews; a rite which, till that day, had not been in uſe among our kings: yet they were as much the anointed of the Lord before as they have been ſince, and as any other princes, who before them had this external anointing from the ſee of Rome; although the Romiſh writers make a greater eſteem of theſe kings, anointed by them, than of others, becauſe they conceive them to be more their own.

Here note by the way, That all princes whatſoever, in Scripture language, are ſaid to be the anointed of the Lord: and ſo Cyrus was named, although he was never anointed with external oil. Next, although the firſt kings of Iſrael were anointed, as Saul, David, and Solomon, with ſome of the following kings, namely, where there was any oppoſition feared of ſettling them in the royal throne, for further confirmation were anointed. Read diligently the hiſtory of the kings, and you ſhall not find that each one, or every one of them, was anointed externally, although they were all the anointed of the Lord. Next, you ſhall note, That the oil wherewith Samuel anointed Saul and David (and ſo the oil wherewith other kings were anointed), was not an oil conſecrated, as that wherewith the high prieſt, *&c.* was anointed, but common oil.

The reaſon of the Scripture phraſe, whereby all princes are ſaid to be anointed, is this; Anointing, in the firſt and moſt ancient times, was a ſign of ſetting apart a man for the office of a king: hence, by progreſs of time, any man that was ſet aſide by God's providence to execute the office of a king, whether he came thereunto by ſucceſſion, or by choice, or by conqueſt, was called, 'The anointed of the Lord,' becauſe they had the thing ſignified by God's appointment, notwithſtanding they wanted the ſign, *viz.* the ointment.

Further, we ſhall obſerve here, That not only thoſe whom God hath ſet aſide to be kings, are called the anointed of the Lord; but alſo the people whom he hath

ſet aſide, or apart, for a peculiar end: ſo the prophet ſpeaking of the people of Iſrael in God's name, uſeth this expreſſion, 'Touch not mine anointed; for their ſake I 'have reproved kings.'

Moreover note, That as the people ſet aſide by God are ſaid to be his anointed, ſo they are alſo called, 'A royal prieſthood, kings and prieſts.' Not that every one of the people is a king or a prieſt, theſe being particular callings, no more than they were anointed, but becauſe they are ſet aſide by God as prieſts, to offer daily unto him the ſacrifice of righteouſneſs, &c. And as kings were anointed with oil, to ſignify their ſetting aſide for their peculiar office, ſo every one of us, being anointed in baptiſm by the Holy Spirit, is ſet aſide to do juſtice, &c. as a king, in our ſeveral ſtations.

Thus much have I, in few words, ſpoken of the anointing of kings, and how the people are ſaid to be anointed, or to be prieſts and kings; becauſe, in the beginning of the fifteenth age, ſundry were condemned as heretics, for ſaying, 'That every 'man is a prieſt in ſome kind; and that the anointing of kings is now needleſs, being an invention of Rome, to ſubject princes unto it.

Some years after the beginning of the twelfth age, king David, beſide the biſhoprics formerly erected, did erect the biſhoprics of Roſs, Brechin, Dunkeld, and Dumblain. This debonnair prince was ſo profuſe towards churchmen, that he gave them a good part of the ancient patrimony of the crown: ſo he and his ſucceſſors were neceſſitated to lay taxes and impoſt upon the people, more than formerly, to the harm of the commonwealth. In this alſo he wronged the church; for the clergy being rich and powerful, left their function, and gave themſelves over to all riot and idleneſs. Till riches made churchmen lazy, this diſtinction in diſcharging the duty of a paſtor, or of the ſouls, *per ſe*, *aut per alium*, was unknown. While riches did not ſo abound in the church, churchmen kept more conſcience in the diſcharging of their places.

In the twelfth age, the Scots, although they had biſhops ever ſince Palladius, who for a long time did diſcharge the function indifferently in every place where they came to; and although they had of latter times diſtinguiſhed the limits of the bounds wherein they were to execute their calling by dioceſes; yet, in that age, I ſay, they were not come to that height, to have primates, metropolitans, and archbiſhops. Wherefore their neighbour, the archbiſhop of York, having gained the conſent of the pope, beſtirred himſelf very earneſtly, by the aſſiſtance of his king, to have the Scots biſhops acknowledge him for the metropolitan; whereunto the ſtouteſt of the Scots clergy would not conſent, but they would depend immediately upon the pope; and, to this effect, legates were ſent from Rome to Scotland, who being come hither, and ſeeing the reſolution of the Scots biſhops not to ſubmit to the archbiſhop of York, and finding there own benefit thereby, they did exempt and free the Scots clergy from the trouble of the archbiſhop of York. There was one Gilbert, biſhop of Caithneſs, a great ſtruggler for this buſineſs.

About the latter end of this age, ſundry prieſts were put from their office, becauſe they had taken orders upon Sunday. In that time there was a ſynod of divines in Perth, ſuch as they were, who decreed, 'That Sunday ſhould be kept holy 'from all work, from Saturday at mid-day, or twelve of the clock, till Monday 'morning.'

In the thirteenth age, few years after the beginning thereof, divers kinds of monks came into Scotland, formerly unknown to the land; as Dominicans, Franciſcans, Jacobins, and ſundry other of that ſort of locuſts. In this age theſe vermin of monks did ſo multiply every where, that at a council at Lyons it was decreed, 'That no 'more new orders of monks ſhould be admitted or tolerated.' But how the decree hath been kept, we ſee in our days.

Next, the monks of ſeveral kinds gave themſelves ſo to begging, that the people were much eaten up by them, and the portion of the poor was withdrawn; which occaſioned a great murmur among the commons. Upon this, there was a decree made then, 'That only the Minorites, Prædicants, Carmelites, and Hermites of St. 'Auguſtine, ſhould have liberty to beg:' whence they are called, The four mendicants; *Les quatre mendicants*.

Towards the end of this thirteenth age, fell out that great deſolation of the ſtate of Scotland, occaſioned by the controverſy for the ſucceſſion of the crown betwixt Baliol and Bruce; Baliol being conſtrained by the ſtates of Scotland, to break the promiſe he had made to Edward of England, to ſubject the crown of Scotland unto him, for judging the cauſe on his ſide. After much trouble and miſery of war, the ſtate of Scotland receives Robert Bruce, come of the ſecond branch, for king, recalling all the ſubjection and allegiance that they had given to Baliol; becauſe of his unworthineſs to reign; who, beſides unfitneſs to bear rule over a military people, had baſely condeſcended to inſlave that nation, to whom their liberty hath been ſo dear to this day, that for it, and the purity of true religion, which both by God's mercy they now enjoy, they have willingly and chearfully undergone all hazard of life and means; judging, that if they ſuffered theſe twins, Liberty and Religion, either to be infringed, or taken from them, they had nothing left them whereby they might be called men.

The remarkable hiſtory of king James I. of Scotland, fitteth this purpoſe well. The paſſage is this; King James I. going into France, was taken by the Engliſh, and kept priſoner by them for many years. In that time, the king of England goes to France, to make war; and, at his arrival there, he finds an army of Scots, ready to fight for the ally of Scotland, the French king, againſt the Engliſh. Upon this, the king of England moves king James, whom he had taken along with him, to write unto the Scots, and to charge them, upon their allegiance, not to draw their ſwords againſt the party where he, their king, was in perſon. The Scots anſwered, That they were ſent into France to aſſiſt their allies againſt the common enemy: as for him who wrote unto them, ſince he was a priſoner, and not a free man, they neither owed him allegiance, nor would they give him any, ſo long as he was in priſon; but if he were ſet at liberty, and were living among them, they would obey him according to the laws of the country, ſince the crown was ſettled upon him by the conſent of the ſtates; and ſo they did: for theſe kingdoms were governed in his name, without any communication with him, during the time of his impriſonment, which was very long; but when he went home, he was received and obeyed as king,

From this, princes may learn, that although people ſubmit themſelves to their government, the reſignation is not ſo full as to diveſt themſelves of all power in ſuch

a way, that the prince may diſpoſe of them as he thinks right or wrong, he ordinarily being miſled and kept captive by thoſe that are about him, who, for the moſt part, have no regard to the public good, nor to the credit and eſteem of him, to whom, in ſhew, they profeſs themſelves ſo addicted. The people have conſtantly reſerved even unto themſelves, by the conſent of all men, yea of the greateſt court paraſites, and ſycophants of princes, that the prince cannot, nor ought not, to inſlave or ſubject the people to any foreign power: and where princes, by puſillanimity and ill counſel, have eſſayed or attempted ſuch a thing, they have ſmarted for it; witneſs Baliol, who was not only excluded from the crown himſelf, but alſo his poſterity, and it was ſettled upon the next branch, *viz.* Robert Bruce, with his deſcendents. Then, ſince the people have reſerved this power in themſelves, to ſtop the prince from putting them under any foreign yoke or ſlavery, is it poſſible that they have not reſerved a power to right themſelves from domeſtic ſlavery and miſery? ſlavery being ever one and the ſame: for what is it to me by whom I ſuffer evil of one and the ſame kind and degree, whether it be by a neighbour or a ſtranger, a foreigner or a fellow citizen? yea, when I ſuffer by him who ſhould be my friend, and ſtand for the ſame freedom with me, my ſuffering is the greater.

To this purpoſe, you have a memorable paſſage of William the Norman; who although he had invaded England with the ſword, and by it had defeated him who did oppoſe him for the crown, with all his adherents and party, and, in conſequence of this victory, had committed many outrages with a ſtrong hand; yet the ſame William could never aſſure himſelf nor his poſterity of the allegiance of the people, till he had ſworn ſolemnly (according to the rite of the times) for himſelf and his, to govern according to the good and approved laws of the land, as the beſt kings before him had done.

Then the county of Kent, in its own name, and in name of the whole kingdom, declared, That neither Kent nor any other of the kingdom was conquered, but in a peaceable way did ſubmit to William the Norman, upon condition, and with proviſo, that all their liberties and free cuſtoms in uſe and practice ſhould be kept. If this was not accompliſhed afterwards, it was ſillineſs of the people that ſuffered themſelves to be abuſed, and the fault of miſled princes, that did not keep their promiſe, whereunto they were tied: and ſundry, for the breach of this promiſe, have had occaſion to repent when it hath been too late.

We ſhall add one example more, which is of Henry VIII. who, *anno* 1525, the ſeventeenth year of his reign, by the advice of his council, put a tax upon the people; which the people did not only refuſe to pay, but declared, that the thing was unjuſt and unlawful. Withal, wherever they met thoſe whom the king had employed for the gathering the money, they uſed them ſo kindly, that they did never come twice to one place for the payment of the tax. The king ſeeing this, he diſclaims the impoſition of the tax, and ſo do the nobles that convened at London, by his command, for that purpoſe, and lays all the fault upon ill counſel, namely, upon Wolſey. This was Henry conſtrained to do, notwithſtanding his reſoluteneſs againſt all foreign enemies, chiefly the pope, with his ſhavelings. By this inſtance, Henry acknowledged his power to be limited, and nowiſe arbitrary, againſt the doctrine of our now court paraſites.

Now, if the people have this much power in them, as to ſtand for their temporal liberty, both againſt foreign and domeſtic ſlavery, far more may they, and ought they, to defend the ſpiritual freedom, which Chriſt, having purchaſed with his blood, hath left them, as members of his church. But all this defence of liberty and religion ought to be made ſo, that it be without by-ends, ſiniſtrous reſpects, of hatred, malice, ambition, &c.: the only ſcope and main drift being, to have God's glory, in the light of his goſpel, ſettled and maintained, the people at quiet, the prince obeyed in God, and for God, *i. e.* according to the law of God, nature, nations, and the country or kingdom, ſo far as poſſibly can be. This being looked to carefully, there is no gap opened to rebellion, which is a fighting againſt God's ordinance, and not the juſt and neceſſary oppoſing of the abuſe and corrupting of the good ordinance of God.

But here a court ſlave will ſay, 'If things be ſo, there is no abſoluteneſs in monarchs 'and princes.'

To anſwer this, we muſt know what is to be meant by *abſolute*, or *abſoluteneſs*; whereof I find two main ſignifications. Firſt, *abſolute* ſignifieth perfect, and *abſoluteneſs* perfection: hence we have in Latin this expreſſion, *Perfectum eſt omnibus numeris abſolutum.* And in our vulgar language we ſay, 'A thing is abſolutely good, 'when it is perfectly good.' Next, *abſolute* ſignifieth free from tie or bond; which in Greek is απολελυμενον. Now, I ſay, if you take abſolute for perfect, that prince or magiſtrate is moſt abſolute that is moſt perfect, who governs moſt abſolutely, or moſt perfectly: the abſoluteneſs or perfection of government conſiſts in its conformity to the perfect rule which is written in the law of God, printed in the heart of man, received generally of all wiſe people, and in practice by all well-poliſhed commonwealths. Next, I ſay, if you take *abſolute* for free from tie or bond, that no prince or magiſtrate is free; for every magiſtrate or prince, as well as the private man, is bound to keep the law of God, of nature, &c. not only in particular things, for his own ſingular carriage, but alſo in public buſineſſes, for the good and ſociety of men, or of the people: for God hath given his law, and nature her dictates to all, to the obſervance of which all men are tied. Yea, further, they are not only bound in their ſeveral conditions, and tied to the performance thereof in their own perſons, but alſo are bound to further it with all their might, and take away all things that may let and ſtop this performance, or deter and withdraw men from it. Read Leviticus xix. 17. where every man is commanded to rebuke his neighbour, and ſtop him from ſinning. Read Deuteronomy xvii. 19, 20. where the king is commanded to have continually the copy of the law before him for his rule and guide.

What is in 1 Sam. viii. 10. is what a king is likely to do, and not what he ought or ſhould do: this is clear; for, in the place now named in Deuteronomy, the king is told what he ought to do; but that he is ſaid to do in Samuel, is contrary to the ordinance of God. Compare the places, and you will eaſily ſee this truth.

Next, a prince is ſaid to be abſolute, that is, not in any kind ſubaltern to another, and whoſe ſubjects acknowledge (under God) no other but him. Hence you may ſee, that the Popiſh kings and princes are not abſolute; for, beſide the great number of people within their dominions, who are immediate ſworn vaſſals to the pope,

I mean the ſhavelings, the prince himſelf takes oath at his reception, to uphold the over-ruling government of the pope, under the maſked name of ſpirituality; and the ſimple abuſed prince ſhall have for a reward, to make up all, a little holy oil to anoint him, and bear the title of *Moſt Chriſtian*, or *Catholic* prince. Further, I ſay, that the prince, who although in ſome things hath caſt off the yoke of this god upon earth (for ſo is the pope now and then called), but keeps up a part of his tyranny in the church of God over his people, wants and loſes ſo much of his abſoluteneſs, for this tie upon him from a foreign prince, the pope.

But here the pope ſheweth the height of his cunning: for he, ſeeing that princes are told frequently, that they are either abſolute, or ought to be ſuch, bethinks himſelf to keep up his ſupremacy above princes, as his vaſſals, and yet make the princes find an abſoluteneſs; which he acts by his emiſſaries, and their inferior inſtruments, for their own private ends, whom he makes inculcate in the ears of princes, That their abſoluteneſs conſiſteth in doing with the life, liberty, and fortunes, of the people, as ſeems good in their eyes, without any regard to the good of human ſociety, which is the true end of all government; but with this proviſo, That thoſe who have relation to him immediately be exempted: and theſe are not only his ſhavelings, who are openly obedient to his commands and orders, *&c.* but alſo thoſe, yea, in kingdoms where his name is in a kind rejected, who keep up his tyrannical laws and ordinances, as we have felt of late, namely, in theſe dominions wherein we live, to our woful experience; for they, to uphold and increaſe their power, have caſt both prince and people into great troubles, making the prince believe, that without them he hath no being

But to ſhew thee that princes may uſe the people committed to their charge like beaſts, and yet nevertheleſs are not abſolute, caſt thy eyes to the neighbouring countries only upon the duke of Savoy, and the duke of Florence; who although they be ſovereigns in a kind over the people, and deal moſt hardly with them, taking their lives and fortunes away at their pleaſure, yet they are not acknowledged to be abſolute princes; for they are vaſſals of the empire, and their chief titles are to be officers thereof: ſo the duke of Savoy is qualified Vicar of the Empire, *&c.*

If you conſider the prince, and people committed to his charge, as having relation one to another, I ſay, they are both bound one to another by duty; the prince firſt, bound to rule and govern according to the law of God, of nature, of nations, and municipal laws of the country, and the people is bound to obey him accordingly: but if the prince command any thing againſt theſe, his commands are not to be obeyed, God being only he to whoſe commands obedience is ſimply due, and to be given; but to men, only obedience with limitation, and, in external things, according to the laws ſo oft above named, at the leaſt not againſt them, or oppoſite to them.

The chimera, or rather ſoleciſm in reaſon of paſſive obedience, is not to be thought of among rational men, it being the invention of court paraſites, a mere nothing, or *non-ens;* for obedience conſiſteth in action, as all other virtues do, and not in ſuffering. Further, whoſoever, for not obeying a wicked command of a ſuperior, ſuffereth, if he can ſtop it or ſhun it, is an enemy to his own being, wherein he offends againſt nature; for you ſee every natural thing ſtriving to preſerve itſelf

againſt what annoyeth it; then he ſins againſt the order of God, who in vain hath ordained us ſo many lawful means for the preſervation of our being, if we ſuffer it to be deſtroyed, having power to help it.

But then, it will be demanded, What, is there no abſoluteneſs in human authority? I anſwer, Simple abſoluteneſs there is none under God; for all human authority is limited by the laws aforeſaid, and extends no farther than external things. Yet, comparatively, human authority is ſaid to be abſolute, when it is free from any foreign ſuperior power: ſo, when Henry VIII. having caſt off the Romiſh yoke, and putting down the vaſſalage of theſe his dominions unto the pope, cauſed divers books to be written of the abſolute empire or authority of the prince; although after freeing himſelf from the pope, he had not, nor did not pretend to have, any more abſolute power over the people than he had before; but albeit this prince did much for the regaining the abſolute authority of the crown again, in chaſing away the Romiſh pontiff, yet he did it not fully, in ſo far as he kept ſtill the Romiſh rites, and the Hierarchy or Prelacy, wherein the Romiſh fox lurking, hath kept himſelf in theſe countries unto this day; and now, having acted the fox long enough, he is acting the wolf, by deſtroying the people of God: if the ſucceſſors of king Henry had not kept in the Romiſh ſuperſtitious rites and Hierarchy, they and we all had had better times than we have all taſted of. Although king Henry, for his vices, be blameworthy of all poſterity, yet I muſt ſay, in all human appearance, that if the prelate biſhops, to whom he truſted the reforming of the abuſes of the church, had been as forward as he was willing, there had been a better reformation than was in his time: witneſs this inſtance, 'The people deſired freedom to read the Scripture, the then 'biſhops refuſed this unto the people.' Whereupon the king was petitioned in the name of the people; the king grants their petition: the biſhops hearing of the king's grant, thus limit it, not daring to deny it flatly, 'That all gentlemen ſhould have 'liberty to read the Scripture, ſince it was the king's pleaſure;' but for others, the permiſſion was ſtopt, as if yeomen and tradeſmen had not as much intereſt in God's word as gentlemen.

Then remark, all thoſe that were put to death for the teſtimony of the truth in the days of Henry VIII. were perſecuted by the biſhops of the time, although the blame lieth upon the prince; for albeit they had, in compliance to the king, renoûnced the pope by word of mouth, yet in effect they kept up his tyranny, by his doctrine (with ſmall alteration), his rites and ceremonies, canons and laws, Prelacy or Hierarchy maintained: and ſeeing the king ſo oppoſite to the pope, they condeſcended that the king ſhould bear the blaſphemous title of the pope, 'Head of the church,' although with reluctancy: and ſo it proved; for notwithſtanding all the ſtatutes that were made in favour of this title taken from the pope, and attributed to the king, the biſhops, with cunning and ſubtile proceedings, kept a-foot the power of the pope; and ſo ſoon as they ſaw the occaſion of queen Mary's reign, they freely and eaſily brought all back again to Rome, without maſk or limitation: and ever ſince, their ſucceſſors, although by the courſe of affairs they have been obliged to diſclaim the pope's authority, yea, and his doctrine in ſome meaſure, yet they, ever ſince, to this day, have expreſſed their inclinations, and done their endeavours, to return thither again, as we all know by doleful experience.

But here it may be demanded, What drift or policy can it be in the biſhops to deſire to be ſubject to Rome, rather than to their prince, and the laws of the country? The anſwer is, The propenſity of us all to follow evil rather than good, is known; namely, when the evil hath the maſk of worldly dignity, pomp, power, and pleaſure, which hinders it to be ſeen in its own colours. Now, the biſhops, and all the rabble of that corrupt clergy, are given to temporal, howſoever unlawful, advantages; as their ambition, avarice, and luſt, from the very beginning hath ſhewn: which exorbitant paſſions lead men headlong, without meaſure, when once way is given unto them, unleſs they meet with ſome let or ſtop, which is both leſſer and ſlower when it is a-far off, namely, when it cometh from one who is poſſeſſed with the ſame diſtempers, and himſelf of the ſame order of men with the delinquent; and ſo the biſhops of this iſland had rather have to do with the pope than with the prince.

Firſt, Becauſe of mutual infirmity, the pope proveth more indulgent than any prince.

Next, The prince is too near them, and ſo it is beſt for them to be ſo free of the prince's juriſdiction, that they may be able not only to neglect him, but alſo to oppoſe him. For all, let that example of the Canterbury prelate ſerve, who made the king for the time to hold the ſtirrup till he got upon his horſe. The ſtory is known.

I called a little before the title of 'Head of the church,' uſed by the pope, and then given to Henry, blaſphemous. To lay aſide all other things that may be alledged againſt this title, I ſhall only ſay this; The church is the ſpouſe of Chriſt; no ſpouſe can be ſaid to have any other head but him whoſe ſpouſe ſhe is: now, if the church ſhould acknowledge herſelf to be the ſpouſe of any other but of Chriſt, ſhe were a profeſſed whore and adultereſs. By no means then a prince is to be called, 'The head of the church:' for although the civil magiſtrate is obliged, according to his rank and place, to ſee the miniſters of the church do the work of the Lord truly, diligently, and carefully, and to make them do it according to the will of God declared in his word; yet, for all this, he is nothing but a ſervant, overſeer, or grieve, and not the head, which is a title belonging only to Chriſt: wherefore, princes or magiſtrates, that by ſlaviſh flatterers had this title given unto them at the firſt, had done well to reject it; as their ſucceſſors, who have followed, had done well likewiſe (according to God's will), if they had not ſuffered this title to have been continued unto them; namely, in the public prayers, where the time-ſerving inconſiderate miniſter prayeth, in the name of the church, for her head. If the head of the church needs to be prayed for, then the influences of the head upon the church will be but poor and weak, *&c.* But of this enough for this place.

Moreover, the flattering preachers, unrequired, in the public prayers, in the name of the church, call the prince, forſooth, 'The breath of our noſtrils,' taking for their ground the words of Jeremiah, in his Lamentations, chapter iv. verſe 20. which words, by the current of the ancients, and Septuagint, are to be underſtood of Chriſt Jeſus: true it is, the Rabbins have interpreted the words of one of the kings of Judah, *viz.* Joſias, or Zedekias; and hence ſome of the later expoſitors have explained theſe words, 'That firſt and literally, they may be applied to one of the kings of Judah, 'who were all figures of Chriſt to come; but principally and mainly, the words are 'to be underſtood of Chriſt Jeſus, by the conſent of all:' ſo to attribute theſe words

to any prince earthly, cannot be without offence to Chriſt; for who can be ſaid properly and well, 'To be the breath of our noſtrils,' but he who inſpireth into us life, that is GOD? In like manner, the inconſiderate miniſters of the goſpel, abuſing the text of Pſalm lxxx. which, by the conſent of all, is underſtood of Chriſt truly, and of David, as a figure of Chriſt to come, call the king, 'The Man of thy right 'hand:' this in nowiſe, without blaſphemy, can be attributed to any earthly prince; for none is ſaid to be a figure of Chriſt, as David, and his ſucceſſors were, by a particular diſpenſation. But if miſapplying and miſtaking texts of Scripture will do buſineſs, ſince magiſtrates are ſaid to be gods, you may as well call the prince god, as the Roman emperor was of old by ſome ſo called, and now the pope, by his court paraſites; which title of God, no prince will ſuffer to be given unto him: ſurely, as it is a very great crime, not to give due reſpect, reverence, and obedience, unto him whom God hath ſet over us for our good, according to his wiſe ordinance; ſo, on the other ſide, it is a heinous ſin to idolize the prince, making him a god, when he is but a weak and infirm man, ſervant of God. This ſecond fault is committed chiefly by the ſycophants and paraſites, who have no other church nor chapel but the court, and make petition to none but to the king, whom to pleaſe, they wholly ſtudy, that they may catch ſomewhat to ſatisfy their inordinate deſires. And the firſt is committed, namely, by their prelatical clergy, who withdraw from the prince a great part of his due, when they ſtudy to exempt themſelves from his obedience, and take from him any inſpection upon them, namely, concerning the diſcharge of their calling; although, by God's ordinance, it be a main part of his office, to ſee God ſerved and worſhipped, according to his will revealed in his ſacred word.

We have a little above ſeen, how that, by the flattery of ſome court preachers the cuſtom is brought into the church, to give unto the prince, not only ſwelling, but blaſphemous titles, in the public prayer that is made by the miniſter in the name of the church: but, although this be too great an evil, and requireth reformation, yet the flattery of ſome preachers hath not ſtaid here; for they, according to their cuſtom, having addicted themſelves to any one, whom they conceive may help them to preferment, ſtick not in the pulpit, where all relation ſhould be laid aſide, ſave that of a miniſter of God's word, to publiſh themſelves, yea, in their prayers, to be varlets to this man, or that man; and, what is worſe yet, in the prayer they call their maſters and lords virtuous, pious, and religious, when it is known to all, that, for the moſt part, they have little virtue, leſs piety, and no religion at all. To have pointed at theſe things, ſhall ſuffice for this place. If any man will be contentious for theſe practices, I anſwer him, That the well-reformed churches have no ſuch cuſtoms; for among the other abuſes, whereof they have been purged by the care and diligence of the faithful vine-dreſſers, under God's bleſſing, they have been pruned of this rotten bud of ſlaviſh flattery, as a corruption much oppoſite and contrary to the dignity and power of the goſpel. But let us return, after this long digreſſion.

In theſe days (that is, in the thirteenth age) lived Michael Scot, renowned for his learning in phyſic, aſtronomy, *&c.* He is mentioned by Picus Mirandula, and Cornelius Agrippa, very honourably. Alſo then lived Thomas Learmonth, commonly called the Rhymer, whoſe predictions are extant to this day: but no wiſe

man can make any thing of them, more than of Merlin's prophecies, who lived long before him; although ſundry have pleaſed their fancies with idle expoſitions of theſe two mens dreams.

Towards the end of this thirteenth age, the good Roman pontiff, Boniface VIII. making uſe of the heavy moans and complaints that ſome of Scotland, namely, of the biſhops, and other clergymen, with their clients, made againſt king Edward of England, who then did cruelly afflict the country, claims a right unto the crown of Scotland, as reſigned unto him by the ſtates: and upon this he writes an inſulting letter, and full of threatenings, unto Edward, that he was ſo impudent as to do any wrong to his vaſſals and ſubjects, where he had none truly ſave the biſhops and ſhavelings, with their clients. Whether the clergy did make this offer of ſubjection unto the pope, or whether he did falſly invent this lie, we cannot tell; but it is betwixt the pope and his ſhaved creatures: ſuch maſter, ſuch men. Let this teach us, how the popes are, and have been, and will be ever conſtantly ready watching at all occaſions, to draw all things to their croſs. But this owning of the Scots by the pope for his peculiar people did not laſt long; for in a very ſhort time thereafter, notwithſtanding the great ignorance of theſe days, the Scots ſhewed themſelves refractory to his holy orders; and he, in revenge, did thunder the fire-bolts of his excommunication againſt theſe rude fellows, putting them to the interdict, all to ſmall purpoſe; for by theſe bolts they were but very little daſhed.

We have heard, how that in former times the church of Scotland was ſerved by Culdees, and they ruled by their preſbyteries or elders, having a moderator, or prefect of themſelves, and of their own chuſing: this was for many years. When Palladius brought in Prelacy, a new holy order, into the church of Scotland, unknown to the preceding ages, it was with this reſtraint, that biſhops ſhould be choſen by the Culdees, and of them: but when biſhops had once gotten certain dioceſes and limits allotted unto them, they ſet up a new preſbytery of their own, or council of canons or regulars, which they called Chapters, by whom they intended to be choſen in following times. The Culdees ſeeing this, did oppoſe it with their main ſtrength, namely under king David, who did take up the buſineſs thus (being carried away by the prelates), that ſo many of the Culdees as would be canons, ſhould have hand in the chuſing of the biſhops. But the biſhops, to elude this ordinance of the prince, obtained a mandate from the pope, That no Culdee ſhould be received in the convent of canons, but by the conſent of the prior, and moſt part of the canons. By theſe means the Culdees were kept out, and deprived of their voice in chuſing of the biſhops.

In the time of the troubles of Baliol and Bruce, one William Cumming, prefect of the Culdees, thinks it fit to beſtir himſelf, to try what he could regain upon the canons; and ſo he oppoſeth the election by the canons of one William Lamberton to the ſee of St. Andrews: the buſineſs being come to a great height, by appeal was drawn to Rome, where, after much debate *pro forma*, time and money employed, the holy father, Boniface VIII. pronounces ſentence in favour of his dear clients the canons; and ſo Lamberton is made biſhop, and conſecrated by the pope Boniface. This fact turned ſo to the diſgrace of the Culdees, that after that time we read no more of them; ſo the name and order, by little and little, came to be quite extinguiſhed about the beginning of the thirteenth age.

In the beginning of the fourteenth age, the order of the templars was put down, whether for their juſt demerits, or for private ends and hatred, we leave it to the hiſtories of theſe times; pope Clement V. by his bull did caſhier them, the bull beginning thus, *Quanquam de jure non poſſumus, tamen pro plenitudine poteſtatis dictum ordinem reprobamus*, &c. After which all Chriſtian princes did cauſe them to be apprehended in their ſeveral dominions, and put them from their eſtates, which were then given to hoſpitallers and knights of St. John, after they had ſtood about two hundred years, inſtituted by Baldwin king of Jeruſalem, for defence of that city and temple, and the ſafe conveying of all ſuch as did travel thither: they are alſo called Red-friars, becauſe their gowns were red.

In this fourteenth age did flouriſh the great ſcholaſtic Johannes, called Scotus from his nation, and Dunſe from the place of his birth, for he was born in the town of Dunſe in the Merſe: he was a great oppoſer of Thomas of Aquin's doctrine: his ſectaries were called Scotiſts: his epitaph was thus,

Scotia me genuit, Anglia ſuſcepit,
Gallia edocuit, Germania tenet.

In the beginning of the fifteenth age, there was a great ſchiſm in the Romiſh church, pope againſt pope; yea, ſometimes there were three popes at one time fighting one againſt another, and excommunicating one another: this ſchiſm laſted about thirty years; and by the council of Conſtance, Martin the V. was made pope, and the reſt defeated. There was one John Fogo, a monk of Melroſe, who in Scotland defended the election of Martin by the council, againſt Benedict, *alias* Peter de Lune.

During this forenamed ſchiſm, many (taking occaſion, from the openneſs of the times) began boldy and freely to ſpeak againſt the bad doctrine, government, and lives of the churchmen; and that not only in private diſcourſe, but they alſo preached it publicly; as John Wickliff in England, John Hus and Jerome of Prague in Bohemia, who ſpoke before the people freely of the tyranny of the government of the clergy, the corruption of their doctrine, and wickedneſs of their lives. In thoſe days alſo there were ſome in Scotland, who feared not to make known to the people the truth of God, as namely, James Reſby and Paul Craw (among others), who ſuffered martyrdom for the truth.

About this time the Carthuſians were brought from England into Scotland, and had built unto them a monaſtery at Perth. In this age the univerſity of St. Andrews was ſet up, chiefly by the means of Henry Wardlaw biſhop of the place, that in ſome kind the ſchools of learning might not be altogether wanting, which formerly had flouriſhed for ſo long a time among the Culdees, and of later years had quite decayed: this good did Wardlaw. As his predeceſſor William Trail had built the caſtle of the ſame city, ſo his ſucceſſor James Kennedy built the old college likewiſe, called St. Salvator's College. Patrick Graham, that came after him, was the man that brought into Scotland the title of primate, metropolitan, and archbiſhop, by bull of Sixtus IV. From the firſt preaching of the goſpel, till Palladius, the church of Scotland was happy without biſhops. From Palladius to king Malcolm's days, the biſhops had nó diſtinct dioceſes, or pariſhes, from king Malcolm: till Patrick Graham they were without archbiſhops: this title and higher rank of authority did not ſucceed well with Graham; for the other biſhops could ſuffer no ſuperior-

under the pope, namely ſo near them, hitherto having rejected all the pretenſions of the archbiſhop of York. The inferior clergy alſo were afraid of the increaſe of the authority of the man whom they conceived auſtere and rigid; and ſo, by the faction of the corrupt court and diſordered clergy, poor Graham loſt the title he had procured, with the benefice, and one Shevez got his ſpoil; and what a ſweet bird Shevez was, the ſtories of that time do ſufficiently manifeſt.

Robert Blacater, ſeeing the biſhop of St. Andrews now a metropolitan and archbiſhop, obtains from Alexander VI. a bull, whereby he is made archbiſhop alſo, and he had under him the biſhops of Galloway, Argyle and Iſles; which new dignity angered the archbiſhop of St. Andrews, above the loſs of his vaſſals; for to have a companion, in equal dignity, ſet up beſide him, was hard; but he muſt digeſt the pill, ſince the pope will have it ſo.

Laſtly, David Beaton brought in the title of cardinal into Scotland, who hath been the only man that hath borne that title in this country; and how it did ſpeed with him, the following hiſtory will tell you.

As, in the beginning of the fifteenth age, the ſchiſm from the papacy opened many mens mouths through Chriſtendom, and buſied their pens to ſet forth the corruption of the church, and the vices of the clergy; even ſo, in the beginning of the ſixteenth age, thoſe that fought for the biſhoprick of St. Andrews, by their diſſenſion, gave occaſion to many in Scotland to ſpeak in public and private of the corruption of churchmens lives, government, and doctrine in Scotland; which coming to the pope's ears, preſently he ſent unto the king, James IV. a ſword, with the title of 'Protector of the Faith;' as if all Chriſtian princes were not in duty bound to protect the faith in Chriſt; but the faith which the pope would have the king to protect, was his erroneous doctrine, and tyrannical authority.

Some few years after this, Henry VIII. was declared by the pope, 'Defender of 'the Faith,' and had the ſword likewiſe. James IV. of Scotland being dead, now, by the corrupt courtiers, the young inconſiderate king James was made believe, that the conferring of this new title by the pope, did bring unto him a great pre-eminence; yea, the court ſycophants did not ſtick to call it, 'A new Royalty,' when, in effect, it was nothing elſe but a new note of his vaſſalage to Rome: and, by the accepting of the ſword, he did engage himſelf to make war for Rome: and ſo he did indeed; for ſundry men after this, during his ſhort reign, were perſecuted, and ſuffered death for the truth of Chriſt. This is the ſecond remarkable badge of ſlavery put upon our princes by the pope: the former was their anointing by him, as we have ſeen before.

Here be pleaſed with me to remark, That of all the biſhops of Scotland before the reformation, namely, ſince they were made lords of certain places, and had particular dioceſes, you cannot find one who had any care of the true charge of a paſtor; for their whole ſtudy was, to raiſe their power, and to increaſe their means for the upholding of their power: and, to effectuate this more eaſily and fully, they kept both prince and people in dark ignorance of God's will and word. But becauſe they muſt ſeem to do ſomewhat for the name-ſake of biſhops, they cauſed to build walls of temples and chapels; ſet up images and pictures richly dreſſed, to content the eyes; and brought into the church inſtruments of muſic, and artificial ſinging with great ſkill, to content the ear: alſo they brought in ſweet perfume and incenſe,

for the ſmell: ſo the moſt ſubtile ſenſes were thus ſatisfied. And, to make a ſhew to keep under the ſenſes which are more groſs, there muſt be ſome kind of faſting enjoined to the people, and chaſtneſs to churchmen; but how, and to what purpoſe, theſe two laſt have been kept, all men know. But kept or not, all is one; all theſe ordinances which the biſhops ſet up for religion, have been diſcovered, by God's mercy, to be not only without warrant in God's word, but plainly contrary to the ſame.

Of all the biſhops of Scotland in the time of reformation, there was only one or two who embraced the truth; all the reſt were either profeſſed perſecutors of God's children, and open enemies of the truth, or elſe they were given altogether ſo to ſatisfy their bellies and luſts, that they had no care of religion; witneſs George Crichton (in the name of all the reſt), biſhop of Dunkeld, who confeſſed truly, That he had lived a long time biſhop, and never knew any thing of the Old or New Teſtament.

Impiety, ignorance, and wickedneſs, came to ſuch a height among the churchmen of all ranks, degrees, and profeſſions, that God being, after ſo long patience, in a manner vexed with them, did ſtir up the people to chaſe them from the ſervice of his houſe, and to put others in their places, as you will ſee in the following hiſtory, whereunto I refer you. And I ſhall cloſe up this diſcourſe with one or two paſſages, worthy to be known; whereby you may ſee the learning of the church-doctors in thoſe days, and how they did employ the knowledge they had to the abuſe of the poor people.

The firſt paſſage is this: One Richard Marſhal, prior of the black-friars at Newcaſtle in England, preached in St. Andrews, That the pater-noſter ſhould be ſaid to God only, and not to the ſaints: the doctors of St. Andrews offended at it, made a gray-friar, called Totis, preach againſt Marſhal's tenet; which he did thus (taking his text out of Matthew, chap. v. 'Bleſſed are the poor in ſpirit'), ſeeing we ſay, Good-day, father, to any old man in the ſtreet, we may call a ſaint, Pater, who is older than any alive; and ſeeing they are in heaven, we may ſay to any of them, 'Our father which art in heaven;' and ſeeing they are holy, we may ſay to any of them, 'Hallowed be thy name;' and ſince they are in the kingdom of heaven, we may ſay, 'Thy kingdom come;' and ſeeing their will is God's will, we may ſay to any of them, 'Thy will be done:' but when the gray-friar, in his preaching, came to the fourth petition, 'Give us this day our daily bread,' he was hiſſed at, and ſo was conſtrained not only to leave off preaching, but alſo to leave the city for ſhame.

Yet, among the doctors then aſſembled, the diſpute continued about the Pater; for ſome would have it ſaid to God *formaliter*, and to the ſaints *materialiter;* others, to God *principaliter*, to the ſaints *minus principaliter;* others, *primario* to God, *ſecundario* to the ſaints; others would have it ſaid to God taking it *ſtrictè*, and to the ſaints taking it *latè*. Notwithſtanding all theſe diſtinctions, the doctors could not agree upon the buſineſs. A fellow called Tom, ſervant to the ſub-prior of St. Andrews, one day perceiving his maſter much troubled with ſome buſineſs, and as he conceived, weighty, ſaid to him, 'Sir, what is the matter of this your trouble?' The maſter anſwered, 'We cannot agree about the ſaying of the Pater.' The fellow replied, 'To whom ſhould it be ſaid but to God alone?' The maſter anſwers

again, 'What ſhall we do then with the ſaints?' The fellow replies, 'Give them 'Ave's and Credo's enough, that may ſuffice them, and too well too.' If this was good divinity, God knows.

The ſecond paſſage likewiſe is very well worth the knowing, and to this purpoſe very fit, which fell out about the ſame time with the former, that is, about the firſt beginning of the reformation. A little before the death of George Wiſhart, there came home from Rome a fellow charged with very many holy relicks, and new things of great virtue, as he gave out; but the things were not to be had, nor any benefit by the ſight or touching of them, without money. Now, upon a holy-day, in a village near Haddington, this Romiſh pedler did open his pack, to try if he could vend any of his wares among the country people. Among other commodities the good merchant did ſhew unto the people, there was a bell of much value, by reaſon of its great virtue; which he gave out to be this, That if any two parties had any difference, which could not otherwiſe be decided but by oath, the truth of the oath was to be made known by this bell. For (ſaid he) when any one ſweareth, laying his hand on this bell, if he ſwear true, he ſhall, after the oath ſworn, remove his hand eaſily from the bell, without any change to the bell; but, if he that ſweareth, having his hand upon the bell, ſweareth falſly, his hand will ſtick to the bell, and the bell will rive aſunder. Now, we muſt tell you, that already there was a rift in the bell, which this Romipete did affirm had happened by a falſe oath of one that had ſworn having his hand upon the bell. At this tale the poor ſimple people were aſtoniſhed, and fell in admiration; but among them was one farmer, who had ſome light of the truth of God; he drawing near the Romiſh merchant, deſired to have the bell in his hand, to ſee it nearly. This deſire was granted unto him. Then he takes the bell, and looks on it, expreſſing great admiration at firſt; but, immediately thereafter, he aſked at the Romipete, if he would ſuffer him to ſwear in the preſence of the company, having his hand upon the bell; for he had mind to take an oath upon a weighty buſineſs. The man could not refuſe him. Then ſaid the farmer to the company, 'Friends, before I ſwear, you ſee the rift that is already in 'the bell, and how big it is, and that I have nothing on my fingers to make them 'ſtick to the bell.' With this he ſheweth them his hand open; then laying his hand upon the bell, he did ſwear thus: 'I ſwear, in the preſence of the living God, and 'before theſe good people, that the pope of Rome is Antichriſt, and that all the 'rabble of his clergy, cardinals, archbiſhops, biſhops, prieſts, monks, with the reſt of 'the crew, are locuſts come from hell, to delude the people, and to withdraw them 'from God: moreover, I promiſe, they will return to hell.' Incontinent he lifted up his hand from the bell before them all, and ſaid, 'See, friends, that I have lifted 'up my hand freely from the bell, and look unto the rift in the bell, it is one and 'the ſame, without change; this ſheweth, according to the ſaying of this merchant, 'that I have ſworn truth.' Then this poor fellow went away, and never was more ſeen in Scotland, nor any other of his kind, who brought relicks, or other like toys from Rome.

Many more of this kind might be alledged, but let this ſuffice, to demonſtrate the miſerable ignorance from which God in his mercy hath delivered us; to whom be praiſe and glory, for this and all other benefits.

THE

AUTHOR's PREFACE.

TO THE GENTLE READER,

Grace and Peace from God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, with the perpetual Increaſe of the Holy Spirit.

IT is not unknown, Chriſtian reader, that the ſame cloud of ignorance that long has darkened many realms under this accurſed kingdom of that Roman Antichriſt, had alſo ſo overſpread this pure realm, that idolatry had been maintained, the blood of innocents hath been ſhed, and Chriſt Jeſus' eternal truth hath been abhorred, deteſted, and blaſphemed. But that ſame God that cauſeth light to ſhine out of darkneſs, in the multitude of his mercies, hath of long time opened the eyes of ſome even within this realm, to ſee the vanity of that which then was univerſally embraced for true religion, and has given unto them ſtrength to oppoſe themſelves unto the ſame. And now, into theſe our laſt and moſt corrupt days, has made his truth ſo to triumph amongſt us, that in deſpite of Satan, hypocriſy is diſcloſed, and the true worſhipping of God is manifeſted to all the inhabitants of this realm, whoſe eyes Satan blinds not, either by their filthy luſts, or elſe by ambition and inſatiable covetouſneſs, which make them repugn to the power of God working by his word. And becauſe we are not ignorant that divers reports were diſperſed of us the profeſſors of Jeſus Chriſt within this realm, in the beginning of our enterpriſe, order was taken, that all our proceedings ſhould be committed to regiſter, as that they were by ſuch as then painfully travelled both by tongue and pen; and ſo was collected a juſt volume (as after will appear), containing things done from the fifty-eighth year of God till the arrival of the queen's majeſty from France, with the which the collector and writer for that time was content, and never minded farther to have travelled in that kind of writing. But after invocation of the name of God, and after conſultation with ſome faithful, what by them was thought expedient to advance God's glory, and to edify this preſent generation, and the poſterity to come, it was concluded, that

faithful rehearſal ſhould be made of ſuch perſonages as God had made inſtruments of his glory, by oppoſing of themſelves to manifeſt abuſes, ſuperſtition, and idolatry. And albeit there be no great number, yet are they more than the collector would have looked for at the beginning, and therefore is the volume ſomewhat enlarged beyond his expectation: and yet in the beginning muſt we crave of all the gentle readers, not to look to us for ſuch an hiſtory as ſhall expreſs all things that have occurred within this realm, during the time of this terrible conflict that has been betwixt the ſaints of God, and thoſe bloody wolves who claim to themſelves the title of Clergy, and to have authority over the ſouls of men: for with the policy we intend to meddle no farther than it has religion mixed with it. And, therefore, albeit that many things which were done be omitted, yet if we invent no lies, we think ourſelves blameleſs in that behalf. Of another we muſt forewarn the diſcreet readers, which is, that they be not offended that the ſimple truth be ſpoken without partiality, for ſeeing that of men we neither hunt for reward, nor yet for vain glory, we little paſs by the approbation of ſuch as ſeldom judge well of God and of his works. Let not therefore the reader wonder, albeit that our ſtyle vary and ſpeak diverſely of men, according as they have declared themſelves ſometimes enemies and ſometimes friends, ſometimes fervent, ſometimes cool, ſometimes conſtant, ſometimes changeable, in the cauſe of God and of his holy religion; for in this our ſimplicity we ſuppoſe that the godly will eſpy our purpoſe, which is, that God may be praiſed for his mercies ſhewed, this preſent age may be admoniſhed to be thankful for God's benefits offered, and the poſterity to come may be inſtructed how wonderfully the light of Chriſt Jeſus hath prevailed againſt darkneſs in this laſt and moſt corrupt age.

BOOK FIRST.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REFORMATION OF RELIGION,

WITHIN THE REALM OF

SCOTLAND.

IN the records of Glaſgow is found mention of one whoſe name was James Reſby, an Engliſhman by birth, ſcholar to Wickliff; he was accuſed as an heretic, by one Laurence Lindors in Scotland, and burnt for having ſaid, That the pope was not the vicar of Chriſt, and that a man of wicked life was not to be acknowleged for pope. This happened *anno* 1422. Further our chronicles make mention, That in the days of king James I. about the year of God 1431, was deprehended in the univerſity of St. Andrews, one named Paul Craw, a Bohemian, who was accuſed of hereſy, before ſuch as were then called doctors of theology. His accuſation conſiſted principally, That he followed John Hus and Wickliff, in the opinion of the ſacrament; who denied that the ſubſtance of bread and wine were changed by virtue of any words, or that confeſſion ſhould be made to prieſts, or yet prayers to ſaints departed; while that God gave him grace to reſiſt them, and not to conſent to their impiety. He was commited to the ſecular judge (for our biſhops followed Pilate, who both did condemn, and alſo waſh his hands), who condemned him to the fire, in which he was conſumed, in the ſaid city of St. Andrews, about the time afore-written. And, to declare themſelves to be the generation of Satan, who from the beginning hath been an enemy to the truth, and he that deſireth the ſame to be hid from the knowledge of men, they put a ball of braſs in his mouth, to the end he ſhould not give confeſſion of his faith to the people, neither yet that they ſhould underſtand the defence which he had againſt their unjuſt accuſation and condemnation. Both theſe godly men, Reſby and Craw, ſuffered martyrdom for Chriſt's truth, by Henry Wardlaw biſhop of St. Andrews, whom the prelates place among their worthies.

But that their wicked practice did not greatly advance their kingdom of darkneſs, neither yet was it able utterly to extinguiſh the truth: for, albeit that in the days of king James II. and III. we find ſmall queſtion of religion moved within this realm; yet, in the time of king James IV. in the ſixth year of his reign, and in the twenty-ſecond of his age, which was in the year of God 1494, were ſummoned before the king and his great council, by Robert Blacater, called archbiſhop of Glaſgow, the number of thirty perſons remaining,

ſome in Kyle-Stewart, ſome in Kingkyle, and ſome in Cunningham; among whom were George Campbell of Ceſnock, Adam Reid of Barſkyning, John Campbell of Newmills, Andrew Schaw of Polkemac, Helen Chalmer lady Pokellie, Iſobel Chalmer lady Stairs.

Theſe were called the Lollards of Kyle: they were accuſed of the articles following, as we have received them out of the regiſter of Glaſgow:

I. That images are not to be had, *in the kirk*, nor to be worſhipped.

II. That the relicks of ſaints are not to be worſhipped.

III. That laws and ordinances of men vary from time to time, and that by the pope.

IV. That it is not lawful to fight for the faith, nor to defend the faith by the ſword, *if we be not driven to it by neceſſity*, which is above all law.

V. That Chriſt gave power to Peter, *as alſo to the other apoſtles*, and not to the pope his pretended ſucceſſor, to bind and looſe within the kirk.

VI. That Chriſt ordained no prieſts to conſecrate, as they do in the Romiſh church theſe many years.

VII. That after the conſecration in the maſs, there remains bread; and that there is not there the natural body of Chriſt.

VIII. That tithes ought not to be given to eccleſiaſtical men, as they were then called, *to wit*, wholly; *but a part to the poor, widow, or orphans, and other pious uſes.*

IX. That Chriſt at his coming hath taken away power from kings to judge. *This article we doubt not to be the venomous accuſation of the enemy, whoſe practice hath ever been to make the doctrine of Jeſus Chriſt ſuſpected by kings and rulers, as if God thereby would deprive them of their royal ſeats; while, on the contrary, nothing confirms the power of magiſtrates more than doth God's truth. But to the articles.*

X. That every faithful man or woman is a prieſt, *in that ſenſe that they are called by the apoſtle St. John*, Apoc. i. 6. and v. 10. and xx. 6.

XI. That the unction of kings ceaſed at the coming of Chriſt: *and truly it was but late ſince kings were anointed, namely in Scotland; for Edgar was the firſt anointed king in Scotland, about the year* 1100.

XII. That the pope is not the ſucceſſor of Peter, but where he ſaid, 'Go behind me, Satan.'

XIII. That the pope deceives the people by his bulls, and his indulgences.

XIV. That the maſs profiteth not the ſouls who in thoſe days are ſaid to be in purgatory.

XV. That the pope and the biſhops deceive the people by their pardons.

XVI. That indulgences ought not to be granted to fight againſt the Saracens.

XVII. That the pope exalts himſelf againſt God, and above God.

XVIII. That the pope cannot remit the pains of purgatory.

XIX. That the bleſſings of the biſhops (of *dumb dogs* they ſhould have been ſtyled) are of no value.

XX. That the excommunication of the kirk is not to be feared, *if there be no true cauſe for it.*

XXI. That in no cauſe it was lawful to ſwear, *to wit, idly, raſhly, and in vain.*

XXII. That prieſts may have wives, according to the conſtitution of the law, *and of the primitive Chriſtian church.*

XXIII. That true Chriſtians receive the body of Jeſus Chriſt every day by faith.

XXIV. That after matrimony is contracted and conſummated, the kirk may make no divorcement.

XXV. That excommunication binds not, *if unjuſt.*

XXVI. That the pope forgives not ſins, but only God.

XXVII. That faith ſhould not be given to miracles, *to ſuch namely as the Romiſh were then, and are to this day.*

XXVIII. That we ſhould not pray to the glorious Virgin Mary, but to God only, *ſince he only hears us, and can help us.*

XXIX. That we are no more bound to pray in the kirk than in other places.

XXX. That we are not bound to believe all that doctors of the kirk have written.

XXXI. That ſuch as worſhip the ſacrament in the kirk *(we ſuppoſe they meant the ſacrament of the altar)* commit idolatry.

XXXII. That the pope is the head of the kirk of Antichriſt.

XXXIII. That the pope and his miniſters are murderers of ſouls.

XXXIV. That they which are called princes and prelates in the church, are thieves and robbers.

By theſe articles, which God of his merciful providence cauſed the enemies of his truth to keep in their regiſters, may appear how mercifully God hath looked upon this realm, retaining within it ſome ſpark of his light, even in the time of greateſt darkneſs. Neither ought any man to wonder albeit that ſome things be obſcurely, and ſome

things doubtfully ſpoken; but rather ought all the faithful to magnify God's mercy, who, without public doctrine, gave ſo great light. And further, we ought to conſider, that ſeeing that the enemies of Jeſus Chriſt gathered the foreſaid articles, thereupon to accuſe the perſons aforeſaid, that they would deprave the meaning of God's ſervants, ſo far as they could; as we doubt not but they have done, in the heads of excommunication, ſwearing, and of matrimony; in the which it is no doubt but the ſervants of God did condemn the abuſe only, and not the right ordinance of God: for, who knows not that the excommunication in thoſe days was altogether abuſed; that ſwearing abounded, without puniſhment or remorſe of conſcience; and that divorcement was made, for ſuch cauſes as worldly men had invented? But to our hiſtory. Albeit that the accuſation of the biſhop and his complices was very grievous, yet God ſo aſſiſted his ſervants, partly by inclining the king's heart to gentleneſs (for divers of them were his great familiars), and partly by giving bold and godly anſwers to their accuſators, that the enemies in the end were fruſtrated of their purpoſe: for, while the biſhop, in mockage, ſaid to Adam Reid of Barſkyning, Reid, believe ye that God is in heaven? he anſwered, Not as I do the the ſacraments ſeven. Whereat the biſhop thinking to have triumphed, ſaid, Sir, lo, he denies that God is in heaven. Whereat the king wondering, ſaid, Adam Reid, what ſay ye? The other anſwered, Pleaſeth your majeſty to hear the end betwixt the churl and me: and therewith he turned to the biſhop, and ſaid, I neither think nor believe, as thou thinkeſt that God is in heaven; but I am moſt aſſured, that he is not only in heaven, but alſo in the earth: but thou and thy faction declare by your works, that either ye think there is no God at all, or elſe that he is ſo ſet up in heaven, that he regards not what is done upon the earth; for, if thou firmly believedſt that God were in heaven, thou ſhouldſt not make thyſelf check-mate to the king, and altogether forget the charge that Jeſus Chriſt, the Son of God, gave to his apoſtles, which was, To preach his goſpel, and not to play the proud prelates, as all the rabble of you do this day. And now, Sir, ſaid he to the king, judge ye, whether the biſhop or I believe beſt that God is in heaven. While the biſhop and his band could not well revenge themſelves, and while many taunts were given them in their teeth, the king, willing to put an end to further reaſoning, ſaid to the ſaid Adam Reid, Wilt thou burn thy bill? He anſwered, Sir, the biſhop and ye will. With theſe and the like ſcoffs, the biſhop and his band were ſo daſhed out of countenance, that the greateſt part of the accuſation was turned to laughter. After that diet, we find almoſt no queſtion for matters of religion the ſpace of near thirty years; for not long after, *viz.* in the year of God 1500, the ſaid biſhop Blacater departed this life, going in his ſuperſtitious devotion to Jeruſalem: unto whom ſucceeded Mr. James Beaton, ſon to the laird of Balfour in Fife, who was more careful of the world than he was to preach Chriſt, or yet to advance any religion, but for the faſhion only. And as he ſought the world, it fled him not; for it was well known, that at once he was archbiſhop of St. Andrews, abbot of Dunfermline, Aberbrothock, Kilwinning, and chancellor of Scotland: for, after the unhappy field of Flowden, in which periſhed king James IV. with the greateſt part of the nobility of the realm, the ſaid Beaton, with the reſt of the prelates, had the whole government of the realm, and by reaſon thereof, held and travelled to hold the truth of God in thraldom and bondage; till that it pleaſed God, of his great mercy, in the year of God 1527, to raiſe up his ſervant Mr. Patrick Hamilton, at whom our hiſtory doth begin: of whoſe progeny, life, and erudition, becauſe men of fame and renown have in divers works written, we omit all curious repetition; ſending ſuch as would know further of him than we write, to Francis Lambert, John Firth; and to that notable work lately ſet forth by John Fox an Engliſhman, of the Lives and Deaths of Martyrs within this Iſle, in this our age.

This ſervant of God, Mr. Patrick Hamilton, being in his youth provided to reaſonable honours and living (he was entitled Abbot of Fern), as one hating the world and the vanities thereof, left Scotland, and paſſed to the ſchools in Germany; for at that time the fame of the univerſity of Wittenberg was ſpread through all countries; where, by God's providence, he became familiar with thoſe lights and notable ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt of that time, Martin Luther, Philip Melanchthon, and the ſaid Francis Lambert. He did ſo grow and advance in godly knowledge, joined with fervency and integrity of life, that he was in admiration with many. The zeal of God's glory did ſo eat him up, that he could not long continue to remain there, but returned to his country, where the bright beams of the true light, which by God's grace was planted in his heart, began moſt abundantly to burſt forth, as well in public as in ſecret; for he

was (beſides his godly knowledge) well learned in philoſophy: he abhorred ſophiſtry, and wiſhed that the text of Ariſtotle ſhould have been better underſtood, and more uſed in the ſchools than then it was; for ſophiſtry had corrupted all, as well in divinity as in humanity. In ſhort proceſs of time, the fame of his reaſons and doctrine troubled the clergy, and came to the ears of biſhop James Beaton, of whom before we have made mention, who being a conjured enemy to Jeſus Chriſt, and one that long hath had the whole government of this realm, bare impatiently that any trouble ſhould be made to the kingdom of darkneſs, whereof within this realm he was the head; and therefore he ſo travelled with the ſaid Mr. Patrick, that he got him to St. Andrews, where, after the conference of divers days, he had his freedom and liberty. The ſaid biſhop, and his bloody butchers, called doctors, ſeemed to approve his doctrine, and to grant that many things craved reformation in the eccleſiaſtical government; and, amongſt the reſt, there was one that ſecretly conſented with him almoſt in all things, named friar Alexander Campbell, a man of good wit and learning, but yet corrupted by the world, as after we will hear. When the biſhops and clergy had fully underſtood the mind and judgment of the ſaid Mr. Patrick, and fearing that by him their kingdom ſhould be endamaged, they travelled with the king, who was then young, and altogether addicted to their commandment, that he ſhould paſs in pilgrimage to St. Dotheſs in Roſs, to the end that no interceſſion ſhould be made for the life of the innocent ſervant of God, who, ſuſpecting no ſuch cruelty as in their hearts was conceived, remained ſtill (a lamb amongſt the wolves), till that upon a night he was intercepted in his chamber, and by the biſhop's band was carried to the caſtle, where that night he was kept, and upon the morrow after brought forth to judgment: he was condemned to die by fire for the teſtimony of God's truth. The articles for which he ſuffered, were but of *Pilgrimage*, *Purgatory*, *Prayer to Saints*, and *for the Dead*, and ſuch trifles; albeit that matters of greater importance had been in queſtion, as his treatiſe, which in the end we have added, may witneſs. Now, that the condemnation of the ſaid Mr. Patrick ſhould have the greater authority, they cauſed the ſame to be ſubſcribed by all thoſe of any eſtimation that with them were preſent; and, to make their number great, they took the ſubſcription of children, if they were of the nobility; for the earl of Caſſils, which laſt died in France, then being but twelve or thirteen years of age, was compelled to ſubſcribe his death, as himſelf did confeſs. Immediately after dinner, the fire was prepared before the Old College, and he led to the place of execution; and yet men ſuppoſed that all was done but to give unto him terror, and to have cauſed him to have recanted, and become cowardly before theſe bloody beaſts: but God, for his own glory, for the comfort of his ſervant, and for manifeſtation of their beaſtly tyranny, had otherwiſe decreed; for he ſo ſtrengthened his faithful witneſs, that neither the love of life, nor yet the fear of that cruel death, could move him a jot to ſwerve from the truth once profeſſed. At the place of execution, he gave his ſervant, who had been his chamberlain for a long time, his gown, his coat, bonnet, and ſuch like garments, ſaying, Theſe will not profit in the fire, they will profit thee: after this, of me thou canſt receive no commodity, except the example of my death, which I pray thee keep in mind; for, albeit it be bitter to the fleſh, and fearful before men, yet it is the entrance unto eternal life, which none ſhall poſſeſs that denies Chriſt Jeſus before this wicked generation. The innocent ſervant of God being bound to the ſtake, in the midſt of ſome coals, timber, and other matter appointed for the fire, a train of powder was made, and ſet on fire, which gave to the bleſſed martyr of God a blaze, and ſcorched his left hand and that ſide of his face, but neither kindled the wood nor yet the coals; and ſo remained the appointed to death in torment, till that men ran to the caſtle again for more powder, and fire-wood more able to take fire, which at laſt being kindled, with a loud voice cried, 'Lord Jeſus, receive my ſpirit: how long ſhall 'darkneſs overwhelm this realm? and how long 'wilt thou ſuffer this tyranny of men?' The fire was ſlow, and therefore was his torment the more: but moſt of all was he grieved by certain wicked men, among whom Campbell the black-friar (of whom we ſpake before) was principal, who continually cried, 'Convert heretic, call upon our lady, 'ſay, *Salve regina*, &c.' To whom he anſwered, 'Depart and trouble me not, thou meſſenger of Sa-'tan.' But, while that the aforeſaid friar ſtill roared, one thing in great vehemence he ſaid unto him, 'Wicked man, thou knoweſt the contrary, and the 'contrary to me thou haſt confeſſed: I appeal thee 'before the tribunal-ſeat of Chriſt Jeſus.' After which, and other words, which could not well be underſtood nor marked, becauſe of the tumult and vehemency of the fire, this witneſs of Jeſus Chriſt got victory, after long ſufferance, the laſt of February, in the year of God 1527. The ſaid friar departed this

life within few days after, in what eſtate we refer to the manifeſtation of the general day; but it was plainly known, that he died in Glaſgow in a frenzy, and as one in deſpair.

Now, that all men may underſtand what was the ſingular erudition and godly knowledge of the ſaid Mr. Patrick Hamilton, we have inſerted this his little pithy work, containing his aſſertions and determinations, concerning the law, the office of the ſame; concerning faith, and the true fruits thereof; firſt by the ſaid Mr. Patrick collected in Latin, and after tranſlated into Engliſh.

Of the Law.

THE law is a doctrine that biddeth good, and forbiddeth evil, as the commandments here contained do ſpecify.

The Ten Commandments.

1. THOU ſhalt worſhip but one God. 2. Thou ſhalt make thee none image to worſhip it. 3. Thou ſhalt not ſwear by his name in vain. 4. Hold the Sabbath day holy. 5. Honour thy father and thy mother. 6. Thou ſhalt not kill. 7. Thou ſhalt not commit adultery. 8. Thou ſhalt not ſteal. 9. Thou ſhalt bear no falſe witneſs. 10. Thou ſhalt not deſire ought that belongeth to thy neighbour.

He that loveth God and his neighbour, keepeth all the commandments of God. 'Love the 'Lord thy God with all thine heart, with all thy 'ſoul, and with all thy mind: this is the firſt 'and great commandment. The ſecond is like 'unto this, Love thy neighbour as thyſelf. On 'theſe two commandments hang all the law and the 'prophets. He that loveth God, loveth his neighbour: if any man ſay, I love God, and yet hateth his neighbour, he is a liar: he that loveth 'not his brother whom he hath ſeen, how can he 'love God whom he hath not ſeen? He that loveth his neighbour as himſelf, keepeth the whole 'commandments of God. Whatſoever ye would 'that men ſhould do unto you, even ſo do unto 'them; for this is the law and the prophets. 'He that loveth his neighbour, fulfilleth the law: 'Thou ſhalt not commit adultery: Thou ſhalt not 'kill: Thou ſhalt not ſteal: Thou ſhalt not bear 'falſe witneſs againſt thy neighbour: Thou ſhalt 'not deſire, *and ſo forth.*' If there be any other commandment, all are comprehended under this ſaying, 'Love thy neighbour as thyſelf. He that 'loveth his neighbour, keepeth all the command-'ments of God,' Rom. xiii. Gal. v. 'He that lov-'eth God, loveth his neighbour, 1 John iv.' *Ergo*, He that loveth God, keepeth all his commandments. He that hath the faith, loveth God: 'My 'Father loveth you, becauſe ye love me, and be-'lieve that I came of God.' He that hath the faith, keepeth all the commandments of God; he that hath the faith, loveth God; and he that loveth God, keepeth all the commandments of God: *ergo*, He that hath faith, keepeth all the commandments of God. He that keepeth one commandment keepeth them all; for without faith it is impoſſible to keep any of the commandments of God; and he that hath faith, keepeth all the commandments of God: *ergo*, He that keepeth one commandment of God, keepeth them all. He that keepeth not all the commandments of God, he keepeth none of them; he that keepeth one of the commandments of God, he keepeth all: *ergo*, He that keepeth not all the commandments, he keepeth none of them. It is not in our power without grace to keep any of God's commandments; without grace it is impoſſible to keep one of God's commandments, and grace is not in our power: *ergo*, It is not in our power to keep any of the commandments of God. Even ſo may you reaſon concerning the Holy Ghoſt and faith. The law was given to ſhew us our ſin: 'By the law cometh the know-'ledge of ſin; I knew not what ſin meant, but 'through the law; I knew not what luſt had 'meant, except the law had ſaid, Thou ſhalt not 'luſt; without the law ſin was dead;' that is, it moved me not, neither wiſt I that it was ſin, which notwithſtanding was ſin, and forbidden by the law. The law biddeth us do that which is impoſſible for us; for it bids us keep all the commandments of God, and yet it is not in our power to keep any of them: *ergo*, It biddeth us do that which is impoſſible for us. Thou wilt ſay, wherefore doth God command us that which is impoſſible for us? I anſwer, To make thee know that thou art but evil, and that there is no remedy to ſave thee in thine own hand, and that thou mayeſt ſeek remedy at ſome other: for the law doth nothing but command thee.

Of the Goſpel.

THE goſpel is as much to ſay in our tongue, as good tidings, like as every one of theſe ſentences be.

Chriſt is the Saviour of the world.

Chriſt is our Saviour.

Chriſt died for us.
Chriſt died for our ſins.
Chriſt offered himſelf for us.
Chriſt bare our ſins upon his back.
Chriſt bought us with his blood.
Chriſt waſhed us with his blood.
Chriſt came into the world to ſave ſinners.
Chriſt came into this world to take away our ſins.
Chriſt was the price that was given for us, and for our ſins.
Chriſt was made debtor for our ſins.
Chriſt hath paid our debt, for he died for us.
Chriſt hath made ſatisfaction for us, and for our ſins.
Chriſt is our righteouſneſs.
Chriſt is our wiſdom.
Chriſt is our ſanctification.
Chriſt is our redemption.
Chriſt is our ſatisfaction.
Chriſt is our goodneſs.
Chriſt hath pacified the Father of heaven.
Chriſt is ours, and all his.
Chriſt hath delivered us from the law, from the devil, and hell.
The Father of heaven hath forgiven us for Chriſt's ſake.
Or any ſuch other as declare unto us the mercies of God.

The Nature of the Law, and of the Goſpel.

The law ſheweth us our ſin.
The law ſheweth us our condemnation.
The law is the word of ire.
The law is the word of deſpair.
The law is the word of diſpleaſure.
The goſpel ſheweth us a remedy for it.
The goſpel ſheweth us our redemption.
The goſpel is the word of grace.
The goſpel is the word of comfort.
The goſpel is the word of peace.

A Diſputation betwixt the Law and the Goſpel.

The law ſaith, pay thy debt.
The law ſaith, thou art a deſperate ſinner.
The law ſaith, thou ſhalt die.
The goſpel ſaith, Chriſt hath paid it.
The goſpel ſaith, thy ſins are forgiven thee.
The goſpel ſaith, be of good comfort, thou art ſaved.
The law ſaith, make amends for thy ſin.
The law ſaith, the Father of heaven is wroth with thee.
The law ſaith, where is thy righteouſneſs, goodneſs, and ſatisfaction?
The law ſaith, thou art bound and obliged unto me, the devil, and hell.
The goſpel ſaith, Chriſt hath made it for thee.
The goſpel ſaith, Chriſt hath pacified him with his blood.
The goſpel ſaith, Chriſt is thy righteouſneſs, goodneſs, and ſatisfaction.
The goſpel ſaith, Chriſt hath delivered thee from them all.

Of Faith.

Faith is to believe God, like as 'Abraham 'believed God, and it was counted to him for 'righteouſneſs.' He that believeth God, believeth his word. To believe in him, is to believe his word, and account it true that he ſpeaketh. He that believeth not God's word, believes not himſelf, he counteth him falſe, and a liar, and believeth not that he may and will fulfil his word; and ſo he denieth both the might of God and himſelf. Faith is the gift of God; every good thing is the gift of God; faith is good: *ergo*, Faith is the gift of God. The gift of God is not in our power; faith is the gift of God: *ergo*, Faith is not in our power. Without faith it is impoſſible to pleaſe God, all that cometh not of faith is ſin; for without faith can no man pleaſe God; beſides that, he that laketh faith, he truſteth not God; he that truſteth not God, truſteth not in his word; he that truſteth not in his word, holdeth him falſe and a liar; he that holdeth him falſe and a liar, he believeth not that he may do that he promiſeth, and ſo denieth he that he is God. O how can a man, being of this faſhion, pleaſe God! No manner of ways, yea, ſuppoſe he did all the works of man and angel.

All that is done in faith pleaſeth God: right is the word of God, and all his works in faith: Lord, thine eyes look to faith; that is as much to ſay, as, Lord, thou delighteſt in faith: God loveth him that believeth in him; how can they then diſpleaſe him? He who hath faith, is juſt and good, and a good tree bringeth forth good fruit: *ergo*, All that is done in faith, pleaſeth God. Moreover, he that hath faith, believeth God; he that believeth God, believeth his word; he that believeth his word, wotteth well that he is true and faithful, and cannot lie; but knoweth well that he both may and will fulfil his word: how can he then diſpleaſe him? for thou canſt do no greater honour unto God, than to count him true. Thou wilt then ſay, That theft, murder, adultery, and all vices pleaſe God:

no, verily, for they cannot be done in faith; for a good tree beareth good fruit. He that hath faith, wotteth well that he pleaſeth God, for all that is done in faith, pleaſeth God; faith is a ſureneſs: 'Faith is a ſure confidence of things which are 'hoped for, and a certainty of things which are 'not ſeen: the ſame Spirit certifieth our ſpirit, 'that we are the children of God.' Moreover, he that hath the faith, wotteth that God will fulfil his word: *ergo*, Faith is a ſureneſs.

A man is juſtified by Faith.

'ABRAHAM believed God, and it was imputed 'to him for righteouſneſs:' we ſuppoſe therefore that a man is juſtified (ſaith the apoſtle) without the works of the law. He that worketh not, but believeth in him that juſtifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted unto him for righteouſneſs. 'The 'juſt man liveth by faith,' Hab. ii. Rom. i. We know that a man that is juſtified, is not juſtified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jeſus Chriſt, and not by the deeds of the law.

Of the Faith of Chriſt.

THE faith of Chriſt is, to believe in him; that is, to believe his word, and to believe that he will help thee in all thy need, and deliver thee from all evil. Thou wilt aſk me, What word? I anſwer, The goſpel. He that believeth in Chriſt, ſhall be ſaved. He that believeth the Son, hath everlaſting life. 'Verily, verily, I ſay unto you, 'He that believeth in me, hath everlaſting life. 'This I write unto you, that believing in the name 'of the Son of God, ye may know that ye have 'eternal life. Thomas, becauſe thou haſt ſeen me, 'thou believeſt; but happy are they that have not 'ſeen, and yet believe in me.' All the prophets to him bear witneſs, That whoſoever believeth in him, ſhall have remiſſion of their ſins. 'What 'muſt I do that I may be ſaved?' the apoſtle anſwereth, 'Believe in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and 'thou ſhalt be ſaved.' If thou acknowledge with thy mouth that Jeſus is the Lord, and believe in thine heart, that God raiſed him up from the dead, thou ſhalt be ſaved. He that believeth not in Chriſt, ſhall be condemned. He that believeth not the Son, ſhall never ſee life, but the ire of God abideth upon him. The Holy Ghoſt ſhall reprove the world of ſin, 'becauſe,' ſaith Chriſt, 'they believe not in me.' They that believe in Jeſus Chriſt, are the ſons of God. Ye are all the ſons of God, becauſe ye believe in Jeſus Chriſt. He that believeth in Chriſt the Son of God, is ſafe. Peter ſaid, 'Thou art Chriſt, the Son of the living 'God.' Jeſus anſwered and ſaid unto him, 'Happy art thou, Simon the ſon of Jonas, for fleſh 'and blood hath not opened unto thee that, but 'my Father which is in heaven.' We have believed and known that thou art Chriſt, the Son of the Living God. I believe that thou art Chriſt, the Son of the Living God, which ſhould come into the world. Theſe things are written, that ye might believe that Jeſus Chriſt is the Son of God, and that in believing ye might have life. I believe that Jeſus is the Son of the Living God. He that believeth God, believeth the goſpel. He that believeth God, believeth his word, and the goſpel is his word: therefore he that believeth God, believeth his goſpel. As Chriſt is the Saviour of the world, Chriſt is our Saviour; Chriſt bought us with his blood; Chriſt waſhed us with his blood; Chriſt offered himſelf for us; Chriſt bare our ſins upon his back. He that believeth not the goſpel, believeth not God; he that believeth not God's word, believeth not himſelf; and the goſpel is God's word: *ergo*, He that believeth not the goſpel, believeth not God himſelf; and conſequently, they that believe not, as is above written, and ſuch other, believe not God. He that believeth the goſpel, ſhall be ſaved: 'Go ye into all the world, 'and preach the goſpel unto every creature; he 'that believeth, and is baptized, ſhall be ſaved; 'but he that believeth not, ſhall be condemned.'

A Compariſon betwixt Faith and Incredulity.

FAITH is the root of all good; maketh God and man friends; bringeth God and man together.

INCREDULITY is the root of all evil; maketh them deadly foes; bringeth them aſunder.

All that proceedeth from faith, pleaſeth God.

All that proceedeth from incredulity, diſpleaſeth God.

Faith only maketh a man good and righteous.

Incredulity maketh him unjuſt and evil.

Faith only maketh a man the member of Chriſt, the inheritor of heaven, the ſervant of God.

Faith ſheweth God to be a ſweet Father, holdeth ſtiff by the word of God, counteth God to be true; faith knoweth God, loveth God and his neighbour; faith only ſaveth; faith extolleth God and his works.

Incredulity maketh man a member of the devil, maketh him inheritor of hell, maketh him the ſer-

vant of the devil; incredulity maketh God a terrible judge, cauſeth man wander here and there, maketh him falſe and a liar, knoweth him not; incredulity loveth neither God nor neighbour; incredulity only condemneth; incredulity extolleth fleſh and her own deeds.

Of Hope.

HOPE is a truſty looking for of things that are promiſed to come unto us, as we hope the everlaſting joy which Chriſt hath promiſed unto all that believe in him. We ſhould put our hope and truſt in God only, and in no other thing. It is 'good to truſt in God, and not in man. He that 'truſteth in his own heart, he is a fool. It is good 'to truſt in God, and not in princes: they ſhall 'be like unto images that make them, and all that 'truſt in them. He that truſteth in his own 'thoughts doth ungodly: curſed be he that truſt-'eth in man. Bid the rich men of this world, 'that they truſt not in their unſtable riches, but 'that they truſt in the Living God: it is hard for 'them that truſt in money to enter into the king-'dom of God.' Moreover, we ſhould truſt in him only, that can help us; yea, we ſhould truſt in him only. Well is he that truſteth in God, and wo to them that truſt him not. Well is the man that truſteth in God, for God ſhall be his truſt: he that truſteth in him ſhall underſtand the truth. 'They ſhall all rejoice that truſt in thee, 'they ſhall ever be glad, and thou wilt defend 'them.'

Of Charity.

CHARITY is the love of thy neighbour. The rule of charity is, to do as thou wouldſt were done unto thee; for charity eſteemeth all alike, the rich and the poor, the friend and the foe, the thankful and unthankful, the kinſman and ſtranger.

A Compariſon betwixt Faith, Hope, and Charity.

FAITH cometh of the word of God, Hope cometh of faith, and charity ſpringeth of them both: faith believes the word, hope truſteth after that which is promiſed by the word, and charity doth good unto her neighbour, through the love that ſhe hath to God, and gladneſs that is within herſelf. Faith looketh to God and his word, hope looketh unto his gift and reward, charity looketh unto her neighbour's profit. Faith receiveth God, hope receiveth his reward, charity looketh to her neighbour with a glad heart, and that without any reſpect of reward. Faith pertaineth to God only, hope to his reward, and charity to her neighbour.

Of Good Works.

No manner of works make us righteous: we believe that a man ſhall be juſtified without works. No man is juſtified by the deeds of the law, but by the faith of Jeſus Chriſt; and we believe in Jeſus Chriſt, that we may be juſtified by the faith of Chriſt, and not by the deeds of the law. If righteouſneſs come by the law, then Chriſt died in vain: that no man is juſtified by the law, it is manifeſt; for a righteous man liveth by his faith, but the law is not of faith. Moreover, ſince Chriſt, the Maker of heaven and earth, and all that therein is, behoved to die for us, we are compelled to grant, that we were ſo far drowned in ſins, that neither the deeds, nor all the creatures that ever God made, or might make, might have helped us out of them: *ergo*, No deeds nor works can make us righteous. No works make us unrighteous; for if any works make us unrighteous, then the contrary works would make us righteous; but it is proved, that no works can make us righteous: *ergo*, No works make us unrighteous.

Works make us neither Good nor Evil.

IT is proved, That works neither make us righteous nor unrighteous: *ergo*, No works either make us good or evil; for righteous and good are one thing, and unrighteous and evil another. Good works make not a good man, nor evil works an evil man; but a good man maketh good works, and an evil man evil works: good fruit maketh not the tree good, nor evil fruit the tree evil; but a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit. A good man cannot do evil works, nor an evil man good works; for an evil tree cannot bear good fruit, nor a good tree evil fruit. A good man is good before he do good works, and an evil man is evil before he doth evil works; for the tree is good before it bear good fruit, and evil before it bear evil fruit. Every man is either good or evil. Either make the tree good, and the fruit good alſo, or elſe make the tree evil, and the fruit likewiſe evil. Every man's work is either good or evil; for all fruit is either good or evil. Either make the tree good, and the fruit alſo, or elſe

make the tree evil, and the fruit of it likewiſe evil. A good man is known by his works, for a good man doth good works, and an evil, evil works: ye ſhall know them by their fruits; for a good tree bringeth forth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit. A man is likened to the tree, and his works to the fruit of the tree. 'Beware of falſe prophets, 'which come unto you in ſheeps clothing, but in-'wardly they are ravening wolves; ye ſhall know 'them by their fruit.'

None of our Works either ſave us, or condemn us.

It is proved, That no works make us either righteous or unrighteous, good or evil; but firſt we are good before that we do good works, and evil before we do evil works: *ergo*, No work either ſaveth us, nor condemneth us. Thou wilt ſay, Then maketh it no matter what we do? I anſwer thee, Yes; for if thou do evil, it is a ſure argument that thou art evil, and wanteſt faith; if thou do good, it is an argument that thou art good, and haſt faith; for a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit: yet good fruit maketh not the tree good, nor evil fruit the tree evil; ſo that man is good before he do good works, and evil before he do evil works. The man is the tree, the works are the fruit: faith maketh the good tree, incredulity the evil tree; ſuch a tree, ſuch a fruit; ſuch man, ſuch works; for all that is done in faith pleaſeth God, and are good works, and all that is done without faith diſpleaſeth God, and are evil works. Whoſoever thinketh to be ſaved by his works, denieth that Chriſt is our Saviour, and that Chriſt died for him, and finally all things that belongeth to Chriſt: for, how is he thy Saviour, if thou mighteſt ſave thyſelf with thy works? Or, to what end ſhould he have died for thee, if any works of thine might have ſaved thee? What is this to ſay, Chriſt died for thee? is it not that thou ſhouldſt have died perpetually, and that Chriſt to deliver thee from death died for thee, and changed thy perpetual death into his own death? For thou madſt the fault, and he ſuffered the pain, and that for the love he had to thee, before ever thou waſt born, when thou hadſt done neither good nor evil. Now, ſince he hath paid thy debt, thou dieſt not, no, thou canſt not, but ſhouldſt have been damned, if his death were not; but, ſince he was puniſhed for thee, thou ſhalt not be puniſhed. Finally, he hath delivered thee from condemnation, and deſiring nothing of thee, but that thou ſhouldſt acknowledge what he hath done for thee, and bear it in mind, and that thou would help others for his ſake both in word and deed, even as he hath helped thee for nought, and without reward. O how ready would we be to help others, if we knew his goodneſs and gentleneſs towards us! He is a good and gentle Lord, and he doth all things for nought; let us, I beſeech you, follow his footſteps, whom all the world ought to praiſe and worſhip. *Amen.*

He that thinketh to be ſaved by his Works, calleth himſelf Chriſt.

For he calleth himſelf a Saviour, which appertaineth to Chriſt only. What is a Saviour? but he that ſaveth; and thou ſayeſt, I ſave myſelf, which is as much to ſay as, I am Chriſt; for Chriſt is only the Saviour of the world. We ſhould do no good works, to the intent to get the inheritance of heaven, or remiſſion of ſins through them; for whoſoever believeth to get the inheritance of heaven, or remiſſion of ſins through works, he believeth not to get that for Chriſt's ſake. And they who believe that their ſins are not forgiven them, and that they ſhall not be ſaved for Chriſt's ſake, they believe not the goſpel; for the goſpel ſaith, Thou ſhalt be ſaved for Chriſt's ſake, ſins are forgiven you for Chriſt's ſake. He that believeth not the goſpel, believeth not God; and conſequently, they that believe to be ſaved by their works, or to get remiſſion of ſins by their own deeds, believe not God, but account him a liar, and ſo utterly deny him to be God. Thou wilt ſay, Shall we then do no good works? I ſay not ſo, but I ſay, we ſhould do no good works, to the intent to get the kingdom of heaven, or remiſſion of ſins; for if we believe to get the inheritance of heaven through good works, then we believe not to get it through the promiſe of God; or, if we think to get remiſſion of our ſins by good works, we believe not that they are forgiven us by Chriſt; and ſo we count God a liar: for God ſaith, Thou ſhalt have the inheritance of heaven for my Son's ſake. You ſay, it is not ſo, but I will gain it through mine own works. So I condemn not good works, but I condemn the falſe truſt in any works; for all the works that a man putteth confidence in, are therewith intoxicated or impoiſoned, and become evil. Wherefore do good works, but beware thou do them not to get any good through them; for, if thou do, thou receiveſt the good, not as the gift of God, but as debt unto thee, and makeſt thyſelf fellow with God, becauſe thou wilt take

nothing from him for nought. What? needeth he any thing of thine, who giveth all things, and is not the poorer? Therefore do nothing to him, but take of him, for he is a gentle Lord, and with a glader heart will give us all things that we need, than we take it of him. So that if we want any thing, let us blame ourſelves. Preſs not then to the inheritance of heaven, through preſumption of thy good works; for if thou doeſt, thou counteſt thyſelf holy and equal unto him, becauſe thou wilt take nothing of him for nought; and ſo ſhalt thou fall as Lucifer fell from heaven for his pride.

Thus ends Mr. Patrick's articles; and ſo we return to our hiſtory.

When thoſe cruel wolves had (as they ſuppoſed) clean devoured the prey, they found themſelves in worſe caſe than they were before; for then within St. Andrews, yea, almoſt within the whole realm (who heard of that fact), there was none found who began not to enquire, wherefore was Mr. Patrick Hamilton burnt? And when his articles were rehearſed, queſtion was holden, if ſuch articles were neceſſary to be believed, under the pain of damnation? And ſo within ſhort ſpace, many began to call in doubt, that which before they held for a certain verity, inſomuch that the univerſity of St. Andrews and St. Leonard's College, principally by the labours of Mr. Gavin Logy, the novices of the abbey, and by the ſub-prior, began to ſmell ſomewhat of the verity, and to eſpy the vanity of the received ſuperſtition; yea, within few years after, began both black and gray friars publicly to preach againſt the pride and idle life of biſhops, and againſt the abuſes of the whole eccleſiaſtical eſtate; amongſt whom was one called William Arithe, who, in a ſermon preached in Dundee, ſpake ſomewhat more liberally againſt the licentious life of the biſhops than they could well bear. He ſpake further againſt the abuſe of curſing and of miracles. The biſhop of Brechin, having his paraſites and jack-men in the town, buffeted the friar, and called him heretic. The friar, impatient of the injury received, paſt to St. Andrews, and did communicate the heads of his ſermon to Mr. John Mair, whoſe word then was holden as an oracle in matters of religion; and being aſſured of him that ſuch doctrine might be well defended, and that he would defend it, for it contained no hereſy. There was one day appointed to the ſaid friar, to make repetition of the ſame ſermon: and advertiſement was given to all ſuch as was offended at the former, to be preſent. And ſo in the pariſh church of St. Andrews, upon the day appointed, appeared the ſaid friar, and had amongſt his auditors, Mr. John Mair, Mr. George Lockhart, the abbot of Cambuſkenneth, Mr. Patrick Hepburn prior of St. Andrews, with all the doctors and maſters of the univerſities.

The theme of his ſermon was, 'Verity is the 'ſtrongeſt of all things.' His diſcourſe of curſing was, that if it was not warily uſed, it were the moſt fearful thing upon the face of the earth; for it were the very ſeparation of man from God; but that it ſhould not be uſed raſhly, and for every light cauſe, but only againſt open and incorrigible ſinners: but now, ſaid he, the avarice of prieſts, and the ignorance of their office, hath cauſed it altogether to be deſpiſed. For the prieſt, 'faith he, whoſe duty and office is to pray for the people, ſtandeth up on Sunday, and crieth, Anne has loſt her ſpindle; there is a flail ſtolen from behind the barn: the goodwife on the other ſide of the gate, hath loſt a horn-ſpoon; God's curſe and mine I give to them that knoweth of thy goods, and reſtoreth them not. How the people mocked their curſing, he further told a merry tale, how, after a ſermon that he made at Dunfermline, he came to a houſe where goſſips were drinking their Sunday's penny, and he being dry, aſked drink; yes, father, ſaid one of the goſſips, ye ſhall have drink, but ye muſt firſt reſolve one doubt which is riſen among us, *viz.* What ſervant will ſerve a man beſt at leaſt expences? The good angel, ſaid I, who is man's keeper, who maketh good ſervice without expences. Tuſh, ſaid the goſſip, we mean no ſuch high matters; we mean, what honeſt man will do greateſt ſervice for leaſt expences; and while I was muſing, ſaid the friar, what that ſhould mean, he ſaid, 'I ſee, father, that the greateſt clerks are 'not the wiſeſt men.' Know ye not how the biſhops and their officials ſerve us huſbandmen? Will they not give to us a letter of curſing for a plack, to laſt for a year, to curſe all that look over our ditch, and that keeps our corn better than the ſleeping boy, that will have three ſhillings of fee, a ſhirt, and a pair of ſhoes in the year? And therefore, if their curſing do any thing, we hold the biſhops the cheapeſt ſervants in that behalf that are within the realm. As concerning miracles, he declared what diligence the ancients took to try true miracles from falſe. But now, ſaid he, the greedineſs of prieſts not only receive falſe miracles, but alſo they cheriſh and hire knaves for that purpoſe, that their chapels may be the better renowned, and offerings may be augmented; and thereupon are many chapels founded, as that if our lady were mightier, and that

ſhe took more pleaſure in one place than in another; as, of late days, our lady of Karſgrange hath hopped from one green hillock to another; but honeſt men of St. Andrews, ſaith he, if ye love your wives and daughters, hold them at home, or elſe ſend them in good honeſt company; for if ye knew what miracles were wrought there, ye would neither thank God nor our lady. And thus he merrily taunted their prieſts, of whoredom and adultery uſed at ſuch devotion.

Another article was judged more hard; for he alledged the common law, that the civil magiſtrate might correct the churchmen, and deprive them of their benefices, for open vices. Another day the ſame friar made another ſermon of the abbot of *Unreaſon*, unto whom, and whoſe laws, he compareth prelates of that age; for they were ſubject to no laws, no more than was the abbot of *Unreaſon*. And, among other things, he told ſuch a merry jeſt; There was, ſaid he, a prelate, or at leaſt a prelate's peer, a true ſervant to the king of love, who, upon a night after ſupper, aſked of his gentlemen, by the faith that they owed to the king of love, that they truly declare, how many ſundry women every one of them had, and how many of them were mens wives. One anſwered, he had lien with five, and two of them were married. The other anſwered, I have had ſeven, and three of them are married. It came laſt to my lord abbot himſelf, who making it very nice for a little ſpace, gave in the end a plain confeſſion, and ſaid, I am the youngeſt man, and yet have I had the round dozen, and ſeven of them are mens wives. Now, ſaid the friar, this god and king of love, to whom our prelates do homage, is the maſter-devil of hell, from whom ſuch fruits and works do proceed. This friar was known by his proper tokens to have been prior Patrick Hepburn, afterwards biſhop of Murray, who continued in the profeſſion that he had made to his god and king of love.

It was ſuppoſed, notwithſtanding this kind of preaching, that this friar remained Papiſt in his heart: for the other friars, fearing to loſe the benediction of the biſhops, *viz.* Their 'malt and 'their meal,' and their other appointed penſions, cauſed the ſaid friar to flee to England, where, for defence of the pope and Papiſtry, he was caſt into priſon at king Henry's commandment. But ſo it pleaſed God to open the mouth of Balaam's own aſs, to cry out againſt the vicious lives of the clergy of that age.

Shortly after this, new conſultation was taken there, that ſome ſhould be burnt; for men began liberally to ſpeak. A merry gentleman, named John Lindſay, familiar to biſhop James Beaton, ſtanding by when conſultation was had, ſaid, My lord, if ye burn any more, except ye follow my counſel, ye will utterly deſtroy yourſelves; if ye will burn them, let them be burnt in hollow cellars; for the ſmoke of Mr. Patrick Hamilton hath infected as many as it blew upon. Thus it pleaſed God that they ſhould be taunted in their own face. But here followeth the moſt merry of all: One Alexander Furrour, who had been impriſoned ſeven years in the tower of London, Sir John Dungwail (according to the charity of churchmen) entertained his wife, and waſted the poor man's ſubſtance: for the which cauſe, at his returning, he ſpake more liberally of prieſts than they could bear: and ſo was he declared to be accuſed of hereſy, and called to his anſwer at St. Andrews: he leapt up merrily upon the ſcaffold, and caſting a gambol, ſaid, Where are the reſt of the players? Mr. Andrew Oliphant offended therewith, ſaid, It ſhall be no play to you, Sir, before ye depart; and ſo began to read his accuſation; the firſt article whereof was, 'That he deſpiſed the maſs.' His anſwer was, 'I hear more maſſes in eight days 'than three biſhops there ſitting ſay in a year.' Accuſed ſecondly, 'of the contempt of the ſacra-'ments.' 'The prieſts,' ſaid he, 'were the moſt com-'mon contemners of ſacraments; and eſpecially of 'matrimony.' And that he witneſſed by many of the prieſts there preſent, and named the man's wife with whom they had meddled, and eſpecially Sir John Dungwail, who had ſeven years together abuſed his own wife, and conſumed his ſubſtance; and ſaid, Becauſe I complain of ſuch injuries, I am here ſummoned and accuſed as one that is worthy to be burnt: for God's ſake, ſaid he, will ye take wives of your own, that I and others, whom ye have abuſed, may be revenged upon you. Then biſhop Gavin Dunbar, named the old biſhop of Aberdeen, thinking to juſtify himſelf before the people, ſaid, Carle, thou ſhalt not know my wife. The ſaid Alexander anſwered, My lord, ye are too old, but with the grace of God I ſhall drink with your daughter or I depart: and thereat was ſmiling of the beſt, and loud laughter of ſome; for the biſhop had a daughter married to Andrew Balfour in that town. Then the biſhop bade away with the carle. But he anſwered, Nay, I will not depart this hour; for I have more to ſpeak againſt the vices of prieſts than I can expreſs this whole day. And ſo, after divers purpoſes, they commanded him to burn his bill. And he de-

manding the cauſe, they ſaid, Becauſe ye have ſpoken theſe articles whereof ye are accuſed. His anſwer was, The great devil bear them away that firſt and laſt ſaid them: and ſo he took the bill, and chewing it, he ſpat it in Mr. Andrew Oliphant's face, ſaying, Now burn it or drown it, whether ye will, ye hear no more of me; but I muſt have ſomewhat of every one of you, to begin my pack again, which a prieſt, and my wife a prieſt's whore, have ſpent: and ſo every prelate, and rich prieſt, glad to be quit of his evil, gave him ſomewhat, and ſo departed he, for he underſtood nothing of religion. But ſo fearful was it then to ſpeak any thing againſt prieſts, that the leaſt word ſpoken againſt them, yea, though it was ſpoken in a man's ſleep, was judged hereſy: and that was practiſed upon one Richard Carmichael, living in Fife, who being young, and ſinger in the chapel-royal of Stirling, happened in his ſleep to ſay, The devil take away the prieſts, for they are a greedy pack. He therefore, accuſed by Sir George Clapperton dean of the ſaid chapel, was compelled forthwith to burn his bill. But God ſhortly after raiſed up againſt them ſtronger champions: for Alexander Seton, a black-friar, of good learning and eſtimation, began to blame the corrupt doctrine of Papiſtry. For the ſpace of a whole Lent, he taught the commandments of God only, ever beating in the ears of his auditors, That the law of God had not of many years been truly taught; for mens tradition had obſcured the purity of it. Theſe were his accuſtomed propoſitions; 1. Chriſt Jeſus is the end and perfection of the law. 2. There is no ſin where God's law is not violated. 3. To ſatisfy for ſins, lies not in man's power; but the remiſſion thereof cometh by unfeigned repentance, and by faith apprehending God the Father merciful in Jeſus Chriſt his Son. While oftentimes he puts his auditors in mind of this and the like heads, he maketh no mention of purgatory, pardons, pilgrimage, prayer to ſaints, nor of ſuch triſles. The dumb doctors, and the reſt of that foreſworn rabble, began to ſuſpect him, and yet ſaid they nothing publicly, till Lent was ended. And he paſſed to Dundee, and then one in his abſence, hired to that purpoſe, openly condemned the whole doctrine that before he had taught; which coming to the ears of the ſaid friar Alexander, then being in Dundee, without delay he returned to St. Andrews, cauſed immediately to toll the bell, and give ſignification that he would preach, as he did indeed; in which ſermon he affirmeth (and that more plainly than at any other time), whatſoever in all his whole ſermons he had taught before, the whole Lent paſt; adding, That within Scotland there were no true biſhops, if that biſhops ſhould be known by ſuch notes and virtues as St. Paul requires in biſhops. This declaration flew with wings to the biſhop's ears, who, without further delay, ſent for the ſaid friar Alexander, who began ſharply to accuſe, that he had ſo ſlanderouſly ſpoken of the dignity of biſhops, as to ſay, That it behoved a biſhop to be a preacher, or elſe he was but a dumb dog, and fed not the flock, but fed his own belly. The man being witty, and minding that which was his moſt aſſured defence, ſaid, My lord, the reporters of ſuch things are manifeſt liars. Whereat the biſhop rejoiced, and ſaid, Your anſwer pleaſeth me well; I never could think of you that ye would be ſo fooliſh as to affirm ſuch things: where are the knaves that have brought me this tale? Who compearing, and affirming the ſame that they did before, he ſtill replied, That they were liars. But while the witneſſes were multiplied, and men were brought to attention, he turned him to the biſhop, and ſaid, My lord, ye may hear and conſider what ears theſe aſſes have, who cannot diſcern betwixt Paul, Iſaiah, Zechariah, and Malachi, and friar Alexander Seton. In very deed, my lord, I ſaid, that Paul ſaith, It behoveth a biſhop to be a teacher; Iſaiah ſaith, That they that feed not the flock are dumb dogs; and Zechariah ſaith, They are idle paſtors: I of mine own head affirmed nothing, but declared what the Spirit of God before pronounced, at whom, my lord, if ye be not offended, juſtly ye cannot be offended at me. And ſo yet again, my lord, I ſay, That they are manifeſt liars that reported unto you that I ſaid, that ye and others that preach not, are no biſhops, but belly-gods. Albeit after that the biſhop was highly offended, as well at the ſcoff and bitter mock, as at the bold liberty of that learned man, yet durſt he not hazard for that preſent to execute his malice conceived: for not only feareth he the learning and bold ſpirit of the man, but alſo the favour that he had, as well of the people, as of the prince king James V. with whom he had good credit; for he was at that time his confeſſor; and had exhorted him to the fear of God, to the meditation of God's law, and unto purity of life. But the ſaid biſhop, with his complices, foreſeeing what danger might come to their eſtate, if ſuch familiarity ſhould continue betwixt the prince and a man ſo learned, and ſo repugning to their affections, laboureth by all means to make the ſaid friar Alexander odious unto the king, and

eaſily found the means, by the gray-friars (who by their hypocriſy deceived many), to traduce the innocent as an heretic. This accuſation was eaſily believed of the young prince, who, being much given to the luſts of the fleſh, abhorred all counſel that repugned thereto; and becauſe he did remember what a terror the admonitions of the ſaid Alexander was unto his blinded conſcience, without reſiſtance he ſubſcribed to his accuſation, affirming, that he knew more than they did in that matter; for he underſtood well enough that he ſmelled of the new doctrine, by ſuch things as he had ſhewn to him under confeſſion: and therefore he promiſed, that he ſhould follow the counſel of the biſhops in puniſhing of him, and of all others of that ſect. Theſe things underſtood by the ſaid Alexander, as well by the information of his friends and familiars, as by the ſtrange countenance of the king unto him, provided the next way to avoid the fury of a miſled prince; and ſo, in his habit, he departeth the realm; and coming to Berwick, wrote back again to the king his complaint and admonition; the very tenor and copy whereof followeth, and is this:

'MOST gracious ſovereign, under the Lord and 'King of all, of whom only thy highneſs and ma-'jeſty haſt power and authority to exerciſe juſtice 'within this thy realm under God, who is King 'and Lord of all realms, and thy majeſty, and all 'mortal kings, are but only ſervants unto that on-'ly immortal Prince, Chriſt Jeſus, &c. It is not, 'I wot, unknown to thy gracious highneſs, how 'that thy majeſty's ſometime ſervant and orator '(and ever ſhall be to my life's end) is departed out 'of thy realm, unto the next adjacent of England; 'nevertheleſs, I believe the cauſe of my departing 'is unknown to thy gracious majeſty, which only 'is, Becauſe the biſhops and churchmen of thy 'realm have had heretofore ſuch authority upon thy 'ſubjects, that apparently they were rather king, 'and thou the ſubject; which unjuſt government 'is of itſelf falſe, and contrary to holy Scripture, 'and God's law. Then thou art the king and 'maſter, and they thy ſubjects, which is very true, 'and teſtified expreſsly by the word of God; and 'alſo, becauſe they will give no man of any degree 'or ſtate (whom they often call heretics) audience, 'time, nor place to ſpeak and have defence, which 'is againſt all law, both the old law (called the law 'of Moſes), and the new law of the goſpel. So that 'if I might have had audience, and place to ſpeak, 'and have ſhewed my juſt defence, conformable to 'the law of God, I ſhould never have fled to any 'other realm, ſuppoſe it ſhould have coſt me my 'life: but, becauſe I believed that I ſhould have no 'audience, nor place to anſwer (they are ſo great 'with thy majeſty), I departed, not doubting, but 'moved of God, unto a better time that God illu-'minate thy majeſty, even to give every man audi-'ence (as thou ſhouldſt and mayſt, and art bound 'by the law of God), who are accuſed to the death. 'And to certify thy highneſs, that theſe are no 'vain words, but of deed and effect, here I offer 'me to thy majeſty to come in thy realm again, ſo 'that thy majeſty will give me audience, and hear 'what I have for me of the law of God, and cauſe 'any biſhop or abbot, friar or ſecular, which is 'moſt cunning (ſome of them cannot read their 'mattins, who are made judges of hereſy), to im-'pugn me by the law of God; and if my part be 'found wrong, thy majeſty being preſent and judge, 'I refuſe no pain worthy or condign for my fault. 'And if that I convince them by the law of God, 'and that they have nothing to lay to my charge, 'but the law of man, and their own inventions, to 'uphold their own glory and prideful life, and 'daily ſcourging of thy poor ſubjects; I refer my-'ſelf to thy majeſty as judge, Whether he hath the 'victory that holds him at the law of God, which 'cannot fail or be falſe? or they that hold them at 'the law of man, which is very often plainly con-'trary to and againſt the law of God? and there-'fore of neceſſity falſe, and full of lies: for all 'things that is contrary to the verity (which is 'Chriſt and his law), is of neceſſity a lie. And to 'witneſs that this comes of all my heart, I ſhall 'remain at Berwick while I get thy majeſty's an-'ſwer, and ſhall without fail return, having thy 'hand-writ that I may have audience and place to 'ſpeak. No more I deſire of thee, whereof, if I 'had been ſure, I ſhould never have departed; 'and that thou mayſt know the truth thereof, if 'fear of the juſtneſs of my cauſe, or dread of per-'ſecution for the ſame, had moved me to depart, 'I could not ſo pleaſantly revert; only diſtruſt 'was the cauſe of my departing. Pardon me to 'ſay that which lieth to thy majeſty's charge, 'Thou art bound by the law of God (ſuppoſe 'they falſly lie, ſaying, It pertaineth not to thy 'majeſty to intermeddle with ſuch matters), to 'cauſe every man, in any caſe accuſed of his life, 'to have their juſt defence, and their accuſers pro-'duced conform to their own law. They blind 'thy majeſty's eyes, that know nothing of this 'law; but if I prove not this out of their own

'law, I offer me to the death. Thy majeſty there-
'fore, by experience, may daily learn (ſeeing they
'neither fear the King of heaven, as their lives
'teſtify, neither thee their natural prince, as their
'uſurped power in their actions ſhews), why thy
'highneſs ſhould be no longer blinded. Thou
'mayſt conſider, that they pretend nothing elſe,
'but only the maintenance and upholding of their
'barded mules, augmenting of their inſatiable a-
'varice, and continual overthrowing and ſwallow-
'ing up thy poor ſubjects; neither preaching nor
'teaching, out of the law of God (as they ſhould),
'the rude ignorant people, but contend who may
'be moſt high, moſt rich, and neareſt thy majeſty,
'to put the temporal lords and lieges out of thy
'counſel and favour, who ſhould be, and are, moſt
'tender ſervants to thy majeſty in all time of need,
'to the defence of thee and thy crown: and where
'they deſire thy majeſty to put out thy temporal
'lords and lieges, becauſe they deſpiſe their vicious
'life, what elſe intend they, but only thy death
'and deſtruction, as thou mayſt eaſily perceive?
'ſuppoſe they colour their falſe intent and mind
'with the purſuit of hereſy; for when thy barons
'are put down, what art thou but the king of
'land, and not of men? and then of neceſſity muſt
'be guided by them; and there, no doubt, where
'a blind man is guide, muſt be a fall in the mire.
'Therefore let thy majeſty take boldneſs and au-
'thority, which thou haſt of God, and ſuffer not
'their cruel perſecution to proceed without audi-
'ence given to him that is accuſed, and juſt place
'of defence; and then, no doubt, thou ſhalt have
'thy ſubjects hearts, and all that they can or may
'do in time of need, tranquillity, juſtice, and po-
'licy, and finally the kingdom of the heavens. May
'it pleaſe you to give one copy of this to the cler-
'gy, and keep the original, and thy majeſty ſhall
'have experience, if I go againſt one word that I
'have ſpoken. I ſhall daily make my hearty de-
'votion for thy majeſty, and for the proſperity and
'welfare of thy body and ſoul. I doubt not but
'thy gracious highneſs will give anſwer to this
'letter, unto the preſenter of it unto thy highneſs.
'At Berwick, by thy highneſs's ſervant and orator.
'*Sic ſubſcribitur*, ALEXANDER SETON.'

THIS letter was delivered to the king's own hands, and of many read: but what could greatly avail, where the pride and corruption of prelates commanded what they pleaſed, and the flattery of courtiers foſtered the unadviſed prince in all diſſoluteneſs, by which means they made him obſequious unto them? From the death of that conſtant witneſs of Jeſus Chriſt, Mr. Patrick Hamilton, God diſcloſing the wickedneſs of the wicked, as before we have heard; there was one Forreſt of Linlithgow taken, who, after long impriſonment in the ſaid tower of St. Andrews, was adjudged to the fire, by the ſaid biſhop James Beaton and his doctors, for no other crime but becauſe he had a New Teſtament in Engliſh. Further of that hiſtory we have not, except that he died conſtantly, and with great patience at St. Andrews. After whoſe death the flame of perſecution ceaſed, till the death of Mr. Norman Gurlaw, the ſpace of ten years or thereabout: not that the bloody beaſt ceaſed by all means to ſuppreſs the light of God, and to trouble ſuch as in any ſort were ſuſpected to abhor their corruption; but becauſe the realm in theſe times was troubled with inteſtine and cruel wars, in which much blood was ſhed; firſt at Melroſe, betwixt Douglas and Buccleugh, in the year of God 1526, the 24th day of July; next at Linlithgow, betwixt the Hamiltons and the earl of Lennox, who was ſiſter's ſon to the earl of Arran, where the ſaid earl, with many others, loſt his life, the 13th day of September in the ſame year; and laſt betwixt the king himſelf and the foreſaid Douglas, whom he baniſhed the realm, and held him in exile during his whole days. By reaſon of theſe, we ſay, and of other troubles, the biſhops, and their bloody bands, could not find the time ſo favourable unto them as they required, to execute their tyranny.

In this middle time, ſo did the wiſdom of God provide, That Henry VIII. king of England, did aboliſh from his realm the name and authority of the pope of Rome, commanded the Bible to be read in Engliſh, ſuppreſſed the abbeys and other places of idolatry, with their idols, which gave great hope to divers realms, that ſome godly reformation ſhould have thereof enſued: and therefore from this our country did divers learned men, and others that lived in fear of perſecution, repair to that realm; where albeit they found not ſuch purity as they wiſhed (and therefore divers of them ſought other countries), yet they eſcaped the tyranny of mercileſs men, and were reſerved to better times, that they might fructify within his church in divers places and parts, and in divers vocations. Alexander Seton remained in England, and publicly (with great praiſe and comfort of many), taught the goſpel in all ſincerity certain years. And albeit the craftineſs of Gardner biſhop of Wincheſter, and of others, circumvented the

ſaid Alexander, ſo that they cauſed him at Paul's Croſs to affirm certain things that repugned to his former doctrine; yet it is no doubt, but that God potently had aſſiſted him in all his life, and that alſo at his death (which ſhortly after followed), he found the mercy of his God, whereupon he ever exhorted all men to depend. Alexander Alæſius, Mr. John Fife, and that famous man doctor Machabeus, departed unto Holland, where, by God's providence, they were diſtributed to ſeveral places. Macdoual, for his ſingular prudence, beſides his learning and godlineſs, was elected borrow-maſter in one of their ſteads. Alæſius was appointed to the univerſity of Lipſia, and ſo was Mr. John Fife, where, for their honeſt behaviour and great erudition, they were holden in admiration with all the godly. And in what honour, credit, and eſtimation, doctor Machabeus was with Chriſtian king of Denmark, Cawpmanhowen, and famous men of divers nations, can teſtify. Thus did God provide for his ſervants, and did fruſtrate the expectation of thoſe bloody beaſts, who, by the death of one (he means Mr. Patrick Hamilton) in whom the light of God did clearly ſhine, intended to have ſuppreſſed Chriſt's truth for ever within this realm; but the contrary had God decreed, for his death was the cauſe (as is ſaid) that many did awake from the deadly ſleep of ignorance; and ſo did Jeſus Chriſt the only true light ſhine unto many, for the away-taking of one. And, albeit that theſe notable men did never after (Mr. John Fife only excepted) comfort their country with their bodily preſence, yet made he them fructify in his church, and raiſed them up lights out of darkneſs, to the praiſe of his own mercy, and to the juſt condemnation of them that then ruled; *viz.* of the king, council, and nobility, yea, of the whole people, who ſuffered ſuch notable perſonages, without crimes committed, to be unjuſtly perſecuted, and ſo exiled: others were after even ſo dealt withal; but of them we ſhall ſpeak in their own place.

No ſooner got the biſhops opportunity (which always they ſought), but ſo ſoon renewed they the battle againſt Jeſus Chriſt: for the aforeſaid leprous biſhop, in the year of God 1534, cauſed to be ſummoned Sir William Kirk, Adam Dayis, Henry Kernes, John Stuart of Leith, with divers others, ſuch as Mr. William Johnſton advocate, Mr Henry Henderſon ſchoolmaſter of Edinburgh; of whom ſome compeared in the abbey-kirk of Holyroodhouſe, and ſo abjured, and publicly burnt their bills; others compeared not, and therefore were exiled. But in judgment were produced two, *viz.* David Straiton a gentleman, and Mr. Normand Gourlay, a man of reaſonable erudition, of whom we may ſhortly ſpeak. In Mr. Norman appeared knowledge, albeit joined with weakneſs: but in David Straiton could only be eſpied for the firſt, a hatred againſt the pride and avariciouſneſs of prieſts; for the cauſe of his accuſation was, he had made to himſelf one fiſh-boat to go to the ſea: the biſhop of Murray then being prior of St. Andrews, his agents urged him for the tithe thereof. His anſwer was, If they would have tithe of that which his ſervants gained in the ſea, it were but reaſon that they ſhould come and receive it where they got the ſtock; and ſo, as it was conſtantly affirmed, he cauſed his ſervants to caſt the tenth fiſh into the ſea again. Proceſs of curſing was led againſt him for not paying ſuch tithes; which when he contemned, he was ſummoned to anſwer for hereſy. It troubled him vehemently, and therefore he began to frequent the company of ſuch as were godly; for before he had been a man very ſtubborn, and one that deſpiſed all reading (chiefly of thoſe things that were godly), but miraculouſly, as it were, he appeareth to be changed, for he delighted in nothing but in hearing of reading (for himſelf could not read), and was a vehement exhorter of all men to concord and quietneſs, and the contempt of the world. He frequented much the company of the laird of Dun-Erſkine, whom God in thoſe days had marvellouſly illuminated. Upon a day, as the laird of Lauriſtoun, who was then a young man, was reading unto him in the New Teſtament, in a certain quiet place in the fields, as God had appointed, he chanced to read theſe ſentences of our Maſter Jeſus Chriſt; 'He that denieth me before men, or 'is aſhamed of me in the midſt of this wicked ge-'neration, I will deny him in the preſence of my 'Father, and before his angels.' At which words, he ſuddenly being as one revived, caſt himſelf upon his knees, and extending both hand and viſage conſtantly to heaven a reaſonable time, at length he burſt forth in theſe words, 'O Lord, I have 'been wicked, and juſtly mayſt thou withdraw thy 'grace from me; but, Lord, for thy mercies ſake, 'let me never deny thee, nor thy truth, for fear 'of death or corporal pain.' The iſſue declared that his prayer was not in vain; for when he, with the aforeſaid Mr. Norman, was produced in judgment in the abbey of Holyroodhouſe, the king himſelf (all clad in red) being preſent, great labour was made, that the ſaid David Straiton ſhould have recanted, and burnt his bill: but he, ever ſtanding at his defence, alledging that he had not of-

fended, in the end was adjudged to the fire, and then when he perceived the danger, aſked grace at the king (which he would willingly have granted unto him). The biſhops proudly anſwered, that the king's hands were bound in that caſe, and that he had no grace to give to ſuch as by their law were condemned. And ſo was he, with the ſaid Mr. Norman, after dinner, upon the 27th day of Auguſt, in the year of our Lord 1534 aforeſaid, led to a place beſides the Rood of Greenſide, and there they two were both hanged and burnt, according to the mercy of the Papiſtical church. To the ſame diet were ſummoned, as before we have ſaid, others, of whom ſome eſcaped into England, and ſo for that preſent eſcaped the death. This their tyranny notwithſtanding, the knowledge of God did wonderfully increaſe within this realm, partly by reading, partly by brotherly conference, which in thoſe dangerous days was uſed to the comfort of many; but chiefly by merchants and mariners, who frequenting other countries, heard the true doctrine affirmed, and the vanity of the Papiſtical religion openly rebuked: amongſt whom were thoſe of Dundee and Leith principals, againſt whom was made a very ſtrait inquiſition, by David Beaton cruel cardinal. And diverſe were compelled to abjure and burn their bills, ſome in St. Andrews, and ſome at Edinburgh. About the ſame time captain John Borthwick, provoſt of Linlithgow, was burnt in figure, but by God's providence eſcaped their fury. And this was done for a ſpectacle and triumph to Mary of Lorrain, lately arrived from France, as wife to James V. king of Scots: what plagues ſhe brought with her, and how they yet continue, ſuch as are not blind may manifeſtly ſee. The rage of theſe bloody beaſts proceeded ſo far, that the king's court itſelf eſcaped not that danger; for in it divers were ſuſpected, and ſome accuſed: and yet ever did ſome light burſt out in the midſt of darkneſs; for the truth of Chriſt Jeſus entered even into the cloiſters, as well of friars and monks as of canons. John Lyn, a gray-friar, left his hypocritical habit, and the den of thoſe murderers, the gray-friars. A black-friar, called friar Killor, ſet forth the hiſtory of Chriſt's paſſion in form of a play, which he both preached and practiſed openly in Stirling, the king himſelf being preſent upon a Good-Friday in the morning; in the which all things were ſo lively expreſſed, that the very ſimple people underſtood and confeſſed, that, as the prieſts and obſtinate Phariſees perſuaded the people to refuſe Chriſt Jeſus, and cauſed Pilate to condemn him; ſo did the biſhops, and men called religious, blind the people, and perſuade princes and judges to perſecute ſuch as profeſs Chriſt Jeſus his bleſſed goſpel. This plain ſpeaking ſo inflamed the hearts of all that bare the beaſt's mark, that they ceaſed not, till the ſaid friar Killor, and with him friar Beveridge, Sir Duncan Simſon, Robert Forreſter gentleman, and dean Thomas Forrat canon regular and vicar of Dollar, a man of upright life, who altogether were cruelly murdered in one fire, upon the Caſtle-hill, the laſt of February, in the year of our Lord 1538. This cruelty was uſed by the aforeſaid cardinal, the chancellor, the biſhop of Glaſgow, and the inceſtuous biſhop of Dumblain. After that this cruelty was uſed in Edinburgh upon the Caſtle-hill, to the effect that the reſt of the biſhops might ſhew themſelves no leſs fervent to ſuppreſs the light of God, than he of St. Andrews was, were apprehended two of the dioceſs of Glaſgow, the one named Jeremy Ruſſel, a gray-friar, a young man, of a meek nature, quick ſpirit, and good learning; and one Alexander Kennedy, who paſſed not eighteen years of age, one of excellent wit in vulgar poeſy. To aſſiſt the biſhop of Glaſgow in that cruel judgment, or at leaſt to dip his hands in the blood of the ſaints of God, were ſent Mr. John Lauder, Mr. Andrew Oliphant, and friar Meitman, ſervants of Satan, apt for that purpoſe: the day appointed to the cruelty approaching, the two poor ſaints of God were preſented before thoſe bloody butchers; grievous were the crimes which were laid to their charge: Kennedy at the firſt was faint, and gladly would have recanted; but while the place of repentance was denied unto him, the Spirit of God, which is the Spirit of all comfort, began to work in him; yea, the inward comfort began to burſt forth, as well in viſage, as in tongue and word; for his countenance began to be chearful, and, with a joyful voice, upon his knees, he ſaid, 'O eternal 'God! how wonderful is that love and mercy 'which thou beareſt unto mankind, and unto me 'the moſt caitif and miſerable wretch above all o-'thers! for even now when I would have denied 'thee, and thy Son our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, my only 'Saviour, and ſo have caſt myſelf into everlaſting 'damnation, thou, by thine own hand, haſt pulled 'me from the very bottom of hell, and made me 'to feel that heavenly comfort, which takes from 'me that ungodly fear wherewith before I was op-'preſſed. Now I defy death, do what ye pleaſe, 'I praiſe my God I am ready.' The godly and learned Jeremy, railed upon by theſe godleſs tyrants,

anſwered, 'This is your hour and power of dark-
'neſs: now ſit ye as judges; and we ſtand wrong-
'fully accuſed, and more wrongfully to be con-
'demned; but the day ſhall come, when our in-
'nocency ſhall appear, and that ye ſhall ſee your
'own blindneſs, to your everlaſting confuſion. Go
'forward, and fulfil the meaſure of your iniquity.'
While that theſe ſervants of God thus behaved themſelves, a variance ariſeth betwixt the biſhop and the beaſts that came from the cardinal; for the biſhop ſaid, 'I think it better to ſpare theſe men,
'than to put them to death:' whereat the idiot doctors offended, ſaid, 'What will ye do, my
'lord? will ye condemn all that my lord cardinal,
'and the other biſhops, and we, have done? If ſo
'ye do, ye ſhew yourſelf enemy to the church and
'us, and ſo we will repute you, be ye aſſured.' At which words, the faithleſs man afraid, adjudged the innocents to die, according to the deſire of the wicked. The meek and gentle Jeremy Ruſſel comforted the other with many comfortable ſentences, often ſaying unto him, 'Brother, fear not, more
'mighty is he that is in us, than he that is in the
'world; the pain that we ſhall ſuffer is ſhort, and
'ſhall be light; but our joy and conſolation ſhall
'never have end; and therefore let us contend to
'enter in, unto our Maſter and Saviour, by the
'ſame ſtrait way which he hath taken before us:
'death cannot deſtroy us, for it is deſtroyed already
'by him for whoſe ſake we ſuffer.' With theſe, and the like comfortable ſentences, they paſſed to the place of execution, and conſtantly triumphed over death and Satan, even in the midſt of the flaming fire. And thus did theſe cruel beaſts intend nothing but murder in all the quarters of this realm; for ſo far had they blinded and corrupted the inconſiderate prince, that he gave himſelf to obey the tyranny of thoſe bloody beaſts, and he made a ſolemn vow, That none ſhould be ſpared that was ſuſpected of hereſy, yea, although it were his own ſon. To preſs and puſh him forward in this his fury, he lacked not flatterers enow; for many of his minions were penſioners to prieſts, amongſt whom Oliver Sinclair, yet remaining enemy to God, was principal; and yet did not God ceaſe to give that blinded prince documents, that ſome ſudden puniſhment was to fall upon him, if he did not repent, and amend his life; and that his own mouth did confeſs: for after that Sir James Hamilton was beheaded (juſtly or unjuſtly we diſpute not), this viſion came unto him (as to his familiars himſelf did declare); the ſaid Sir James appeared unto him, having in his hands a drawn ſword, with which he ſtruck from the king both the arms, ſaying to him, 'Take that till thou re-
'ceive a final payment for all thy impiety.' This viſion, with ſorrowful countenance, he ſhewed on the morrow; and ſhortly thereafter died his two ſons, both within the ſpace of twenty-four hours, yea, ſome ſay, within the ſpace of ſix hours. In his own preſence George Steil, his greateſt flatterer, and greateſt enemy to God that was in his court, dropped off his horſe, and died, not ſaying one word, that ſame day that, in audience of many, the ſaid George had refuſed his portion of Chriſt's kingdom, if the prayers of the Virgin Mary ſhould not bring him thereto. How terrible a viſion the ſaid prince ſaw, lying in Linlithgow, that night which Thomas Scot juſtice-clerk died in Edinburgh, men of good credit can yet report: for, afraid at midnight, or after, he called aloud for torches, and raiſed all that lay beſide him in the palace, and told that Thomas Scott was dead; for he had been at him with a company of devils, and had ſaid unto him theſe words, 'O wo to the day that ever I knew
'thee, or thy ſervice! for ſerving of thee, againſt
'God, againſt his ſervants, and againſt juſtice, I
'am adjudged to endleſs torment.' How terrible voices the ſaid Thomas Scot pronounced before his death, men of all eſtates heard; and ſome that yet live can witneſs his voice ever was, *Juſto Dei judicio condemnatus ſum;* that is, I am condemned by God's juſt judgment. He was moſt oppreſſed for the falſe accuſation of ſuch as profeſſed Chriſt's goſpel, as Mr. Thomas Marjoribanks and Mr. Hugh Rig, then advocates, did confeſs to Mr. Henry Balnaves, who from the ſaid Thomas Scot came to him, as he and Mr. Thomas Ballenden were ſitting in St. Giles's church, and aſked him forgiveneſs of the ſaid Thomas. None of theſe terrible forewarnings could either change or alter the heart of the unfortunate and miſled prince, but ſtill he did proceed in his accuſtomed ways; for, in the midſt of theſe evils, he cauſed to put hands on that notable man Mr. George Buchanan, to whom, for his ſingular erudition and honeſt behaviour, was committed the charge to inſtruct ſome of his natural children; but, by the merciful providence of God, he eſcaped (albeit with great difficulty) the rage of thoſe that ſought his life; and remains alive to this day, in the year of God 1566, to the glory of God, to the great honour of this nation, and to the comfort of thoſe that delight in letters and virtue. That ſingular work of David's pſalms, in Latin metre and poeſy, beſides many others, can witneſs the rare graces of

God given to that man, which that prince, by inſtigation of the gray-friars and of his other flatterers, would altogether have devoured, if God had not provided remedy to his ſervant by eſcaping (the keepers being aſleep, he went out at the window) this cruelty and perſecution. Notwithſtanding the monſters and hypocrites, the gray-friars, day by day, came farther in contempt: for not only did the learned eſpy and deteſt their abominable hypocriſy; but alſo men, in whom no ſuch graces or gifts were thought to have been, began plainly to paint the ſame forth to the people. As this rhyme, which here we have inſerted for the ſame purpoſe, made by Alexander earl of Glencairn, to this day, 1566, alive, can witneſs, entitled, 'An EPISTLE 'directed from the holy hermit of Larite, to his 'brethren the gray-friars.'

'I THOMAS hermit in Larite,
'Saint Francis brother heartily greet,
'Beſeeching you with firm intent,
'To be watchful and diligent;
'For thir Lutherans, riſen of new,
'Our order daily doth purſue.
'Theſe ſneaks do ſet their whole intent
'To read this Engliſh New Teſtament:
'And faith, we have them clean deceived;
'Therefore in haſte they muſt be ſtopped.
'Our ſtately hypocriſy they prize,
'And do blaſpheme us on this wiſe,
'Saying, That we are heretics,
'And falſe loud lying mattin-tykes,
'Cummerers and quellers of Chriſt's kirk.
'Such lazy ſcemlers that will not wirk,
'But idly our living wins,
'Devouring wolves into ſheeps ſkins,
'Hurkland with huids into our neck,
'With Judas mind to jouk and beck,
'Seeking God's people to devour,
'The overthrowers of God's glor,
'Profeſſors of hypocriſy,
'Doctors in idolatry,
'Fiſhers with the fiend's net,
'The upcloſers of heaven's gate,
'Cancard corrupters of the creed,
'Hemlock-ſowers among good ſeed,
'To throw in brambles that do men twiſt,
'The high way kennand them from Chriſt,
'Monſters with the beaſt's mark,
'Dogs that never ſtint to bark,
'Churchmen that are to Chriſt unkent,
'A ſect that Satan's ſelf has ſent,
'Lurking in holes like traitor-tods,
'Maintainers of idols and falſe gods,
'Fantaſtic fools, and frenzy flatterers,
'To turn from the truth the very teachers.
'For to declare their whole ſentence,
'Would much cumber your conſcience.
'To ſay your faith it is ſo ſtark,
'Your cord and louſie coat and ſark,
'Ye lippen may you bring to ſalvation,
'And quite excludes Chriſt his paſſion.
'I dread this doctrine an it laſt,
'Shall either gar us work or faſt;
'Therefore with ſpeed we muſt provide,
'And not our profit over-ſlide.
'I ſchaip myſelf within ſhort while,
'To curſe our lady in Argyle,
'And there ſome crafty ways to wirk,
'Till that we builded have one kirk.
'Since miracles made by your advice,
'The Kitterels thought they had but lice.
'The two parts to us they will bring;
'But orderly to dreſs this thing,
'A ghaiſt I purpoſe for to cauſe gang,
'By counſel of friar Walter Lang,
'Which ſhall make certain demonſtrations
'To help us in our procurations,
'Your holy order to decore,
'That practice he prov'd once before,
'Betwixt Kirkcaldy and Kinghorn:
'But lymmers made thereat ſuch ſcorn,
'And to his fame made ſuch digreſſion,
'Since-ſyn he heard not the king's confeſſion;
'Though at that time he came with ſpeed,
'I pray you take good will as deed,
'And ſome among yourſelves receive,
'As one worth many of the lave.
'What I obtain you through his art,
'Reaſon would ye had your part.
'Your order handles no money,
'But for other caſualty,
'As beef, meal, butter, and cheeſe,
'Or what elſe you have that you pleaſe,
'Send your brethren, *et habete*,
'As now not elſe, but *valete*.
'Be Thomas your brother at command,
'A culrune keith'd through many a land.'

After God had given unto that miſinformed prince ſufficient documents, that his warring againſt his bleſſed goſpel ſhould not proſperouſly ſucceed, he raiſed up againſt him wars, as he did of old againſt divers princes that would not hear his voice,

in the which he loſt himſelf, as we ſhall hereafter hear.

The occaſion of the war was this, 'Henry VIII. 'king of England, had a great deſire to have ſpoken 'with our king; and in that point laboured ſo 'long, till that he got a full promiſe made to his 'ambaſſador lord William Howard. The place of 'meeting was appointed at York, which the king 'of England kept with ſuch ſolemnity and prepa-'rations, as never, for ſuch a purpoſe, was ſeen 'in England before. Great noiſe of that journey, 'and ſome preparation for the ſame, was made in 'Scotland: but in the end, by perſuaſion of the 'cardinal David Beaton, and by others of his fac-'tion, that journey was ſtaid, and the king's pro-'miſe falſified.' Whereupon were ſharp letters of reproach ſent to the king, and alſo unto his council. King Henry fruſtrated, returned to London, and after his indignation declared, began to fortify with men his frontiers towards Scotland. There was ſent to the borders, Sir Robert Bowes, the earl of Angus, and his brother Sir George Douglas. Upon what other trifling queſtions (as for the debatable land, and ſuch) the war brake up, we omit to write; the principal occaſion was, the falſifying of the promiſes before made. Our king perceiving that war would riſe, aſked the prelates and church-men, what ſupport they would make to the ſu-ſtaining of the ſame? for rather would he yet ſatisfy the deſire of his uncle, than he would hazard war, where he ſaw not his forces able to reſiſt. They promiſed mountains of gold (as Satan their fa-ther did to Chriſt Jeſus, if he would worſhip him); for rather would they have gone to hell, than he ſhould have met with king Henry; for then, thought they, 'Farewell our kingdom of abbots, 'monks, &c. And farewell, thought the cardinal, 'his credit and glory in France.' In the end, they promiſed fifty thouſand crowns by year, to be well paid ſo long as the war laſted; and further, that their ſervants, and others that appertained to them, and were exempted from common ſervice, ſhould nevertheleſs ſerve in time of neceſſity. Theſe vain promiſes lifted up in pride the heart of the unhap-py king, and ſo begins the war. The realm was quartered, and men were laid in Jedburgh, and Kelſo: all men (fools we mean) bragged of vic-tory, and in very deed the beginning gave us a fair ſhew: for at the firſt warden road, which was made on St. Bartholomew's day, in the year of our Lord 1542, was the warden Sir Robert Bowes, his brother Richard Bowes captain of Norham, Sir William Mambery knight, a baſtard ſon of the earl of Angus, and James Douglas of Parkhead, then rebels, with a great number of borderers, ſoldiers and gentlemen, taken: the road was termed Halde-rig. The earl of Angus, and Sir George his brother, did narrowly eſcape. Our Papiſts and prelates, proud of this victory, encouraged the king, ſo that there was nothing heard but, 'All is ours: they be but 'heretics; if we be a thouſand, and they ten 'thouſand, they dare not fight: France ſhall en-'ter into one part, and we the other, and ſo ſhall 'England be conqueſt within a year.' If any man was ſeen to ſmile at ſuch vanity, he was no more but a traitor and an heretic; and yet by theſe means men had greater liberty than they had be-fore, as concerning their conſcience, for then ceaſ-ed the perſecution. The war continued till the middle of September, and then was ſent down the old duke of Norfolk, with ſuch an army as a hun-dred years before had not come into Scotland; they were in gathering their forces, and ſetting forward of their preparations and munitions, which were exceeding great, till the middle of October, and after: and then they marched from Berwick, and tended to the weſt, ever holding Tweed upon their own ſide, and never camped from that river the ſpace of a mile. During the whole time they con-tinued in Scotland, which was ten or twelve days, forces were ſent up and down to Smallam, Stichel, and ſuch places near about, but many ſnappers they got: ſome corn they burnt, beſides that which the great hoſt conſumed; but ſmall booty they carried away. The king aſſembled his forces at Fala (for he was advertiſed, that they had pro-miſed to come to Edinburgh); and took the muſters all at an hour, two days before Hallow-even: there were found with him eighteen thouſand able men. Upon the borders, that awaited upon the Engliſh army, were ten thouſand good men, with the earl of Huntly, lords Erſkine, Seton, and Hume; theſe were judged men enough to hazard battle, albeit the other were eſteemed forty thouſand. While the king lay at Fala, abiding upon the guns, and upon advertiſement from the army, the lords began to remember how the king had been long abuſed by his flatterers, and principally by the penſioners of the prelates. It was then concluded, that they would make ſome new re-membrance of Lauder-bridge, to ſee, if that would for a ſeaſon ſomewhat help the eſtate of their country: but becauſe the lords could not agree among themſelves about the perſons that deſerved puniſhment (for every man favoured his friend), the whole eſcaped, and the purpoſe was

opened to the king, and by him to the courtiers, who, till they came to Edinburgh, ſtood in no little fear; but that was ſuddenly forgot, as we ſhall after hear. While time is thus protracted, the Engliſh army, for want of victuals (as was reported), retired over Tweed in the night, and ſo began to ſkale and ſunder; whereof the king advertiſed, deſired the lords and barons to aſſiſt him to follow them into England; whoſe anſwer was with one conſent, 'That to defend his perſon and 'realm, they would hazard life, and whatſoever 'they had: but to invade England, neither had 'they ſo juſt title as they deſired, neither yet could 'they be able to do any thing to the hurt of Eng-'land, conſidering that they had long before been 'abſent from their houſes, their proviſion was 'ſpent, their horſes wearied, and that, which 'was greateſt of all, the time of the year did ut-'terly reclaim.' This their anſwer ſeemed to ſatisfy the king; for he in words praiſed their prudent foreſight and wiſe counſel: but the eſſay made to his courtiers, and that bold repulſe of his deſires given to him in his own face, ſo wounded his high ſtomach (for long had he run as himſelf liſted), that he decreeth a notable revenge, which, no doubt, he had not failed to have executed, if God by his own hand had not cut the days of his life. He returns to Edinburgh; the nobility, barons, gentlemen, and commons, to their habitations. And this was the 2d and 3d days of November.

Without longer delay, at the palace of Holyroodhouſe was a new council aſſembled, a council we mean of his abuſers, wherein were accuſations laid againſt moſt part of the nobility, 'Some were 'heretics, ſome favourers of England, ſome friends 'to the Douglas;' and ſo could there be none faithful to the king, in their opinion. The cardinal and prelates caſt faggots in the fire with all their force; and, finding the king wholly addicted to their devotion, delivered unto him a ſcroll, containing the names of ſuch as they, in their inquiſition, had convicted for heretics: for this was the order of juſtice, which theſe holy fathers kept in condemning of innocent men; whoſoever would accuſe any of hereſy, he was heard, no reſpect nor conſideration had what mind the accuſer bare to the perſon accuſed; whoſoever were produced for witneſſes were admitted, how ſuſpicious and infamous ſoever they were: if two or three had proved any point, that by their law was holden hereſy, that was an heretic; there reſted no more but a day to be affixed to his condemnation, and to the execution of their corrupt ſentence. What man could be innocent where ſuch judges were party, the world may this day conſider? true it is, by falſe judgment, and falſe witneſſes, innocents have been oppreſſed from the beginning: but this freedom to ſhed innocent blood, got never the devil but in the kingdom of Antichriſt, 'That the innocent 'ſhould die, and neither know accuſer, nor yet the 'witneſs that teſtifieth againſt him.' But, how ſhall the Antichriſt be known, if he ſhall not be contrarious to God the Father, and his Son Chriſt Jeſus, in law, life, and doctrine? but this we omit. The ſame ſcroll had the cardinal and prelates once preſented to the king before, at that time when he returned from the navigation about the Iſles, in the year 1534; but then it was refuſed by the prudent and ſtout counſel of the laird of Grange, who opened clearly to the king the practices of the prelates, and the danger that thereof might enſue; which conſidered by the king (for being out of his paſſion he was tractable), gave this anſwer, in the palace of Holyroodhouſe, to the cardinal and prelates, after that they had uttered their malice, and ſhewed what profit might ariſe to the crown, if he would follow their counſel; 'Pack you jugglers, get you to your charges, and 'reform your own lives, and be not inſtruments 'of diſcord betwixt my nobility and me; or elſe, 'I vow to God, I ſhall reform you, not as the 'king of Denmark by impriſonment doth, neither 'yet as the king of England doth by hanging and 'heading: but I ſhall reprove you by ſharp puniſh-'ments, if ever I hear ſuch motion of you again.' The prelates, daſhed and aſtoniſhed with this anſwer, ceaſed for a ſeaſon to attempt any further by rigour againſt the nobility. But now, being informed of all proceedings by their penſioners, Oliver Sinclair, Roſs laird of Craigie, and others, who were to them faithful in all things, they conclude to hazard once again their former ſuit; which was no ſooner propoſed, but as ſoon it was accepted, with no ſmall regret, by the king's own mouth, that he had ſo long deſpiſed their counſel: 'For,' ſaid he, 'now I plainly ſee your words to be true: 'the nobility neither deſire my honour nor coun-'tenance, for they would not ride a mile for my 'pleaſure to follow mine enemies: will ye there-'fore find me the means how that I may have a 'road made into England, without their knowledge 'and conſent, that it may be known to be mine 'own road, and I ſhall bind me to your counſel 'forever?' There were gratulations and clapping of hands; there were promiſes of diligence, cloſeneſs, and fidelity, among them. Finally, concluſion was

taken, that the weſt borders of England, which were moſt empty of men and garriſons, ſhould be invaded. The king's own banner ſhould be theirs, Oliver the great minion ſhould be general-lieutenant, but no man ſhould be privy (except the council that was then preſent) of the enterpriſe, till the very day and execution thereof. The biſhops gladly took the charge of that device; letters were ſent to ſuch as they would charge, to meet the king at the day and place appointed: the cardinal, with the earl of Arran, was directed to go to Haddington, to make a ſhew againſt the eaſt border, when the others were in readineſs to invade the weſt: and thus neither lacked counſel, practice, cloſeneſs, nor diligence, to ſet forward that enterpriſe; and ſo, among theſe conſulters, there was no doubt of any good ſucceſs. And ſo was the ſcroll thankfully received by the king himſelf, and put into his own pocket, where it remained to the day of his death, and then was found. In it were contained more than an hundred landed men, beſides others of meaner degree; among whom was the earl of Arran, notwithſtanding his ſiding with the current of the court, and his nearneſs in blood to the king. It was reported that this road was deviſed by the lord Maxwel, but the certainty thereof we have not. The night before the day appointed to the enterpriſe, the king was found at Lochmaben. To him come companies from all quarters, as they were appointed, no man knowing of another (for no general proclamations paſt, but privy letters; neither yet did the multitude know any thing of the purpoſe, till after midnight, when that the trumpet blew, and commanded all men to march forward, and to follow the king (who was conſtantly ſuppoſed to have been in the hoſt). Guides were appointed to conduct them towards England, as both faithfully and cloſely they did: upon the point of day they approached to the enemy's ground, and ſo paſſed the water without any great reſiſtance made unto them. The forward goeth forth, fear riſes, herſhip might have been ſeen on every ſide. The unprovided people were altogether amazed; for bright day appearing, they ſaw an army of ten thouſand men; their beacons on every ſide ſend flames of fire unto the heaven; to them it was more than a wonder, that ſuch a multitude could have been aſſembled and conveyed, no knowledge thereof coming to any of their wardens. For ſupport they looked not, and ſo at the firſt they utterly deſpaired, and yet began they to aſſemble together, ten in one company, twenty in another, and ſo, as the fray proceeded, their troops increaſed, but to no number (for Carliſle fearing to have been aſſaulted, ſuffered no man to iſſue out of their gates); and ſo the greateſt number that ever appeared or approached before the diſcomfiture, paſt not three or four hundred men; and yet they made hot ſkirmiſhing, as in their own ground, in ſuch feats as they are moſt expert, about ten hours. When fires were kindled, and almoſt ſlackened on every ſide, Oliver thought time to ſhew his glory; and ſo incontinent was diſplayed the king's banner; and he, upholden by two ſpears lifted up upon mens ſhoulders, there, with ſound of trumpet, was proclaimed general-lieutenant, and all men commanded to obey him, as the king's own perſon, under all higheſt pains. There was preſent the lord Maxwel warden, to whom the government of things, in abſence of the king, properly appertaineth: he heard and ſaw all, but thought more than he ſpake: there were alſo preſent the earls of Glencairn and Caſſils, with the lord Fleming, and many other lords, barons, and gentlemen of Lothian, Fife, Angus, and Mearns. In this mountain did the ſkirmiſhing grow hotter than it was before, ſhouters were heard on every ſide; ſome Scotſmen were ſtricken down; ſome not knowing the ground were mired, and loſt their horſes; ſome Engliſh horſe of purpoſe were let looſe to provoke greedy and imprudent men to preſs at them, as many did, but found no advantage. While ſuch diſorder riſes more and more in the army, every man cried aloud, My lord lieutenant, what will ye do? Charge was given that all men ſhould light, and go to array in order, for they would fight: others cried, Againſt whom will you fight? yonder men will fight none otherwiſe than ye ſee them do, if ye will ſtand here till the morrow. Now purpoſe was taken, That the footmen (they had there with them certain bands of ſoldiers) ſhould ſafely retire towards Scotland, and the horſemen ſhould take their horſe again, and ſo follow in order. Great was the noiſe and confuſion that was heard, while that every man calleth his own ſluggards; the day was near ſpent, and that was the cauſe of the greateſt fear. The lord Maxwell perceiving what would be the end of ſuch beginnings, ſtood upon his feet with his friends, who, being admoniſhed to take his horſe, and provide for himſelf, anſwered, 'Nay, I will rather abide here 'the chance that it ſhall pleaſe God to ſend me, than 'to go home, and there be hanged;' and ſo he remained upon his foot, and was taken, while the multitude fled, and took the greater ſhame. The enemies perceiving the diſorder, increaſed in courage: be-

fore they ſhouted, but then they ſtroke; they ſhot ſpears, and dagged arrows where the company was thickeſt; ſome encounters were made, but nothing availed; the ſoldiers caſt from them their pikes and culverins, and other ſenſible weapons; the horſemen left their ſpears, and ſo, without judgment, all men fled. The ſea was filling, and ſo the water made great ſtop: but the fear was ſuch, as happy was he that might get a taker. Such as paſſed the water, and eſcaped that danger, not well acquainted with the ground, fell into the ſlimy moſs: the entry thereof was pleaſing enough; but as they proceeded, all that took that way, either loſt their horſe, or elſe themſelves and horſe both. To be ſhort, a greater fear and diſcomfiture, without cauſe, hath ſeldom been ſeen; for it is ſaid, That where the men were not ſufficient to take the bands of priſoners, ſome ran to houſes, and rendered themſelves to women. Stout Oliver was without ſtroke taken fleeing full manfully; and ſo was his glory (ſtinking and fooliſh proudneſs we ſhould call it) ſuddenly turned to confuſion and ſhame. In that diſcomfiture were taken the two earls aforeſaid, the lords Fleming, Somervel, and Oliphant, and many other barons and gentlemen, beſides the great multitude of ſervants. Worldly men ſay, That all this came but by miſorder and fortune, as they term it; but whoſoever hath the leaſt ſpark of the knowledge of God, may as evidently ſee the work of his hand in this diſcomfiture, as ever was ſeen in any of the battles left to us in regiſter by the Holy Ghoſt. For what more evident declaration have we that God fought againſt Benhadad king of Aram, when he was diſcomfited at Samaria, than now we have, that God with his own arm fought againſt Scotland in this former diſcomfiture? There did two hundred and thirty perſons in the ſkirmiſh, with ſeven thouſand following them in the great battle, put to flight the ſaid Benhadad, with thirty kings in his company: but here there is, in this ſhameful diſcomfiture of Scotland, very few more than three hundred men, without the knowledge of any back or battle to follow, put to flight ten thouſand men, without reſiſtance made. There did every man rencounter his marrow, till that the two hundred and thirty ſlew ſuch as matched them: but here, without ſlaughter, the multitude fled. There had thoſe of Samaria the prophet of God to comfort, to inſtruct, and to promiſe victory unto them; but England, in that purſuit, had nothing, but as God ſecretly wrought by his providence in the men that knew nothing of his working, neither yet of the cauſe thereof, more than the wall, that fell upon the reſt of Benhadad's army, knew what it did. And therefore yet again we ſay, that ſuch as, in that ſudden dejection, beholds not the hand of God fighting againſt pride, for freedom of his own little flock unjuſtly perſecuted, doth willingly and maliciouſly obſcure the glory of God; but the end thereof is yet more notable. The certain knowledge of the diſcomfiture coming to the king's ears (who waited upon news at Lochmaben), he was ſtricken with a ſudden fear and aſtoniſhment, ſo that ſcarcely could he ſpeak, or had purpoſe with any man: the night conſtrained him to remain where he was, and ſo went to bed, but roſe without reſt, or quiet ſleep; his continual complaint was, 'O fled Oliver! Is Oliver 'taken? O fled Oliver!' And theſe words in his melancholy, and as it were carried in a trance, repeated he from time to time to the very hour of his death. Upon the morn, which was St. Katharine's day, returned he to Edinburgh, and ſo did the cardinal from Haddington: but the one being aſhamed of the other, the report of their communication came not to public audience. The king made inventory of his treaſure, of all his jewels, and other ſubſtance; and thereafter, aſhamed to look any man in the face, ſecretly departed to Fife; and coming to Halyards, was humanely received of the lady of Grange, an ancient and godly matron (the laird at his coming was abſent). In his company was only with him William Kirkaldy, now laird of Grange, and ſome other that waited upon his chamber. The lady at ſupper perceiving him penſive, began to comfort him, and willeth him to take the work of God in good part. 'My portion,' ſaid he, 'of this world is 'ſhort, for I will not be with you fifteen days.' His ſervants repairing unto him, aſked, Where he would have proviſion made for Chriſtmas, which then approached; he anſwered, with a diſdainful countenance, 'I cannot tell, chuſe you the place; 'but this I can tell you, ere Chriſtmas-day you 'will be maſterleſs, and the realm without a king.' Becauſe of his diſpleaſure, no man durſt make contradiction unto him. So, after that he had viſited the caſtle of Carny, pertaining to the earl of Crawfurd, where the ſaid earl's daughter, one of his miſtreſſes, was, he returned to Falkland, and took bed. And albeit there appeared unto him no ſigns of death, yet he conſtantly affirmed, 'Be-'fore ſuch a day, I ſhall be dead.' In this mean time was the queen upon the point of her delivery in Linlithgow, who was delivered the 8th of De-

cember, in the year of God 1542, of Mary, who then was born, and now doth reign, for a ſcourge to this realm, as the progreſs of her whole life has to this day declared. The certainty that a daughter was born unto him coming to his ears, he turned from ſuch as ſpake with him, and ſaid, 'The devil go with it, it will end as it began; it 'came from a woman, and it will end with a wo-'man;' from Mary, daughter to Robert Bruce, married to Walter Stuart. He feared that his daughter ſhould be married to one of another name and family; but you ſee, by God's providence, the crown remains in one and the ſame family and name to this day, notwithſtanding the many plots of the pretenders to the crown both at home and abroad. After that he ſpake not many words that were ſenſible, but ever harped on his old ſong, 'Fy, 'fled Oliver! Is Oliver taken? All is loſt!' In this mean time, in his great extremity, comes the cardinal (a fit comforter for a deſperate man), he cries in his ear, 'Take order, Sir, with your realm; 'Who ſhall rule during the minority of your daugh-'ter? you have known my ſervice; what will ye 'have done? Shall there not be four regents cho-'ſen? and ſhall not I be the principal of them?'

Whatſoever the king anſwered, documents were taken, that ſo it ſhould be, as my lord cardinal thought expedient. As many affirm, a dead man's hand was made to ſubſcribe on blank, that they might write above what pleaſed them beſt; the cardinal having hired one Henry Balfour, a prieſt, to make a falſe teſtament; which was done accordingly, but in vain. This finiſhed, the cardinal poſted to the queen, lately before delivered, as is ſaid. At the firſt ſight of the cardinal, ſhe ſaid, 'Welcome, my lord, is not the king dead?' What moved her ſo to conjecture, divers men were of divers judgments. Many whiſper, that of old 'his 'part was in the pot,' and that the ſuſpicion thereof cauſed him to be forbidden the queen's company. Howſoever it was before, it is plain, that after the king's death, and during the cardinal's life, whoſoever guided the court, he got his ſecret buſineſs ſped, of that gracious lady, either by day or by night. Howſoever the tidings liked her, ſhe mended with as great expedition of that daughter, as ever ſhe did before of any ſon ſhe bare. The time of her purification was ſooner than the Levitical law appoints; but ſhe was no Jew, and therefore in that ſhe offended not. The noiſe of the death of king James divulgate, who departed this life the 13th of December, in the year of God 1542 aforeſaid, the hearts of men began to be diſcloſed. All men lamented that the realm was left without a male to ſucceed; yet ſome rejoiced that ſuch an enemy to God's truth was taken away. He was called of ſome, a good poor man's king; of others, he was termed a murderer of the nobility, and one that had decreed their whole deſtruction. Some praiſed him for the repreſſing of theft and oppreſſions; others diſpraiſed him for being much given to women. The prelates and clergy feared a change in the king's mind, as he had expreſſed himſelf ſome few years before. And thus men ſpake even as their affections led them, and yet none ſpake altogether beſides the truth: for part of theſe aforeſaid were ſo manifeſt, that, as the virtues could not be denied, ſo could not the vices by any craft be cloaked. Yet, to ſpeak the truth of him, his vices may juſtly be attributed to the times and his breeding, and not to any wickedneſs in his nature; for he gave many expreſſions of a good nature, namely in his ſobriety and juſtice, &c. The queſtion of government was through this realm univerſally moved. The cardinal proclaimed the king's laſt will, and therein were expreſſed four protectors or regents, of whom himſelf was the firſt and principal, and with him were joined the earls of Huntly, Argyle, and Murray: this was done on Monday, at the market-croſs of Edinburgh. But the Monday following took the whole regents remiſſion for their uſurpation: for by the ſtout and wiſe counſel of the laird of Grange, did the earl of Arran, then ſo near to the crown, cauſe aſſemble the nobility of the realm, and required the equity of their judgments in that his juſt ſuit to the government of this realm, during the minority of her to whom he pretended to ſucceed, failing of her, and of her lawful ſucceſſion. His friends convened, the nobility aſſembled, the day of deciſion is appointed; the cardinal and his faction oppoſes them, and are againſt the government of one man, and eſpecially of any called Hamilton: for, 'Who knows not,' ſaid the cardinal, 'that the Hamiltons are cruel 'murderers, oppreſſors of innocents, proud, ava-'ricious, double, and falſe, and finally, the peſti-'lence in this commonwealth?' Whereto the earl anſwered, 'Defraud me not of my right, and 'call me what you pleaſe: whatſoever my friends 'have been, yet unto this day hath no man had 'cauſe to complain againſt me, neither yet am I 'minded to flatter any of my friends in their evil 'doings, but by God's grace ſhall be as forward 'to correct their enormities, as any within the 'realm can reaſonably require of me: and therefore

'yet again, my lords, in God's name, I crave that 'you do me no wrong, nor defraud me of my 'juſt title, before you have experience of my go-'vernment.' At theſe words, were all that fear-ed God, or loved honeſty, ſo moved, that with one voice they cried, 'That petition is moſt juſt; 'and, unleſs you will do againſt God's juſtice and 'equity, it cannot be denied.' And ſo, in deſpite of the cardinal and his ſuborned faction, was he declared governor, and with public proclamation ſo proclaimed to the people. The king's palace, treaſure, jewels, garments, horſe, and plate, were delivered unto him by the officers that had the former charge, and he honoured, feared, and o-beyed, more heartily than ever any king was be-fore, ſo long as he abode with God. The cauſe of the great favour that was borne unto him, was, that it was reported, that he favoured God's word, and becauſe it was well known that he was one appointed to have been perſecuted, as the ſcroll found in the king's pocket, after his death, did witneſs: theſe two things, together with an opi-nion that men had of his ſimplicity, bowed the hearts of many unto him in the beginning, who after, with dolour of hearts, were compelled to change their opinions; but hereof we will after ſpeak. The variety of matters that occurred, we omit; ſuch as the order taken for keeping of the young queen; of the proviſion for the mother; the calling home of the Douglas, and others, ſuch as appertain to an univerſal hiſtory of the time. For, as before we have ſaid, we mind only to fol-low the progreſs of the religion, and of the mat-ters that cannot be ſevered from the ſame.

The earl of Arran being eſtabliſhed in the go-vernment, godly men repaired unto him, exhort-ed him to call to mind for what end God had ex-alted him to be governor; out of what danger he had delivered him, he being in the bloody ſcroll, as we ſaw before; and what expectation all men of honeſty had of him; becauſe they ſaw him a ſoft man, they conceived goodneſs of him. At their inſtant ſuit, more than of his own motion, was Thomas Guilliam, a black-friar, called to be preacher. The man was of ſound judgment, of reaſonable letters (as for that age), and of a prompt and good utterance. His doctrine was wholeſome, without great vehemency againſt ſu-perſtition. Preached alſo ſome time John Rough (who after, for the verity of Chriſt Jeſus, ſuffered in England), albeit not ſo learned, yet more ſim-ple, and more vehement againſt all impiety. The doctrine of theſe two provoked againſt them, and againſt the governor alſo, the hatred of all ſuch as more favoured darkneſs than light, and their own intereſt more than God's, the gray-friars (and a-mongſt the reſt friar Scot, who before had given himſelf forth for the greateſt profeſſor of Chriſt Jeſus within Scotland, and under that colour had diſcloſed, and ſo endangered many). Theſe ſlaves of Satan rowped as they had been ravens; yea, ra-ther they yelled and roared as devils in hell: 'He-'reſy, hereſy, Guilliam and Rough will carry the 'governor to the devil.' The town of Edinburgh, for the moſt part, was drowned in ſuperſtition. Edward Hope, young William Adamſon, Sibilla Lindſay, Patrick Lindſay, Francis Aikman; and in the Canongate, John Mackaw and Ninian Brown, with a few others, had the report of knowledge in theſe days. One Wilſon, ſervant to the biſhop of Dunkeld, who neither knew the New Teſtament nor the Old, made a deſpiteful railing ballad againſt the preachers, and againſt the go-vernor, for the which he narrowly eſcaped hanging. The cardinal both moved heaven and hell to trou-ble the governor to ſtay the preaching, but yet was the battle ſtoutly fought for a ſeaſon; for he was taken, and put firſt in Dalkeith, after in Seton: but at length, by bribes given to the ſaid lord Seton, and to the old laird of Lethington, he was reſtored to St. Andrews, from whence he wrought all miſchief, as we ſhall after hear. The parlia-ment approached, which was before Eaſter: there began queſtion of the aboliſhing of certain tyran-nical acts made before, at the devotion of the pre-lates, for the maintaining of their kingdom of dark-neſs, *viz.* 'That, under pain of hereſy, no man 'ſhould read any part of the Scriptures in the vul-'gar tongue, neither yet any tractate or expoſi-'tion of any place of Scripture:' ſuch articles be-gan to come in queſtion, we ſay, and men began to enquire, If it were not lawful for men that un-derſtood no Latin, to uſe the word of their ſalva-tion in the tongue they underſtood, as it was for the Latin men to have it in Latin, Grecians or Hebrews to have it in their tongues? It was an-ſwered, That the church uſed it not; he means the prelates, who firſt had forbidden all tongues but three, *viz.* Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. But men demanded, When that inhibition was given, and what council had ordained it? conſidering that in the days of Chryſoſtom, he complained that the people uſed not the pſalms, and other holy books, in their own tongues. And if ye will ſay they were Greeks, and underſtood the Greek tongue; we anſwer, That Chriſt Jeſus commanded his

word to be preached to all nations; now, if it ought to be preached to all nations, it muſt be preached in the tongue they underſtand. Then, if it be lawful to preach, and hear it preached in all tongues; why ſhould it not be lawful to read it, and hear it read in all tongues? to the end that the people may 'try the ſpirits,' according to the commandment of the apoſtle? Beaten with theſe and other reaſons, they denied not but that it might be read in the vulgar tongue, provided the tranſlation were true. It was demanded, what could be reprehended in it? and when much ſearching was made, nothing could be found; but that Love, ſay they, was put in the place of Charity: when the queſtion was aſked, What difference was betwixt the one and the other? and if they underſtood the nature of the Greek term αγαπη? they were dumb. Reaſoned for the party of the ſeculars, the lord Ruthven, father to him who prudently gave counſel to take juſt puniſhment upon that knave David, for that he abuſed the unhappy king Henry Stuart, in more caſes than one, a ſtout and a diſcreet man in the cauſe of God, and Mr. Henry Balnaves an old profeſſor: for the part of the clergy, one Hay dean of Reſtalrig, and certain old biſhops with him. The concluſion was, The commiſſioners of burghs, and a part of the nobilty, required of the parliament, that it might be enacted, 'That it ſhould be lawful to every man to uſe the 'benefit of the tranſlation, which then they had of 'the Old and New Teſtament, together with the be'nefit of other treatiſes containing wholeſome doc'trine, until ſuch time as the prelates, and other 'churchmen, ſhould give and ſet forth unto them 'a tranſlation more correct.' The clergy hereto long repugned; but in the end, convinced by reaſons, and by multitude of voices in their contrary, they alſo condeſcended: and ſo, by act of parliament, it was made free to all men and women to read the Scriptures in their own vulgar tongue; and ſo were all acts made to the contrary aboliſhed.

This was no ſmall victory of Chriſt Jeſus, fighting againſt the conjured enemies of his verity; no ſmall comfort to ſuch as before were holden in ſuch bondage, that they durſt not have read the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, nor the articles of their faith, in the vulgar tongue, but they ſhould have been accuſed of hereſy. Then might have been ſeen the Bible lying almoſt upon every gentleman's table. The New Teſtament was borne about in many mens hands. We grant that ſome, alas! profaned that bleſſed word: for ſome that perchance had never read ten ſentences in it, had it moſt common in their hand; they would chop their familiars on the cheek with it, and ſay, This hath lien under my bed-feet theſe ten years. Others would glory, O how oft have I been in danger for this book! how ſecretly have I ſtolen from my wife at midnight, to read upon it! And this was done, we ſay, of many, to make court, and curry favour thereby: for all men eſteemed the governor to have been one of the moſt fervent Proteſtants that was in Europe. Albeit, we ſay, that many abuſed that liberty granted of God miraculouſly, yet thereby did the knowledge of God wonderfully increaſe, and God gave his Holy Spirit to ſimple men in great abundance: then were ſet forth works in our own tongue, beſides thoſe that came from England, that did diſcloſe the pride, the craft, the tyranny, and abuſes, of that Roman Antichriſt. The fame of our governor was ſpread in divers countries, and many praiſed God for him; king Henry VIII. ſent unto him his ambaſſador Mr. Rodulph Saidler, who lay in Edinburgh a great part of the ſummer; his commiſſion and negociation was, to contract a perpetual amity betwixt England and Scotland: the occaſion whereof God had ſo offered, that to many men it appeared, that from heaven he had declared his good pleaſure in that behalf. For to king Henry, of Jean Symer (after the death of queen Katharine, and of all others that might have made his marriage ſuſpected), was given a ſon, Edward VI. of bleſſed memory, older ſome years than our miſtreſs; and unto us was left a queen, as before we have heard. This wonderful providence of God cauſed men of greateſt judgment to enter into diſputation with themſelves, Whether that with good conſcience any man might repugn to the deſires of the king of England, conſidering, that thereby all occaſion of war might be cut off, and great commodity might enſue to this realm? The offers of king Henry were ſo large, and his demands ſo reaſonable, that all that loved quietneſs were content therewith. There were ſent from the parliament to king Henry in commiſſion, Sir James Learmont and Mr. Henry Balnaves, who long remaining in England, ſo travelled, that all things concerning the marriage betwixt Edward VI. and Mary queen of Scots were agreed upon, except the time of her deliverance to the cuſtody of Engliſhmen. Upon the final concluſion of the which head, were added to the former commiſſioners, William earl of Glencairn, and Sir George Douglas, to whom was given ample commiſſion and good inſtructions. In Scotland remained Mr. Rodulph Saidler. Adver-

tiſements paſt ſo frequently betwixt, yea the hands of our lords liberally were anointed, beſides other commodities promiſed, and of ſome received; for divers priſoners taken at Solway moſs, were ſent home free, upon promiſe of their fidelity; which, as it was kept, the iſſue will witneſs. But in the end, ſo well were all once content (the cardinal, the queen, and the faction of France, ever excepted), that ſolemnly, in the abbey of Holyroodhouſe, was the contract of marriage made betwixt the perſons aforeſaid, together with all the clauſes and conditions requiſite for the faithful obſervation thereof, read in public audience, ſubſcribed, ſealed, approved, and allowed of the governor for his part, nobility and lords for their parts; and that nothing ſhould lack that might fortify the matter, was Chriſt's body ſacred, as Papiſts term it, broken betwixt the ſaid governor and Mr. Saidler ambaſſador, and received of them both, as a ſign and token of the unity of their minds, to keep that contract in all points inviolably, as they looked of Chriſt Jeſus to be ſaved, and after to be reputed men worthy of credit before the world. The Papiſts raged againſt the governor, and the lords that had conſented and abode faſt to the contract; and bragged to depoſe the governor, and to confound all, as after follows: but, upon the returning of the foreſaid ambaſſadors from England, pacification was made for that time; for by the judgments of eight perſons for either party choſen, to judge whether that any thing was done by the ſaid ambaſſadors in the contracting of that marriage, which to do they had not ſufficient power from the council and parliament, it was found, that all things were done according to their commiſſion, and that ſo they ſhould ſtand: and ſo were the ſeals of England and Scotland interchanged. Mr. James Fowls, then clerk of the regiſter, received the great ſeal of England; and Mr. Saidler received the great ſeal of Scotland: the heads of the contract we paſs by. Theſe things newly ratified, the merchants made preparation to ſail, and to their traffic, which by the troubles of wars had ſome years been hindered. From Edinburgh were freighted twelve ſhips richly laden, according to the wares in Scotland; from other towns and ports departed others, who all arrived upon the coaſts of England, towards the ſouth, *viz.* in Yarmouth; and without any great neceſſity, entered not only roads, but alſo within ports and places of commandment, and where ſhips might be arreſted: and becauſe of the late contracted amity and gentle entertainment that they found at the firſt, they made no great diſpatch; but being, as they ſuppoſed, in ſecurity, in merrineſs they ſpent the time, abiding upon the wind. In this mean time arrived from France to Scotland the abbot of Paiſley (called now of late John Hamilton, baſtard brother to the governor, whom yet many eſteemed ſon to the old biſhop of Dunkeld, called Crichton), and with him Mr. David Panter, who after was made biſhop of Roſs: the report of the learning of theſe two, and their honeſt life, and of their fervency and uprightneſs in religion, was ſuch, that great hope there was, that their preſence ſhould be comfortable to the church of God; for it was conſtantly affirmed of ſome, that without delay the one or the other would go to the pulpit, and truly preach Jeſus Chriſt. But few days diſcloſed their hypocriſy; for what terrors, what promiſes, or what inchanting boxes they brought from France, the common people knew not; but ſhortly after, it was ſeen that friar Guilliam was prohibited to preach, and ſo departed into England, John Rough to Kyle, a receptacle of God's ſervants of old. The men of counſel, judgment, and godlineſs, that had travelled to promote the governor, and that gave him faithful counſel in all doubtful matters, were either craftily conveyed from him; or elſe, by threatening to be hanged, were compelled to leave him. Of the one number was the laird of Grange aforeſaid, Mr. Henry Balnaves, Mr. Thomas Ballenden, and Sir David Lindſay of the Mount; men by whoſe labours he was promoted to honour, and by whoſe counſel he ſo uſed himſelf at the beginning, that the obedience given to him, was nothing inferior to that obedience that any king of Scotland of many years had before him; yea, in this it did ſurmount the common obedience, in that it proceeded from love of thoſe virtues that were ſuppoſed to have been in him. Of the number of thoſe that were threatened, were Mr. Michael Durham, Mr. David Borthwick, David Forreſſe, and David Bothwel, who counſelled him to have in company with him men fearing God, and not to nouriſh wicked men in their iniquity, albeit they were called his friends, and were of his firname; this counſel underſtood by the aforeſaid abbot, and by the Hamiltons, who then repaired to the court, as ravens to the carrion, in plain words, it was ſaid, 'My lord gover-
'nor, nor his friends, will never be at quietneſs,
'till a dozen of theſe knaves that abuſe his grace
'be hanged.' Theſe words were ſpoken in his own preſence, and in the preſence of ſome of them that had better deſerved than to have been ſo uſed: the ſpeaker was allowed for his plain and bold ſpeak-

ing. And ſo the wicked counſel followed, honeſt and godly men left the court and him in the hands of ſuch as by their wicked counſel led him ſo far from God, that he falſified his promiſe, dipt his hands in the blood of the ſaints of God, and brought this commonwealth to the very point of utter ruin; and theſe were the firſt fruits of the abbot of Paiſley's counterfeit godlineſs and learning; but hereof we will hear more. All honeſt and godly men baniſhed from the court, the abbot and his council begin to lay before the inconſtant governor, the dangers that might enſue the alteration and change of religion, the power of the king of France, the commodity that might come to him and his houſe by retaining the ancient league with France, and the great danger that he brought upon himſelf, if in one jot he ſuffereth the authority of the pope to be violated or called in doubt within this realm, conſidering, that thereupon only ſtood the ſecurity of his pretended right to the ſucceſſion of the crown of this realm: for by God's word could not be made good the divorcement of his father from Eliſabeth Hume, ſiſter to the lord Hume, his lawful wife; and conſequently his marriage to ——— Beaton, niece to James Beaton biſhop of St. Andrews (Eliſabeth Hume being alive), muſt be null, and he declared baſtard. Caiaphas ſpake prophecy, and yet wiſt not what he ſpake; for at that time there was hardly any man that truly feared God, that minded any ſuch thing, but with their whole force would have fortified him in the place that God had given unto him, and would never have called in queſtion things done in time of darkneſs; but this head we paſs by, till God declare his will therein. Another practice was uſed: as for the cardinal, he being ſet at liberty, as before we have heard, ceaſed not to traffic with ſuch of the nobility as he might draw to his faction, or corrupt by any means, to raiſe a party againſt the ſaid governor, and againſt ſuch as ſtood faſt at the contract of marriage and peace with England. And ſo aſſembled at Linlithgow, the ſaid cardinal, the earls of Argyle, Huntly, Bothwel, the biſhops and their bands: and thereafter they paſſed to Stirling, and took with them both the queens, the mother and the daughter, and threatened the depoſition of the ſaid governor, as 'inobedient to 'their holy mother the church' (ſo term they that harlot of Babylon, Rome). The inconſtant man, not thoroughly grounded upon God, left, by his own fault, deſtitute of all good counſel, and having the wicked ever blowing in his ear, 'What 'will you do? you will deſtroy yourſelf and your 'houſe both for ever:' the unhappy man, we ſay, beaten with theſe temptations, rendered himſelf to the appetites of the wicked; for he quietly ſtole away from the lords that were with him in the palace of Holyroodhouſe, paſt to Stirling, ſubjected himſelf to the cardinal and to his council, received abſolution, renounced the profeſſion of the holy goſpel of Chriſt Jeſus, and violated his oath, which before he had made, for the obſervation of the contract and league made with England: at that time was our queen crowned, and a promiſe made to France. The certainty hereof coming to king Henry, our Scottiſh ſhips were ſtaid, the ſails taken from the rigs, and the merchants and mariners were commanded to ſure cuſtody. Now commiſſion was ſent to Mr. Rodulph Saidler, who then ſtill remained in Scotland, to demand the cauſe of that ſudden alteration, and to labour by all means poſſible, that the governor might be called back to his former godly purpoſe, and that he would not do ſo fooliſhly and diſhoneſtly, yea, ſo cruelly and unmercifully to the realm of Scotland, that he would not only loſe the commodities offered, and that were preſently to be received; but alſo, that he would put it to the hazard of fire and ſword, and other inconveniencies that might enſue the war, which was to follow upon the violation of his faith; but nothing could avail. The devil kept faſt the grip that he got, yea, all the days of his government: for the cardinal got his eldeſt ſon in pledge, whom he kept in the caſtle of St. Andrews, until the day that God's hand puniſhed his pride. King Henry perceiving that all hope of the governor's repentance was loſt, called back his ambaſſadors, and that with fearful threatenings, as Edinburgh after felt; denounced war, made our ſhips prizes, and merchants and mariners lawful priſoners, which to the burghs of Scotland was no ſmall herſhip. But thereat did the cardinal and prieſts laugh, and jeſtingly he ſaid, 'When we ſhall conquer England, the merchants 'ſhall be recompenſed.' The ſummer and the harveſt paſſed over without any notable thing; for the cardinal and abbot of Paiſley parted the prey amongſt them; the abuſed governor bare the name only. In the beginning of winter came the earl of Lennox to Scotland, ſent from France in hatred of the governor, whom the king (by the cardinal's advice) promiſed to pronounce baſtard, and ſo to make the ſaid earl governor; firſt, becauſe he himſelf was born by ——— Beaton, his father's lawful wife, Eliſabeth Hume being yet alive; next,

becauſe his grandfather was born by Mary Stuart to James Hamilton, when her lawful huſband Thomas Boyd was yet alive. So the earl of Lennox did not only pretend to be lawfully next to the crown, as the late king James V. did often declare, that if he died without heir-male, he would ſettle the crown upon him, but alſo lawful heir of the earldom of Arran, as being deſcended from Margaret Hamilton, born of Mary Stuart to James Hamilton, after the death of Thomas Boyd her former huſband (now by this time the inconſtant earl of Arran had given himſelf wholly to the cardinal). The cardinal further put the earl of Lennox in vain hope, that the queen dowager ſhould marry him. He brought with him ſome money, and more he after received at the hands of Labroſs: but at length perceiving himſelf fruſtrated of all expectation that he had, either by France, or yet by the promiſe of the cardinal, he concluded to leave France, and to ſeek the favour of England; and ſo began to draw a faction againſt the governor; and, in hatred of the other's inconſtancy, many favoured him in the beginning: for there aſſembled at Chriſtmas, in the town of Air, the earls of Angus, Glencairn, Caſſils; the lord Maxwel, the laird of Drumlanrick, Campbell the ſheriff of Air, with all the forces that they and the lords that remained conſtant at the opinion of England might make; and after Chriſtmas they came to Leith. The governor and cardinal with their forces kept Edinburgh (for they were ſlackly purſued). Men excuſed the earl of Lennox in that behalf, and laid the blame upon ſome that had no will of the Stuarts government. Howſoever it was, ſuch an appointment was made, that the ſaid earl of Lennox was diſappointed of his purpoſe, and narrowly eſcaped, and firſt gat him to Glaſgow, and after to Dunbarton. Sir George Douglas was delivered to be kept as pledge: the earl his brother was in the Lent after taken at the ſiege of Glaſgow: it was reported, that both the brethren, and others with them, had loſt their heads, if, by the providence of God, the Engliſh army had not arrived in time. After that the cardinal had gotten the governor wholly addicted to his devotion, and had obtained his intent above a part of his enemies, he began to practiſe, how that ſuch as he feared, and therefore deadly hated, ſhould be ſet by the ears one againſt another (for in that thought, the carnal man put his greateſt ſecurity). The lord Ruthven he hated, by reaſon of his knowledge of God's word; the lord Gray he feared, becauſe at that time he uſed the company of ſuch as profeſſed godlineſs, and bare ſmall favour to the cardinal; now thus reaſoned the worldly-wiſe man; if I can put enmity betwixt theſe two, I ſhall be rid of a great number of unfriends; for the moſt part of the country will either aſſiſt the one or the other, and ſo will they be otherwiſe occupied than to watch for my diſpleaſure. He finds the means without long proceſs; for he labours with John Chartarous (a man of ſtout courage and many friends), to accept the provoſtry of St. Johnſton, which he purchaſed to him by donation of the governor, with a charge to the ſaid town to obey him as their lawful provoſt; whereat not only the ſaid Lord Ruthven, but alſo the town, being offended, gave a negative anſwer, alledging, that ſuch intruſion of men to office was hurtful to their privilege and freedom, which granted unto them free election of their provoſt from year to year, at a certain time appointed, which they could not nor would not anticipate. Hereat the ſaid John offended, ſaid, that he would take that office by force, if they would not grant it unto him of benevolence; and ſo departed and communed the matter with the lord Gray, with Norman Leſly, and with others his friends, whom he eaſily perſuaded to aſſiſt him in that purſuit; becauſe he appeareth to have the governor's right, and had not only a charge to the town, as is ſaid, but alſo he purchaſed letters to beſiege it, and take it by ſtrong hand, if any reſiſtance was made unto him: ſuch letters, we ſay, made many to favour his action. The other made for defence, and ſo took the maſter of Ruthven (the lord that after departed into England), the maintenance of the town, having in his company the laird of Moncrief, and other friends adjacent: the ſaid John prepared for the purſuit, and upon St. Magdalen's day, in the morning, *anno* 1543, approached with his forces (the lord Gray took upon him the principal charge). It was appointed, that Norman Leſly, with his friends, ſhould have come by ſhip with munition and ordnance, as they were in readineſs; but becauſe the tide ſerved not ſo ſoon as they would, the other thinking himſelf of ſufficient force for all that were in the town, entered in by the bridge, where they found no reſiſtance, till that the former part was entered a pretty ſpace within the fiſh-gate; and then the ſaid maſter of Ruthven, with his company, ſtoutly rencountered them, and ſo rudely repulſed the foremoſt, that ſuch as were behind gave back. The place of retreat was ſo ſtrait, that men that durſt not fight, could not flee at their pleaſure (for the moſt part of my lord Gray's friends were upon the bridge), and ſo the

ſlaughter was great; for there fell by the edge of the ſword threeſcore men. The cardinal had rather that the miſhap had fallen on the other part; but howſoever it was, he thought that ſuch trouble was his comfort and advantage. The knowledge whereof came to the ears of the party diſcomfited, and was unto them no ſmall grief: for as many of them entered into that action for his pleaſure, ſo thought they to have had fortification and aſſiſtance, whereof finding themſelves fruſtrated, they began to look more narrowly to themſelves, and did not ſo attend upon the cardinal's devotion as they had wont to do before; and ſo was a new jealouſy engendered among them; for whoſoever would not play the good ſervant unto him, was reputed his enemy. The cardinal drew the governor to Dundee; for he underſtood, that the earl of Rothes and Mr. Henry Balnaves were with the lord Gray in the caſtle of Huntly: the governor ſent and commanded the ſaid earl and lord, with the foreſaid Mr. Henry, to come unto him to Dundee, and appointed the next day, at ten of the clock before noon, which hour they decreed to keep; and for that purpoſe aſſembled their folks at Balgavie, or thereby. The cardinal advertiſed of their number (they were no more than three hundred men), thought it not good that they ſhould join with the town, for he feared his own eſtate; and ſo he perſuaded the governor to paſs forth of Dundee before nine o'clock, and to take the ſtrait way to St. Johnſton: which perceived by the foreſaid lords, they began to fear that they were come to purſue them, and ſo put themſelves in order and array, and marched forward of purpoſe to have bidden the uttermoſt. But the crafty fox, foreſeeing that in fighting ſtood not his ſecurity, ran to his laſt refuge, that is, to manifeſt treaſon; and ſo conſultation was taken, how that the force of the others might be broken. And at the firſt were ſent the laird of Grange, and the provoſt of St. Andrews (knowing nothing of the treaſon), to aſk, why they moleſted my lord governor in his journey? Whereto they anſwered, That they meant nothing leſs, for they came at his grace's commandment, to have kept the hour in Dundee appointed by him; which, becauſe they ſaw prevented, and knowing the cardinal to be their friend, they could not but ſuſpect their unprovided coming forth of the town; and therefore they put themſelves in order, not to invade, but to defend, in caſe they were invaded. This anſwer reported, was ſent to the biſhop of St. Andrews, the abbot of Paiſley, Mr. David Panter, the lairds of Balcleugh and Coldingknows, to deſire certain of the other company to talk with them, which they eaſily obtained (for they ſuſpected no treaſon). After long communication, it was demanded, If that the earl and lord, and Mr. Henry aforeſaid, would not be content to talk with the governor, provided the cardinal and his company were on the place? They anſwered, That the governor might command them in all things lawful; but they had no will to be in the cardinal's mercy. Fair promiſes enow were made for their ſecurity; then was the cardinal and his band commanded to depart, as that he did, according to the purpoſe taken. The governor remained, and a certain number with him; to whom came, without company, the ſaid earl, lord, and Mr. Henry. After many fair words given to them all, *viz.* That he would have them agreed with the cardinal, and that he would have Mr. Henry Balnaves the worker and inſtrument thereof, he drew them forward with him towards St. Johnſton, whereto the cardinal was ridden. They began to ſuſpect (albeit it was too late), and therefore they deſired to have returned to their folks, for putting order unto them. But it was anſwered, They ſhould ſend back from the town; but they muſt needs go forward with my lord governor; and ſo, partly by flattery, and partly by force, they were compelled to obey; and as ſoon as they were in the town, they were apprehended, and on the morrow ſent all three to Blackneſs, where they remained, as it pleaſed the cardinal's graceleſs grace, and that was till the band of followers, and of ſervice, ſet ſome of them at liberty: and thus the cardinal with his craft perſuaded on every ſide, ſo that the Scots proverb was true in him, 'So long runs the fox, as he has feet.' Whether it was at this journey, or at another, that that bloody butcher executed his cruelty upon the innocent perſons at St. Johnſton, we cannot affirm; neither yet therein ſtudy we to be curious, but rather we labour to expreſs the verity, whenſoever it was done, than ſcrupulouſly and exactly to appoint times, which yet we omit not when the certainty occurs. The verity of that cruel fact was this, At St. Paul's day, before the firſt burning of Edinburgh, came to St. Johnſton the governor and cardinal, and there, upon envious accuſation, were a great number of honeſt men and women called before the cardinal, and accuſed of hereſy; and albeit they could be convicted of nothing, but only of ſuſpicion that they had eaten a gooſe upon Friday, four men were adjudged to be hanged, and a woman to be drowned; which cruel and

moſt unjuſt ſentence was without mercy put in execution: the huſband was hanged; and the wife, having a ſucking babe upon her breaſt, was drowned. 'O Lord! the land is not yet purged from 'ſuch beaſtly cruelty, neither hath thy juſt ven-'geance yet ſtricken all that were criminal of 'their blood!' But the day approacheth, when the puniſhment of that cruelty, and of others, will evidently appear. The names of the men that were hanged, were, James Hunter, William Lamb, William Anderſon, James Ruvalt burgeſs of St. Johnſton. At the ſame time were baniſhed, Sir Henry Elder, John Elder, Walter Piper, Laurence Pullar, with divers others, whoſe names come not to our knowledge. That ſworn enemy to Chriſt Jeſus, and unto all in whom any ſpark of knowledge appeared, had about that time in priſon divers; amongſt whom was John Roger, a blackfriar, godly and learned, one that had fruitfully preached Chriſt Jeſus, to the comfort of many in Angus and Mearns, whom that bloody man cauſed to be murdered, in the ground of the Sea-tower in St. Andrews, and then cauſed to caſt him over the wall, ſpreading a falſe report, That the ſaid John ſeeking to flee, had broken his own neck. Thus ceaſed not Satan by all means to maintain his kingdom of darkneſs, and to ſuppreſs the light of Chriſt's goſpel: but mighty is he againſt whom they fight; for when the wicked were in greateſt ſecurity, then began God to ſhew his anger; for the 3d day of May, in the year of our Lord 1544, without knowledge of any man in Scotland (we mean, of ſuch as ſhould have had the care of the realm), was ſeen a great navy of ſhips arriving towards the Firth. The poſts came to the governor and cardinal, who both were in Edinburgh, ſhewing what multitude of ſhips were ſeen, and what courſe they took: this was on the Saturday before noon. Queſtion was had, What ſhould they mean? Some ſaid, It is no doubt but they are Engliſhmen, and we fear that they will land. The cardinal ſkipped, and ſaid, It is the iſland-float; they are come to make a ſhew, and to put us in fear: I ſhall lodge all the men of war in mine eye, that ſhall land in Scotland. Still ſitteth the cardinal at his dinner, eating as though there had been no danger appearing. Men aſſembled to gaze upon the ſhips, ſome to the Caſtle-hill, ſome to the mountains, and other places eminent; but there was no queſtion, With what forces ſhall we reſiſt, if we be invaded? Soon after ſix of the clock at night, were arrived, and had caſt anchor in the road of Leith, more than two hundred ſail. Shortly after, the admiral ſhot a flat boat, which from Granton-hills, till by Eaſt-Leith, ſounded the deep, and ſo returned to her ſhip: hereof were divers opinions: men of judgment foreſaw what it meant: but no credit was given to any that would ſay, They minded to land; and ſo paſſed every man to his reſt, as if the ſhips had been a guard for their defence. Upon the point of day, on Sunday the 4th of May, addreſs they for landing; and they ordered the ſhips ſo, that a galley or two laid their ſnouts to the hills: the ſmall ſhips, called pinnaces and light horſemen, approached as near as they could. The great ſhips diſcharged their ſoldiers into the ſmaller veſſels, and they by boats ſet upon dry land before ten of the clock ten thouſand men, as was judged, and more. The governor and cardinal ſeeing then the thing that they could not, or at leaſt they would not believe before, after they had made a brag to fight, fled as faſt as horſe could carry them; ſo that after, they approached not within twenty miles of the danger. The earl of Angus and Sir George Douglas were that night freed of ward (they were in Blackneſs): the ſaid Sir George in merrineſs, ſaid, 'I thank king Henry and my 'gentle maſters of England.' The Engliſh army, betwixt one and two of the clock, entered into Leith, found the tables covered, the dinners prepared, ſuch abundance of wine and victuals, beſides the other ſubſtance, that the like riches within the like bounds was not to be found neither in Scotland nor England. Upon Monday the 5th of May, came to them from Berwick and the borders, two thouſand horſemen, who being ſomewhat repoſed, the army upon Wedneſday marched toward the town of Edinburgh, ſpoiled and burnt the ſame, and ſo did they the palace of Holyrood-houſe: the horſemen took the houſe of Craigmillar, and got great ſpoils therein; for it was judged the ſtrongeſt houſe near the town, after the caſtle of Edinburgh, and all men ſought to ſave their moveables therein: but the ſtoutneſs of the laird gave it over, without ſhot of hackbut; and for his reward was cauſed to march upon his feet to London: he is now captain of Dunbar, and provoſt of Edinburgh. The Engliſhmen ſeeing no reſiſtance, hurled by force of men cannon upon the ſtreet, to the Butter-trone, and above, and hazarded a ſhot againſt the fore-entry of the caſtle: but that was to their own pains; for they lying without trench or gabion, were expoſed to the force of the whole ordnance of the ſaid caſtle, which ſhot, and that not all in vain; for the wheel

and axle-tree of one of the Engliſh cannon was broken, and ſome of their men ſlain; and ſo they left with ſmall honour, that enterpriſe taken rather of raſhneſs than of any adviſed counſel. When the moſt part of the day they had ſpoiled and burnt, towards the night they returned to Leith, and upon the morrow returned to Edinburgh, and executed the reſt of God's judgments for that time: and ſo, when they had conſumed both the towns, they loaded the ſhips with the ſpoils thereof, and they by land returned to Berwick, uſing the country, for the moſt part, at their own pleaſure. This was a part of the puniſhment which God took upon the realm for the infidelity of the governor, and for the violation of his ſolemn oath: but this was not the end; for the realm was divided into two factions, the one favoured France, the other the league lately contracted with England; the one did in no things credit thoroughly the other, ſo that the country was in extreme calamity: for to the Engliſhmen were delivered divers ſtrengths, ſuch as Carlaverock, Lochmaben, and Langham: the moſt part of the borderers were confederated with England: and albeit at Ancrum-muir, in February 1544, was Sir Ralph Ewers, with many other Engliſhmen, ſlain, and the year after were ſome of the ſaid ſtrengths recovered, yet was it not without great loſs and detriment of the commonwealth: for, in the month of January 1545, Monſieur de Lorge, with bands of men of war, came from France, for a deſtruction to Scoland; for upon their brag was an army raiſed, forwards they go towards Wark, even in the midſt of harveſt. The cardinal's banner was that day diſplayed, and all his files were charged to be under it; many had before promiſed; but at the point it was left ſo bare, that with ſhame it was put up into the pock again, and they, after a ſhew, returned with more ſhame to the realm than hurt to their enemies. The black book of Hamilton maketh mention of great vaſſalage done at that time by the governor and the French; but ſuch as with their eyes ſaw the whole progreſs, knew that to be a lie, 'and do repute 'it amongſt the venial ſins of that race, which is 'to ſpeak the beſt of themſelves they can.' That winter following ſo nurtured the Frenchmen, that they learned to eat, yea, to beg cakes, which at their entry they ſcorned, without jeſting; they were ſo miſerably uſed, that few returned into France again with their lives. The cardinal then had almoſt fortified the caſtle of St. Andrews, which he made ſo ſtrong in his opinion, that he regarded neither England nor France. The earl of Lennox, as is ſaid, diſappointed of all things in Scotland, paſſed into England, where he was received of king Henry into protection, who gave him to wife lady Margaret Douglas, of whom was born Henry, ſometime huſband to our queen and miſtreſs. While the inconſtant governor was ſometimes dejected, and ſometimes raiſed up again by the abbot of Paiſley (who before was called 'Chaſter than any maiden'), began to ſhew himſelf; for after he had taken by craft the caſtles of Edinburgh and Dunbar, he took alſo poſſeſſion of his enemy's wife, the lady Stanehouſe; the woman is, and hath been famous, and is called lady Gilton; her ladyſhip was holden always in poverty; but how many wives and virgins he hath had ſince, and that in common, the world knoweth, albeit not all, and his baſtard-birds bear ſome witneſs: ſuch is the example of holineſs that the flock may receive of the Papiſtical biſhops. In the midſt of all the calamities that came upon this realm, after the defection of the governor from Chriſt Jeſus, came into Scotland that bleſſed martyr of God, Mr. George Wiſhart, in company of the commiſſioners before mentioned, in the year of our Lord 1544, a man of ſuch graces, as before him was never heard within this realm, yea, and are rare to be found yet in any man, notwithſtanding this great light of God that ſince his days hath ſhined unto us: he was not only ſingularly learned, as well in all godly knowledge, as in all honeſt human ſcience; but alſo, he was ſo clearly illuminated with the ſpirit of prophecy, that he ſaw not only things pertaining to himſelf, but alſo ſuch things, as ſome towns, and the whole realm afterward felt, which he foreſpake, not in ſecret, but in the audience of many, as in their own places ſhall be declared. The beginning of his doctrine was in Montroſe; therefrom he departed to Dundee, where, with great admiration of all that heard him, he taught the Epiſtle to the Romans, till that by procurement of the cardinal Robert Myle, then one of the principal men of Dundee, and a man that of old had profeſſed knowledge, and for the ſame had ſuffered trouble, gave, in the queen's and governor's names, inhibition to the ſaid Mr. George, that he ſhould trouble their town no more, for they would not ſuffer it: and this was ſaid to him being in the public place: which heard, he muſed a pretty ſpace, with his eyes bent unto the heavens: and thereafter, looking ſorrowfully to the ſpeaker, and unto the people, he ſaid, 'God is witneſs that I never minded your 'trouble, but your comfort; yea, your trouble

'is more dolorous unto me, than it is unto your-
'ſelves; but I am aſſured, that to refuſe God's
'word, and to chaſe from you his meſſenger, ſhall
'not preſerve you from trouble, but it ſhall bring
'you into it: for God ſhall ſend unto you meſſen-
'gers, who will not be afraid of burning, nor yet
'of baniſhment. I have offered you the word of
'ſalvation, and with the hazard of my life I have
'remained amongſt you; now ye yourſelves refuſe
'me, and therefore muſt I leave my innocency to
'be declared by my God; "If it be long proſper-
"ous with you, I am not led by the Spirit of
"truth:" but if trouble unlooked for apprehend
'you, acknowledge the cauſe, and turn to God,
'for he is merciful; but if ye turn not at the firſt,
'he will viſit you with fire and ſword.' Theſe words pronounced, he came down from the preaching-place. In the church preſent was the lord Marſhal, and ſeveral noblemen, who would have had the ſaid Mr. George to have remained, or elſe to have gone with them into the country: but for no requeſt would he either tarry in the town, or on that ſide of Tay any longer, but with poſſible expedition paſt to the weſt country, where he began to offer God's word, which was of many gladly received, till that Dunbar the biſhop of Glaſgow, by inſtigation of the cardinal, came with his gatherings to the town of Air, to make reſiſtance to the ſaid Mr. George, and did firſt take the church: the earl of Glencairn being thereof advertiſed, repaired with his friends to the town with diligence, and ſo did divers gentlemen of Kyle (amongſt whom was the laird of Leſnoreiſe, a man far different from him that now liveth, in the year of our Lord 1566, in manners and religion), of whom to this day yet many live, and have declared themſelves always zealous and bold in the cauſe of God, as after will be heard. When all were aſſembled, concluſion was taken, that they would have the church; whereto the ſaid Mr. George utterly repugned, ſaying, 'Let him alone, his ſermon will 'not much hurt; let us go to the market-croſs;' and ſo they did, where he made ſo notable a ſermon, that the very enemies themſelves were confounded. The biſhop preached to his jack-men, and to ſome old boſſes of the town: the ſum of all his ſermon was, 'They ſay we ſhould preach; why not? 'Better late thrive, than never thrive; hold us 'ſtill for your biſhops, and we ſhall provide bet-'ter the next time.' This was the beginning and the end of the biſhop's ſermon, who with haſte departed the town, but returned not to fulfil his promiſe. The ſaid Mr. George remained with the gentlemen in Kyle, till that he got ſure knowledge of the ſtate of Dundee: he preached commonly at the church of Gaſton, and uſed much in the Bar: he was required to come to the church of Machlyne; and ſo he did; but the ſheriff of Air cauſed to man the church, for preſervation of a tabernacle that was there beautiful to the eye. The perſons that held the church, were George Campbell of Mongarſwood, who yet liveth *anno* 1566, Mungo Campbell of Brownſide, George Reid in Dandilling, the laird of Tempilland.

Some zealous of the pariſh, among whom was Hugh Campbell of Kingarcleugh, offended that they ſhould be debarred their pariſh-church, concluded by force to enter; but the ſaid Mr. George withdrew the ſaid Hugh, and ſaid unto him, 'Bro-'ther, Chriſt Jeſus is as mighty upon the fields as 'in the church; and I find that he himſelf oftner 'preached in the deſert, at the ſea-ſide, and o-'ther places judged profane, than he did in the 'temple of Jeruſalem. It is the word of peace 'that God ſends by me, the blood of no man 'ſhall be ſhed this day for the preaching of it.' And ſo, withdrawing the whole people, he came to a ditch in a muir-edge, upon the ſouth-weſt ſide of Machlyne, upon the which he aſcended: the whole multitude ſtood and ſat about him (God gave the day pleaſant and hot), he continued in preaching more than three hours; in that ſermon God wrought ſo wonderfully with him, that one of the moſt wicked men that was in that country, named Laurence Ranken laird of Sheld, was converted; the tears ran from his eyes in ſuch abundance, that all men wondered; his converſion was without hypocriſy, for his life and converſation witneſſed it in all times to come. While this faithful ſervant of God was thus occupied in Kyle, word roſe, that the plague of peſtilence roſe in Dundee, which began four days after that the ſaid Mr. George was inhibited preaching, and was ſo vehement, that it paſt almoſt credibility to hear how many departed every four-and-twenty hours: the certainty underſtood, the ſaid Mr. George took his leave of Kyle, and that with the regret of many; but no requeſt could make him to remain; his reaſon was, 'They are now in trouble, and need 'comfort: perchance this hand of God will 'make them now to magnify and reverence that 'word, which before, for the fear of men, they 'ſet at light price.' Coming unto Dundee, the joy of the faithful was exceeding great. He delayed no time, but even upon the morrow gave ſignification that he would preach; and becauſe

the moſt part were either ſick, or elſe were in company with thoſe that were ſick, he chuſed the head of the eaſt port of the town for his preaching-place, and ſo the whole ſtood or ſat within, the ſick and ſuſpected without the port or gate. The text upon the which his firſt ſermon was made, he took from the hundred and ſeventh pſalm, the ſentence thereof, 'He ſent his word, 'and healed them;' and therewith joined theſe words, 'It is neither herb nor plaſter, O Lord, 'but thy word healeth all.' In which ſermon, he moſt comfortably did intreat of the dignity and utility of God's word, the puniſhment that comes for the contempt of the ſame, the promptitude of God's mercy to ſuch as truly turn to him; yea, the great happineſs of them whom God taketh from this miſery, even in his own gentle viſitation, which the malice of man can neither mend nor pair; by the which ſermon he ſo raiſed up the hearts of all that heard him, that they regarded no death, but judged them more happy that ſhould depart, than ſuch as ſhould remain behind, conſidering that they knew not if they ſhould have ſuch a comforter with them at all times. He ſpared not to viſit them that lay in the very extremity, he comforted them as he could; being ſuch a multitude, he cauſed miniſter all things neceſſary to thoſe that could uſe meat or drink, and in that point was the town wonderous beneficial; for the poor was no more neglected than was the rich. While he was ſpending his life to comfort the afflicted, the devil ceaſed not to ſtir up his own ſon the cardinal again, who corrupted by money a deſperate prieſt, named Sir John Wighton, to ſlay the ſaid Mr. George, who looked not to himſelf in all things ſo circumſpectly as worldly men would have uſed. And upon a day, the ſermon ended, and the people departing, no man ſuſpecting danger, and therefore not heeding the ſaid Mr. George, the prieſt that was corrupted ſtood waiting at the foot of the ſteps, his gown looſe, and his dagger drawn in his hand under his gown. The ſaid Mr. George, as that he was moſt ſharp of eye and judgment, marked him, and as he came near, he ſaid, 'My friend, 'what would ye do?' and therewith he clapped his hand upon the prieſt's hand wherein the dagger was, which he took from him; the prieſt abaſhed, fell down at his feet, and openly confeſſed the verity as it was. The noiſe riſing, and coming to the ears of the ſick, they cried, 'Deliver the 'traitor to us, or elſe we will take him by force:' and ſo they burſt in at the gate; but Mr. George took him in his arms, and ſaid, 'Whoſoever troubles him, ſhall trouble me; for he hath hurt me 'in nothing, but he hath done great comfort to 'you and me; *viz.* he hath let us to under-'ſtand what we may fear; in times to come we 'will watch better:' and ſo he appeaſed both the one part and the other, and ſaved the life of him that ſought his. When the plague was ſo ceaſed, that almoſt there was none ſick, he took his leave of them, and ſaid, 'That God had almoſt put an 'end to that battle;' he found himſelf called to another place. The gentlemen of the weſt had written unto him, that he ſhould meet them at Edinburgh; for they would require diſputation of the biſhops, and that he ſhould be publicly heard, whereto he willingly agreed. But firſt he paſſed to Montroſe to ſalute the church there, where he remained, occupied ſometimes in preaching, but moſt part in ſecret meditation, in the which he was ſo earneſt, that night and day he would continue in it. While he was ſo occupied with his God, the cardinal drew a ſecret draught for his ſlaughter; he cauſed to write unto him a letter, as it had been from his moſt familiar friend, the laird of Kinneir, deſiring him with all poſſible diligence to come unto him, for he was ſtricken with a ſudden ſickneſs. In the mean time had the traitor provided ſixty men, with jacks and ſpears, to lie in wait within a mile and a half of the town of Montroſe for his diſpatch: the letter coming to his hand, he made haſte at firſt (for the boy had brought a horſe), and ſo with ſome honeſt men he paſſed forth of the town, but ſuddenly he ſtaid, and muſing a ſpace, returned back; whereat they wondering, he ſaid, 'I will not go, I am forbidden 'of God; I am aſſured there is treaſon: let ſome of 'you, ſaith he, go to yonder place, and tell me 'what ye find.' Diligence made, they found the treaſon as it was; which being ſhewn with expedition to Mr. George, he anſwered, 'I know that 'I ſhall end my life in that blood-thirſty man's 'hands, but it will not be on this manner.'

The time approaching that he had appointed to meet the gentlemen at Edinburgh, he took his leave at Montroſe, and fore againſt the judgment of the laird of Dun, entered on his journey, and ſo returned to Dundee; but remained not, but paſſed to the houſe of a faithful brother named James Watſon, who dwelt in Innergowrie, diſtant from the ſaid town two miles, and that night (as information was given to us by William Spadin, and John Watſon, both men of good credit) before day he paſſed forth into a yard; the ſaid William and John followed privily, and took heed what he did. When

he had gone up and down in an alley a reaſonable ſpace, with many ſobs and deep groans, he fell upon his knees, and ſitting thereon, his groans increaſed; and from his knees he fell upon his face, and then the perſons aforenamed heard weeping, and, as it were, an indigeſt ſound of prayers, in the which he continued near an hour, and after began to be quiet, and ſo aroſe and came in to his bed. They that waited upon him came before, as if they had been ignorant, till that he came in, and then began they to demand where be had been, but that night he would anſwer nothing. Upon the morrow they urged him again; and while that he diſſembled, they ſaid, Mr. George, be plain with us; for we heard your mourning, and ſaw you both upon your knees, and upon your face. With dejected viſage, he ſaid, I had rather ye had been in your beds, and it had been more profitable for you; for I was ſcarce well occupied. When they inſtantly urged him to let them know ſome comfort, he ſaid, I will tell you, that I am aſſured that my travel is near an end; and therefore call to God with me, that now I ſhrink not when the battle waxes moſt hot. And while that they wept, and ſaid, 'That was ſmall comfort unto them;' he anſwered, 'God ſhall ſend you comfort after 'me. This realm ſhall be illuminated with the 'light of Chriſt's goſpel, as clearly as ever any 'realm ſince the days of the apoſtles. The houſe 'of God ſhall be built in it; yea, it ſhall not lack '(whatſoever the enemy imagine in the contrary) 'the very cape-ſtone;' meaning, that it ſhould once be brought to the full perfection. 'Neither,' ſaid he, 'ſhall this be long to: there ſhall not many 'ſuffer after me, till that the glory of God ſhall 'evidently appear, and ſhall once triumph in de'ſpite of Satan. But alas! if the people ſhall be 'after unthankful, then fearful and terrible ſhall 'the plagues be that ſhall follow.' And with theſe words, he marched forwards in his journey towards St. Johnſton, and ſo to Fife, and then to Leith, where he arrived: and hearing no word of thoſe that appointed to meet him, *viz.* the earl of Caſſils, and the gentlemen of Kyle and Cuninghame, he kept himſelf ſecret a day or two; but beginning to wax ſorrowful in ſpirit, and being demanded of the cauſe, of ſuch as were not in his company before, he ſaid, What differ I from a dead man, except that I eat and drink? to this time God hath uſed my labours to the inſtruction of others, and unto the diſcloſing of darkneſs; and now I lurk as a man that were aſhamed, and durſt not ſhew himſelf before men. By theſe and the like words, they that heard him underſtood that his deſire was to preach; and therefore ſaid, moſt comfortable it were unto us to hear you; but becauſe we know the danger wherein ye ſtand, we dare not deſire you. But dare ye and others hear, ſaid he, and then let my God provide for me as beſt pleaſeth him? Finally, it was concluded, that the next Sunday he ſhould preach in Leith, as he did, and took that text, 'The parable of the ſower that went forth 'to ſow ſeed,' Matth. xiii. And this was upon the fifteenth day before Chriſtmas.

The ſermon ended, the gentlemen of Lothian, who then were earneſt profeſſors of Chriſt Jeſus, thought not expedient that he ſhould remain in Leith, becauſe that the governor and cardinal were ſhortly to come to Edinburgh; and therefore they took him with them, and kept him ſometimes in Brunſton, ſometimes in Longniddry, and ſometimes in Ormiſton; for theſe three diligently waited upon him. The Sunday following, he preached in the church of Invereſk, beſide Muſſelburgh, both before and after noon, where there was a great confluence of people, amongſt whom was Sir George Douglas, who, after the ſermon, ſaid publicly, 'I know that my lord governor, 'and my lord cardinal, ſhall hear that I have been 'at this preaching (for they were then at Edin'burgh); ſay unto them, that I will avow it, and 'will not only maintain the doctrine which I 'have heard, but alſo the perſon of the teacher, 'to the uttermoſt of my power.' Which words greatly rejoiced the people, and the gentlemen then preſent. One thing notable in that ſermon we cannot paſs by: among others, there came two gray-friars, and ſtanding in the entry of the church-door, they made ſome whiſperings to ſuch as came in; which perceived, the preacher ſaid to the people that ſtood near them, 'I heartily pray 'you to make room to thoſe two men, it may be 'that they be come to learn.' And unto them he ſaid, 'Come near (for they ſtood in the very en'try of the door); for, I aſſure you, ye ſhall hear 'the word of verity, which ſhall either ſeal in you 'this ſame day your ſalvation or condemnation:' and ſo proceeded he in doctrine, ſuppoſing they would have been quiet; but when he perceived them ſtill to trouble the people that ſtood near them (for vehement was he againſt the falſe worſhipping of God), he turned unto them the ſecond time, and with an ireful countenance, ſaid, 'O 'ſerjeants of Satan, and deceivers of the ſouls of 'men! will ye neither hear God's truth, nor ſuf'fer others to hear it? Depart, and take this for

'your portion, God ſhall ſhortly confound and 'diſcloſe your hypocriſy within this realm; ye 'ſhall be abominable unto men, and your places 'and habitations ſhall be deſolate.' This ſentence he pronounced with great vehemency in the midſt of the ſermon; and turning to the people, he ſaid, 'You wicked men have provoked the Spirit of 'God to anger.' And ſo he returned to his matter, and proceeded to the end.

The day's travel being ended, he came to Longniddry; and the two next Sundays preached in Tranent, with the like grace, and like confluence of people. In all his ſermons, after his departure from Angus, he foretold the ſhortneſs of the time which he had to travel, and of his death, the day whereof approached nearer than any would believe. In the latter end of thoſe days which are called the holy-days of Chriſtmas, paſt he, by conſent of the gentlemen, to Haddington; where it was ſuppoſed the greateſt confluence of people ſhould be, both by reaſon of the town, and of the country adjacent. The firſt day before noon, the auditors were reaſonable, and yet nothing in compariſon of that which uſed to be in that church: but the afternoon, and the next day following, before noon, the auditory was ſo ſlender that many wondered. The cauſe was judged to have been, that the earl Bothwel, who in thoſe bounds uſed to have great credit and obedience, by procurement of the cardinal, had given inhibition, as well unto the town, as unto the country, that they ſhould not hear him, under the pain of his diſpleaſure. The firſt night he lay within the town with David Forreſt, now called the general, a man who long profeſſed the truth, and upon whom many in that time depended: the ſecond night he lay in Lethington, the laird whereof was ever civil, albeit not perſuaded in religion. The day following, before the ſaid Mr. George paſt to the ſermon, there came to him a boy with a letter from the weſt country; which received and read, he called for John Knox, who had waited upon him carefully from the time he came to Lothian, with whom he began to enter into purpoſe, That he wearied of the world, for he perceived that men began to be wearied of God. The cauſe of his complaint was; the gentlemen of the weſt had written unto him, that they could not keep the meeting at Edinburgh. The ſaid John Knox wondering that he deſired to keep any purpoſe before ſermon (for that was not his accuſtomed uſe before), ſaid, 'Sir, the time of ſermon approacheth, 'I will leave you for the preſent to your meditation;' and ſo he took the bill containing the purpoſe aforeſaid, and left him. The ſaid Mr. George walked up and down behind the high altar more than half an hour; his weary countenance and viſage declared the grief and alteration of his mind.

At laſt he paſſeth to the pulpit; but the auditory was ſmall: he ſhould have begun to have treated of the ſecond table of the law, but thereof in that ſermon ſpake he very little. He began on this manner, 'O Lord! how long ſhall it be 'that thy holy word ſhall be deſpiſed, and men 'ſhall not regard their own ſalvation! I have 'heard of thee, Haddington, that in thee would 'have been, at any vain clerk-play, two or three 'thouſand people: and now, to hear the meſſen-'ger of the eternal God, of all the town or pariſh, 'cannot be numbered one hundred perſons: ſore 'and fearful ſhall the plagues be, that ſhall enſue 'upon this thy contempt, with fire and ſword 'ſhalt thou be plagued. Yea, thou Haddington 'in ſpecial, ſtrangers ſhall poſſeſs thee; and you, 'the preſent inhabitants, ſhall either in bondage 'ſerve your enemies, or elſe you ſhall be chaſed from 'your own habitations; and that becauſe ye have 'not known, nor will not know the time of God's 'merciful viſitation.' In ſuch vehemency and threatening continued that ſervant of God near an hour and an half; in the which he declared all the plagues that enſued, as plainly as after our eyes ſaw them performed. In the end he ſaid, 'I have forgotten 'myſelf, and the matter which I ſhould have treated of; but let theſe my laſt words, concerning 'public preaching, remain in your minds, till that 'God ſend you new comfort.' Thereafter he made a ſhort paraphraſe upon the ſecond table, with an exhortation to patience, to the fear of God, and unto the works of mercy; and ſo ended, as it were making his laſt teſtament, as the iſſue declared fully. The Spirit of truth and of true judgment were both in his heart and mouth; for that ſame night was he apprehended before midnight, in the houſe of Ormiſton, by the earl Bothwel, made, for money, butcher to the cardinal.

The manner of his taking was thus: departing from the town of Haddington, he took his good-night, as it were for ever, of all his acquaintance, eſpecially from Hugh Douglas of Longniddry. John Knox preſſing to have gone with the ſaid Mr. George, he ſaid, 'Nay, return to your children, 'and God bleſs you; one is ſufficient for one ſa-'crifice.' And ſo the ſaid John Knox, albeit un-

willingly, obeyed, and returned with Hugh Douglas of Longniddry; Mr. George having to accompany him the laird of Ormiſton, John Sandilands of Calder younger, the laird of Brunſton, and others, with their ſervants, paſſed upon foot (for it was a vehement froſt) to Ormiſton. After ſupper, he held comfortable purpoſe of God's choſen children, and merrily ſaid, 'Methinks that I deſire earneſtly to ſleep:' and therewith he ſaid, 'Shall we ſing a pſalm?' and ſo he appointed the fifty-firſt pſalm, which was in Scottiſh metre, and began thus, 'Have mercy on me now, good Lord, after thy great mercy, *&c.*' Which being ended, he paſt to his chamber, and ſooner than his common diet was, to paſs to bed, with theſe words, 'And grant quiet reſt.' Before midnight the place was beſet about, that none could eſcape to make advertiſement. The earl Bothwel came and called for the laird, and declared the purpoſe, and ſaid, That it was but in vain to make him to hold his houſe, for the governor and the cardinal with all their power were coming (and indeed the cardinal was at Elphingſton, not a mile diſtant from Ormiſton); but if he would deliver the man to him, he would promiſe upon his honour, that he ſhould be ſafe, and that it ſhould paſs the power of the cardinal to do him any harm or hurt. Allured with theſe words, and taking counſel with the ſaid Mr. George, who, at the firſt word, ſaid, 'Open the gates, the bleſſed will of my God be done;' they received in the earl Bothwel himſelf, with ſome gentlemen with him; to whom Mr. George ſaid, 'I praiſe my God, that ſo honourable a man as you, my lord, receiveth me this night, in the preſence of theſe noblemen; for now I am aſſured, that, for your honour's ſake, ye will ſuffer nothing any ways to be done to me but by the order of law. I am not ignorant, that all their law is nothing but corruption, and a cloak to ſhed the blood of the ſaints; but yet I leſs fear to die openly, than ſecretly to be murdered.' The ſaid earl Bothwel anſwered, 'I ſhall not only preſerve your body from all violence that ſhall be purpoſed againſt you, againſt order of law; but alſo I promiſe here, in the preſence of theſe gentlemen, that neither ſhall the governor nor the cardinal have their will of you, but I ſhall retain you in mine own hands, and in mine own houſe, till that either I ſhall make you free, or elſe reſtore you in the ſame place where I receive you.' The lairds aforeſaid replied, 'My lord, if ye will do as you have ſpoken, and as we think your lordſhip will do, then do we here promiſe unto your lordſhip, that not only we ourſelves ſhall ſerve you all the days of our life, but alſo we ſhall procure the whole profeſſors within Lothian to do the ſame. And upon either the preſervation of this our brother, or upon his delivery again to our hands, we being reaſonably advertiſed to receive him, that we, in the name and behalf of our friends, ſhall deliver to your lordſhip, or any ſufficient man that ſhall deliver to us again this ſervant of God, our band of followers in manner requiſite.' And thus promiſe made in the preſence of God, and hands ſtricken upon both the parties for obſervation of the promiſe, the ſaid Mr. George was delivered into the hands of the ſaid earl Bothwel, who immediately departing with him, came to Elphingſton, where the cardinal was: who knowing that Calder younger, and Brunſton, were with John Cockburn laird of Ormiſton, ſent back with expedition to apprehend them alſo.

The noiſe of horſemen being heard, the ſervants gave advertiſement, that more than departed, or was there before, were returned. And while that they diſpute what ſhould be the motive, the cardinal's garriſon had ſeized both the outer and inner cloſs. They called for the laird, and for the laird of Calder, who preſenting themſelves, demanded what their commiſſion was? To bring you two, and the laird of Brunſton, to my lord governor. They were nothing content (as they had no cauſe), and yet they made fair countenance, and intreated the gentlemen to drink, and to bait their horſes, till that they might put themſelves in readineſs to ride with them. In this mean time Brunſton conveyed himſelf firſt ſecretly, and then by ſpeed of foot to Ormiſton wood, and from thence to Dundallon, and ſo eſcaped that danger: the other two were put into the caſtle of Edinburgh, where the one, *viz.* Calder younger, remained, until his band of followers to the cardinal was the means of his deliverance: and the other, *viz.* Ormiſton, freed himſelf by leaping the wall of the caſtle, betwixt ten and eleven of the clock before noon, and ſo breaking ward, he eſcaped priſon, which he unjuſtly ſuffered. The ſervant of God, Mr. George Wiſhart, was carried firſt to Edinburgh, thereafter brought back, for faſhion's ſake, to the houſe of Hailes again, which was the principal place that then the earl Bothwel had in Lothian. But as gold and women have corrupted all worldly and fleſhly men from the beginning, ſo did they him; for the cardinal gave gold, and that largely; and the queen, with whom the

ſaid earl was then in the glunders, promiſed him favour in all his lawful ſuits to women, if he would deliver the ſaid Mr. George, to be kept in the caſtle of Edinburgh. He made ſome reſiſtance at the firſt, by reaſon of his promiſe; but an effeminate man cannot long withſtand the aſſaults of a gracious queen, and ſo was the ſervant of God tranſported to Edinburgh, where the cardinal then had a convention of prelates, wherein ſomewhat was ſaid of redreſſing the abuſes of the church, and reforming the lives of the clergy; but it took no effect.

Mr. Wiſhart remained but few days in Edinburgh; for that bloody wolf the cardinal, ever thirſting after the blood of the ſervant of God, ſo travelled with the abuſed governor, that he was content that God's ſervant ſhould be delivered to the power of that tyrant; and ſo ſmall inverſion being made, Pilate obeyed the petition of Caiaphas, and of his fellows, and adjudged Chriſt to be crucified. The cardinal ſeeing it was forbidden by the canon law to prieſts to ſit as judges upon life and death, although the crime was hereſy, ſent to the governor, deſiring him to name ſome lay-judge to pronounce ſentence againſt Mr. Wiſhart. The governor had freely condeſcended to the cardinal's requeſt without delay, if David Hamilton of Preſton, a godly and wiſe man, had not remonſtrated unto him, That he could expect no better end than Saul, ſince he perſecuted the ſaints of God for that truth, which he profeſſed once with ſuch a ſhew of earneſtneſs; the profeſſion thereof being the only cauſe of his advancement to that high degree wherein he was. The governor, moved at this ſpeech of David Hamilton's, anſwered the cardinal, that he would not meddle with the blood of that good man, and told him, that his blood ſhould be on him, for he himſelf would be free of it. At this the cardinal was angry, and ſaid, he would proceed, and that he had ſent to the governor of mere civility, without any need. And ſo the ſervant of God delivered to the hand of that proud and mercileſs tyrant, triumph was made by the prieſts. The godly lamented, and accuſed the fooliſhneſs of the governor: for, by the retaining of the ſaid Mr. George, he might have cauſed Proteſtants and Papiſts (rather proud Romaniſts), to have ſerved; the one, to the end the life of their preacher might have been ſaved; the other, for fear that he ſhould have ſet him at liberty again, to the confuſion of the biſhops. 'But 'where God is left (as he had plainly renounced 'him before), what can counſel or judgment avail?' How the ſervant of God was dealt withal, and what he did from the day that he entered within the Sea-tower of St. Andrews, which was in the end of January, in the year of God 1546, unto the firſt of March, the ſame year when he ſuffered, we cannot certainly tell; except we underſtand he wrote ſomewhat in priſon, but that was ſuppreſſed by the enemies. The cardinal delayed no time, but cauſed all biſhops, yea, all the clergy that had any pre-eminence, to be called to St. Andrews, againſt the ſeven-and-twentieth day of February, that conſultation might be had in that queſtion; which in his mind was no leſs reſolved, than Chriſt's death was in the mind of Caiaphas: but that the reſt ſhould bear the like burden with him, he would that they ſhould before the world ſubſcribe whatſoever he did. In that day was wrought a wonder, not unlike that which was at the accuſation and death of Jeſus Chriſt, when Pilate and Herod, who before were enemies, were made friends, by conſenting of them both to Chriſt's condemnation; differs nothing, except that Pilate and Herod were brethren under their father the devil, in the eſtate called temporal: and theſe two, of whom we are about to ſpeak, were brethren (ſons of the ſame father, the devil), in the eſtate eccleſiaſtical. If we interlace merrineſs with earneſt matters, pardon us, good reader; for the fact is ſo notable, that it deſerveth long remembrance.

The cardinal was known to be proud, and Dunbar archbiſhop of Glaſgow was known to be a glorious fool; and yet, becauſe he was ſometimes called the king's maſter, he was chancellor of Scotland. The cardinal cometh even the ſame year, in the end of harveſt before, to Glaſgow, upon what purpoſe we omit; but while they remain together, the one in the town, the other in the caſtle, queſtion ariſeth for bearing of their croſſes. The cardinal alledged, That by reaſon of his cardinalſhip, and that he was *legatus natus*, and primate within Scotland, in the kingdom of Antichriſt, that he ſhould have the pre-eminence, and that his croſs ſhould not only go before, but that alſo it ſhould only be borne whereſoever he was. Good Gukſtone Glakeſtone, the aforeſaid archbiſhop, lacked no reaſons, as he thought, for maintaining of his glory: he was an archbiſhop in his own dioceſs, and in his own cathedral-ſeat and church, and therefore ought to give place to no man. The power of the cardinal was but begged from Rome, and appertaineth but to his own perſon, and not to his biſhoprick, for it might be that his ſucceſſor

ſhould not be cardinal; but his dignity was annexed with his office, and did appertain to all that ever ſhould be biſhops of Glaſgow. Howſoever theſe doubts were reſolved by the doctors of divinity of both the prelates, yet the deciſion was, as ye ſhall hear, coming forth (or going in, all is one) at the quire door of Glaſgow church, begins ſtriving for ſtate betwixt the croſs-bearers, ſo that from glooming they came to ſhouldering, and ſo from ſhouldering they go to buffets, and to dry-blow-neffaling; and then, for charity's ſake, they cry, *Diſperſit dedit pauperibus:* and eſſay which of the croſſes was fineſt metal, which ſtaff was ſtrongeſt, and which croſs-bearer could beſt defend his maſter's pre-eminence; and that there ſhould be no ſuperiority in that behalf, to the ground go both their croſſes, and then began no little fray, but yet a merry game; for rockets were rent, tippets were torn, crowns were knapped, and ſide gowns might have been ſeen wantonly to wag from the one wall to the other: many of them lacked beards, and that was the more pity, and therefore could not buckle other by the birſes, as bold men would have done. But fy on the jack-men, that did not their duty; for had the one part of them rencountered the other, then had all gone right; but the ſanctuary, we ſuppoſe, ſaved the lives of many. How merrily ſoever this be written, it was bitter mirth to the cardinal and his court; it was more than irregularity, yea, it might well have been judged *læſe majeſte* to the ſon of perdition, the pope's own perſon: and yet the other, in his folly, as proud as a peacock, would let the cardinal know, that he was a biſhop, when the other but Beaton, before he got the abbey of Aberbrothwick.

This enmity was judged mortal, and without all hope of reconciliation: but the blood of the innocent ſervant of God buried in oblivion all that bragging and boaſt. For the archbiſhop of Glaſgow was the firſt unto whom the cardinal wrote, ſignifying unto him what was done, and earneſtly craving of him, that he would aſſiſt with his preſence and counſel, how that ſuch an enemy to their eſtate might be ſuppreſſed. And thereto was not the other ſlow, but kept time appointed, ſat next to the cardinal, waited and ſubſcribed firſt in rank, and lay over the eaſt block-houſe with the ſaid cardinal, till the martyr of God was conſumed with fire; for this we may note, That as theſe beaſts conſented in heart to the ſlaughter of that innocent, ſo did they approve it with their preſence, having the whole ordnance of the caſtle of St. Andrews bent towards the place of execution, which was near to the caſtle, ready to have ſhot, if any would have made defence or reſcue to God's ſervant. The manner of his accuſation, proceſs, and anſwers, followeth, as we have received from certain records, which we relate truly, as near as poſſibly we can.

Upon the laſt of February, was ſent to the priſon where the ſervant of God lay, the dean of the town, by the commandment of the cardinal and his wicked counſel, and there ſummoned the ſaid Mr. George, that he ſhould on the morrow following appear before the judge, then and there to give an account of his ſeditious and heretical doctrine. To whom the ſaid Mr. George anſwered, What needeth the cardinal to ſummon me to anſwer for my doctrine openly before him, under whoſe power and dominion I am thus ſtraitly bound in irons? may not he compel me to anſwer, of his extort power? or, believeth he that I am unprovided to render account of my doctrine? to manifeſt yourſelves what men ye are, it is well done that ye keep your old ceremonies and conſtitutions, made by men. Upon the morrow, the lord cardinal cauſed his ſervants to addreſs themſelves in their moſt warlike array, with jack, knapſcal, ſplent, ſpear, and ax, more ſeemly for the war than for the preaching of the true word of God: and when theſe armed champions, marching in warlike order, had conveyed the biſhops into the abbey-church, incontinently they ſent for Mr. George, who was conveyed unto the ſaid church by the captain of the caſtle, and the number of an hundred men, addreſſed in manner aforeſaid, like a lamb led they him to the ſacrifice. As he entered in at the abbey-church door, there was a poor man lying vexed with great infirmities, aſking of his alms, to whom he flung his purſe; and when he came before the cardinal, by and by the ſub-prior of the abbey, called dean John Winram, ſtood up in the pulpit, and made a ſermon to all the congregation there then aſſembled, taking his matter out of Matth. xiii. whoſe ſermon was divided into four parts. The firſt was, a ſhort and brief declaration of the evangeliſt. The ſecond, of the interpretation of the good ſeed; and becauſe he called the word of God the good ſeed, and hereſy the evil ſeed, he declared what hereſy was, and how it ſhould be known. He defined it on this manner, 'Hereſy is a falſe opinion, defended with 'pertinacy, clearly repugning the word of God.' The third part of his ſermon was, the cauſe of hereſy within that realm, and all other realms: the

cauſe of hereſy, ſaid he, is the ignorance of them which have the cures of mens ſouls, to whom it neceſſarily belongeth to have the true underſtanding of the word of God, that they may be able to win again the falſe teachers of hereſies, with the ſword of the Spirit, which is the word of God; and not only to win again, but alſo to overcome, as ſaith Paul to Timothy, 'A biſhop muſt be faultleſs, as becometh the miniſter of God, not ſtubborn, nor angry; no drunkard, no fighter, not given to filthy lucre; but harberous, one that loveth goodneſs, ſober-minded, righteous, holy, temperate, and ſuch as cleaveth unto the true word of doctrine: that he may be able, with wholeſome learning, to impugn that which they ſay againſt him.' The fourth part of his ſermon was, how hereſies ſhould be known. Hereſies, ſaid he, are known on this manner; as the goldſmith knoweth the fine gold from the imperfect by the touch-ſtone, ſo likewiſe may we know hereſy by the undoubted touch-ſtone, that is, the true, ſincere, and undefiled word of God. At the laſt, he added, that heretics ſhould be put down in this preſent life; to which propoſition, the goſpel he treated of appeareth to repugn, 'Let them both grow to the harveſt.' The harveſt is the end of the world; nevertheleſs he affirmed, that they ſhould be put down by the civil magiſtrate, and law: and when he ended his ſermon, incontinent they cauſed Mr. George to aſcend into the pulpit, there to hear his accuſation and articles; for right againſt him ſtood one of the fat flock, a monſter, John Lauder a prieſt, laden full of curſings written in paper, of the which he took out a roll, both long, and alſo full of outrages, threatenings, maledictions, and words of deviliſh ſpite and malice, ſaying to the innocent Mr. George ſo many cruel and abominable words, and hit him ſo ſpitefully with the pope's thunder, that the ignorant people dreaded, leſt the earth then would have ſwallowed him up quick: notwithſtanding he ſtood ſtill with great patience, hearing their ſayings, not once moving or changing his countenance. When that this fat ſow had read throughout all his lying menaces, his face running down with ſweat, and frothing at the mouth like a boar, he ſpat at Mr. George's face, ſaying, 'What anſwers thou to theſe ſayings, thou runagate, traitor, thief, which we have duly proved by ſufficient witneſs againſt thee?' Mr. George hearing this, ſat down upon his knees in the pulpit, making his prayer to God. When he had ended his prayer, ſweetly and Chriſtianly he anſwered unto them all in this manner:

Mr. George Wishart's ORATION.

'Many and horrible ſayings unto me a Chriſtian man, many words abominable for to hear, have ye ſpoken here this day, which not only to teach, but alſo to think, I thought it ever great abomination; wherefore I pray your diſcretions quietly to hear me, that ye may know what were my ſayings, and the manner of my doctrine. This my petition, my lords, I deſire to be heard, for three cauſes. The firſt is, becauſe through preaching of the word of God, his glory is made manifeſt; it is reaſonable therefore, for the advancing of the glory of God, that ye hear me teaching truly the pure and ſincere word of God, without any diſſimulation. The ſecond reaſon is, becauſe that your health ſpringeth from the word of God; for he worketh all things by his word: it were therefore an unrighteous thing, if ye ſhould ſtop your ears from me, teaching truly the word of God. The third reaſon is, becauſe your doctrine ſpeaketh forth many peſtilentious, blaſphemous, and abominable words, not coming by the inſpiration of God, but of the devil, on no leſs peril than my life. It is juſt therefore and reaſonable for your diſcretions, to know what my words and doctrine are, and what I have ever taught in my time in this realm, that I periſh not unjuſtly, to the great perils of yourſelves. Wherefore, both for the glory of God, your own health, and ſafe-guard of my life, I beſeech your diſcretions to hear me; and in the mean time I ſhall recite my doctrine, without any colour.

'Firſt and chiefly, ſince the time that I came to this realm, I taught nothing but the Ten Commandments of God, the Twelve Articles of the Faith, and the Prayer of the Lord, in the mother tongue. Moreover, in Dundee, I taught the Epiſtle of St. Paul to the Romans: and I ſhall ſhew your diſcretions faithfully, what faſhion and manner I uſed, when I taught without any human dread, ſo that your diſcretions give me your ears benevolent and attentive.'—Suddenly then, with a loud voice, cried the accuſer, the fat ſow, 'Thou heretic, runagate, traitor, and thief, it was not lawful for thee to preach; thou haſt taken the power at thine own hand, without any authority of the church: we forthink that thou haſt been a preacher ſo long.' Then ſaid the whole congregation of the prelates, with their complices, theſe words, 'If we give him licence to preach, he is ſo crafty, and in Holy Scriptures ſo exerciſed, that he will perſuade the people to his opinion, and

'raiſe them againſt us.'——Mr. George, ſeeing their malicious and wicked intent, appealed to an indifferent and equal judge. To whom the accuſer, John Lauder aforeſaid, with hoggiſh voice, anſwered, 'Is not my lord cardinal the ſecond perſon 'within this realm, chancellor of Scotland, arch-'biſhop of St. Andrews, biſhop of Merepoſe, com-'mendator of Aberbrothwick, *legatus natus*, *le-'gatus a latere?*' and ſo reciting as many titles of his unworthy honours as would have laden a ſhip, much ſooner an aſs: is not he, ſaid John Lauder, an equal judge apparently to thee? whom other deſireſt thou to be thy judge? To whom this humble man anſwered, ſaying, 'I refuſe not my lord 'cardinal, but I deſire the word of God to be my 'judge, the temporal eſtate, with ſome of your 'lordſhips, mine auditors, becauſe I am here my 'lord governor's priſoner.' Whereupon the prideful and ſcornful people that ſtood by, mocked him, ſaying, 'Such man, ſuch judge;' ſpeaking ſeditious and reproachful words againſt the governor, and other of the nobles, meaning them alſo to be heretics. And incontinent, without all delay, they would have given ſentence upon Mr. George, and that without further proceſs, had not certain men there counſelled my lord cardinal to read again the articles, and hear his anſwers thereupon, that the people might not complain of his wrongful condemnation. And ſhortly to declare, theſe were the articles following, with his anſwers, as far as they would give him leave to ſpeak: for when he intended to mitigate their leaſings, and ſhew the manner of his doctrine, by and by they ſtopped his mouth with another article.

ARTICLE I. Thou falſe heretic, runagate, traitor, and thief, deceiver of the people, deſpiſeſt the church, and in like caſe contemneſt my lord governor's authority. And this we know of ſurety, That when thou preachedſt in Dundee, and was charged by my lord governor's authority to deſiſt, nevertheleſs thou would not obey, but perſevered in the ſame; and therefore the biſhop of Brechin curſed thee, and delivered thee into the devil's hand, and gave thee then commandment, That thou ſhouldſt preach no more; yet notwithſtanding thou didſt continue obſtinately.

ANSWER. My lords, I have read in the Acts of the Apoſtles, That it is not lawful, for the threats and menaces of men, to deſiſt from the preaching of the goſpel; therefore it is written, 'We ſhall rather obey God than men.' I have alſo read the prophet Malachi, 'I ſhall curſe your 'bleſſings, and bleſs your curſings, ſaith the Lord.' Believing firmly, that he would turn your curſings into bleſſings.

ART. II. Thou falſe heretic didſt ſay, That a prieſt ſtanding at the altar ſaying maſs, was like a fox wagging his tail in July.

ANSW. My lords, I ſaid not ſo. Theſe were my ſayings, The moving of the body outward, without inward moving of the heart, is nought elſe but the playing of an ape, and not the true ſerving of God; for God is a ſecret ſearcher of mens hearts: therefore who will truly adore and honour God, he muſt in ſpirit and verity honour him. Then the accuſer ſtopped his mouth with another article.

ART. III. Thou falſe heretic preacheſt againſt the ſacraments, ſaying, That there are not ſeven ſacraments.

ANSW. My lords, it is not ſo by your pleaſures, I taught never of the number of the ſacraments, whether there were ſeven or eleven: ſo many as are inſtituted by Chriſt, and are ſhewn to us by the goſpel, I profeſs openly. Except it be the word of God, I dare affirm nothing.

ART. IV. Thou falſe heretic haſt openly taught, That auricular confeſſion is not a bleſſed ſacrament, and thou ſaidſt, That we ſhould only confeſs us to God, and to no prieſt.

ANSW. My lords, I ſay, That auricular confeſſion, ſeeing that it hath no promiſe of the goſpel, truly it cannot be a ſacrament. Of the confeſſion to be made to God, there are many teſtimonies in Scripture; as when David ſaith, 'I thought that 'I would acknowledge mine iniquity againſt myſelf 'unto the Lord, and he forgave the treſpaſſes of 'my ſins.' Here confeſſion ſignifieth the ſecret knowledge of our ſins before God. When I exhorted the people on this manner, I reproved no manner of confeſſion: and further, St. James ſaith, 'Acknowledge your ſins one to another, and ſo let 'you have peace among yourſelves.' Here the apoſtle meaneth nothing of auricular confeſſion, but that we ſhould acknowledge and confeſs ourſelves to be ſinners before our brethren, and before the world, and not to eſteem ourſelves as the gray-friars do, thinking themſelves already purged. —When that he had ſaid theſe words, the horned biſhops, and their complices, cried and grinned with

their teeth, ſaying, 'See ye not what colours he 'hath in his ſpeech, that he may beguile us, and 'ſeduce us to his opinion.'

ART. V. Thou falſe heretic didſt ſay openly, That it was neceſſary for every man to know and underſtand his baptiſm, which is contrary to general councils, and the ſtate of the holy church.

ANSW. My lords, I believe there be none ſo unwiſe here, that will make merchandize with any Frenchman, or any other unknown ſtranger, except he know and underſtand firſt the condition or promiſe made by the Frenchman or ſtranger: ſo likewiſe I would that we underſtood what thing we promiſe in the name of the infant unto God in baptiſm.—Then ſaid Mr. Peter Chaplin, That he had the devil within him, and the ſpirit of error. Then anſwered him a child, ſaying, 'The devil 'cannot ſpeak ſuch words as yonder man doth 'ſpeak.'

ART. VI. Thou falſe heretic, traitor, and thief, thou ſaid, That the ſacrament of the altar was but a piece of bread baken upon the aſhes, and no other thing elſe; and all that is there done, is but a ſuperſtitious rite, againſt the commandment of God.

ANSW. Oh Lord God! ſo manifeſt lies and blaſphemies the Scripture doth not teach you. As concerning the ſacrament of the altar, my lords, I never taught any thing againſt the Scripture, the which I ſhall, by God's grace, make manifeſt this day, I being ready therefore to ſuffer death. The lawful uſe of the ſacrament is moſt acceptable unto God, but the great abuſe of it is very deteſtable unto him; but what occaſion they have to ſay ſuch words of me, I ſhall ſhortly ſhew your lordſhips. I once chanced to meet with a Jew, when I was ſailing upon the water of Rhine; I did enquire of him, What was the cauſe of his pertinacy, that he did not believe that the true Meſſias was come, conſidering that they had ſeen all the prophecies which were ſpoken of him to be fulfilled; moreover, the prophecies taken away, and the ſceptre of Judah. By many other teſtimonies of the Scripture I witneſſed to him, and proved, that the Meſſias was come, the which they called Jeſus of Nazareth. This Jew anſwered again unto me, When Meſſias cometh he ſhall reſtore all things, and he ſhall not abrogate the law which was given unto our fathers, as ye do; for why? We ſee the poor almoſt periſh through hunger amongſt you, yet you are not moved with pity towards them: but amongſt us Jews, though we be poor, there are no beggars found. Secondly, It is forbidden by the law to feign any kind of imagery, of things in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the ſea under the earth, but one God only to honour; but your ſanctuaries and churches are full of idols. Thirdly, A piece of bread baked upon the aſhes, ye adore and worſhip, and ſay that it is your God. I have rehearſed here but the ſayings of a Jew, which I never affirmed to be true.—Then the biſhops ſhook their heads, and ſpitted on the ground; and what he meaned in this matter further, they would not hear.

ART. VII. Thou falſe heretic didſt ſay, That extreme unction was not a ſacrament.

ANSW. My lords, forſooth I never taught of extreme unction in my doctrine, whether it was a ſacrament or not.

ART. VIII. Thou falſe heretic didſt ſay, That holy water is not ſo good as waſh, and ſuch like. Thou contemneſt conjuring, and ſayſt, That holy church's curſing availeth not.

ANSW. My lords, as for holy water, what ſtrength it is of, I taught never in my doctrine. Conjurings and exorciſms, if they were conformable to the word of God, I would commend them; but in as much as they are not conformable to the commandment and word of God, I reprove them.

ART. IX. Thou falſe heretic and runagate, haſt ſaid, That every man is a prieſt; and likewiſe thou ſayſt, That the pope hath no more power than another man.

ANSW. My lords, I taught nothing but the word of God. I remember that I have read in ſome places of St. John and St. Peter, of the which one ſaith, 'He hath made us kings and 'prieſts;' the other ſaith, 'He hath made us 'the kingly prieſthood:' wherefore I have affirmed, Any man underſtanding and perfect in the word of God, and the true faith of Jeſus Chriſt, to have his power given him from God, and not by the power or violence of men, but by the virtue of the word of God, the which word is called, 'The power of God,' as witneſſeth St. Paul evidently enough. And again I ſay, Any unlearned man, and not exerciſed in the word of God, nor yet conſtant in his faith, whatſoever eſtate or order he be of, I ſay he hath no power to bind or

to looſe, ſeeing he wanteth the inſtrument by the which he bindeth and looſeth, that is to ſay, 'The 'word of God.'—After that he had ſaid theſe words, all the biſhops laughed, and mocked him: when that he beheld their laughing, Laugh ye, ſaid he, my lords? Though that theſe my ſayings do ſeem ſcornful and worthy of deriſion to your lordſhips, nevertheleſs they are very weighty to me, and of a great value; becauſe that they ſtand not only upon my life, but alſo upon the honour and glory of God.—In the mean time many godly men, beholding the madneſs and great cruelty of the biſhops, and the invincible patience of the ſaid Mr. George, did greatly mourn and lament.

ART. X. Thou falſe heretic ſaidſt, That a man had no free-will, but is like to the Stoics, who ſay, That it is not in man's will to do any thing, but that all deſire and concupiſcence cometh of God, of whatſoever kind it be of.

ANSW. My lords, I ſaid not ſo; truly, I ſay, That as many as believe in Chriſt firmly, unto them is given liberty, conformable to the ſaying of St. John, 'If the Son make you free, then ſhall 'you verily be free.' Of the contrary, as many as believe not in Chriſt Jeſus, they are bond-ſervants of ſin: 'He that ſinneth, is bound to ſin.'

ART. XI. Thou falſe heretic ſayſt, It is as lawful to eat fleſh upon Friday, as on Sunday.

ANSW. Pleaſeth it your lordſhips, I have read in the Epiſtles of St. Paul, That 'who is clean, un-'to him all things are clean.' Of the contrary, 'To the filthy men all things are unclean.' A faithful man, clean and holy, ſanctifieth by the word the creature of God; but the creature maketh no man acceptable unto God; ſo that a creature cannot ſanctify any impure and unfaithful man; but to the faithful man all things are ſanctified by the prayer of the word of God.—After theſe ſayings of Mr. George, then ſaid the biſhops, with their complices, What needed we any witneſs againſt him? hath he not here openly ſpoken blaſphemy?

ART. XII. Thou falſe heretic doſt day, That we ſhould not pray unto ſaints, but to God only; ſay, whether thou haſt ſaid this or no, ſay ſhortly.

ANSW. For the weakneſs and infirmity of the hearers, I ſaid without doubt plainly, that ſaints ſhould not be honoured, nor called upon. My lords, ſaid he, there are two things worthy of note, the one is certain, and the other uncertain: it is found plainly and certain in Scriptures, That we ſhould worſhip and honour one God, according to the ſaying of the firſt commandment, 'Thou 'ſhalt only worſhip and honour thy Lord God 'with all thine heart;' but as for praying to, and honouring of ſaints, there is great doubt amongſt many, whether they hear or not the invocation made unto them; therefore I exhorted all men equally in my doctrine, that they ſhould leave the unſure way, and follow the way which was taught us by our Maſter Chriſt. He is our only Mediator, and maketh interceſſion for us to God his Father. He is the Door by the which we muſt enter in; he that entereth not in by this Door, but climbeth another way, is a thief and a murderer. He is the Verity and Life; he that goeth out of the way, there is no doubt he ſhall fall into the mire; yea, verily, he is fallen into it already. This is the faſhion of my doctrine, the which I have ever followed. Verily, that which I have heard and read in the word of God, and taught openly, and in no corners; and now ye ſhall witneſs the ſame, if your lordſhips will hear me; except it ſtand by the word of God, I dare not be ſo bold to affirm any thing.—Theſe ſayings he rehearſed divers times.

ART. XIII. Thou falſe heretic haſt preached plainly, That there is no purgatory, and that it is a feigned thing, for any man after this life to be puniſhed in purgatory.

ANSW. My lords, as I have oftentimes ſaid heretofore, without expreſs witneſs and teſtimony of Scriptures, I dare affirm nothing. I have oft and divers times read over the Bible, and yet ſuch a term found I never, nor yet any place of Scripture applicable thereto; therefore I was afraid ever to teach of that thing which I could not find in Scripture. Then ſaid he to Mr. John Lauder his accuſer, If you have any teſtimony of the Scripture, by the which you may prove any ſuch place, ſhew it now before this auditory.—But that dolt had not a word to ſay for himſelf, but was as dumb as a beetle in that matter.

ART. XIV. Thou falſe heretic haſt taught plainly againſt the vows of monks, friars, nuns, and prieſts, ſaying, That whoſoever was bound to ſuch-like vows, they vowed themſelves to the ſtate

of damnation; moreover, that it was lawful for prieſts to marry wives, and not to live ſole.

Answ. Of this, my lords, I have read in the goſpel, That there are three kinds of chaſte men; ſome are eunuchs from their mother's womb, ſome are made eunuchs by men, and ſome have made themſelves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's ſake; verily, I ſay, theſe men are bleſſed by the Scripture of God: but as many as have not the gift of chaſtity, nor yet for the goſpel have overcome the concupiſcence of the fleſh, and have vowed chaſtity, ye have experience, although I ſhould hold my tongue, to what inconveniencies they have vowed themſelves.—When he had ſaid theſe words, they were all dumb, thinking it better to have ten concubines than one wife.

Art. XV. Thou falſe heretic and runagate ſayſt, That thou wilt not obey our general or provincial councils.

Answ. My lords, what your general councils are, I know not; I was never exerciſed in them, but to the pure word of God I gave my labours. Read here your general councils, or elſe give me a book wherein they are contained, that I may read them; if they be agreeable with the word of God, I will not diſagree.—Then the ravening wolves turned unto madneſs, and ſaid, Wherefore let we him ſpeak any further? Read forth the reſt of the articles, and ſtay not upon them. Among thoſe cruel tygers, there was one falſe hypocrite, a ſeducer of the people, called John Scot, ſtanding behind John Lauder's back, haſting him to read the reſt of the articles, and not to tarry upon his witty and godly anſwers: for we may not abide them, quoth he, no more than the devil may abide the ſign of the croſs, when it is named.

Art. XVI. Thou heretic ſayſt, That it is vain to build to the honour of God coſtly churches, ſeeing that God remaineth not in churches made by mens hands, nor yet can God be in little ſpace, as betwixt the prieſt's hands.

Answ. My lords, Solomon ſaith, 'If that the 'heaven of heavens cannot comprehend thee, how 'much leſs this houſe which I have builded?' And Job conſented to the ſame ſentence, ſaying, Seeing that he is higher than the heavens, therefore what canſt thou build unto him? He is deeper than the hell, then how ſhalt thou know him? He is longer than the earth, and broader than the ſea; ſo that God cannot be comprehended in one place, who is infinite. Theſe ſayings notwithſtanding, I ſaid never that churches ſhould be deſtroyed; but to the contrary, I affirmed ever, That churches ſhould be maintained and upholden, that the people ſhould be aſſembled in them to hear the word of God preached. Moreover, whereſoever is the true preaching of the word of God, and the lawful uſe of the ſacraments, undoubtedly there is God himſelf; ſo that both theſe ſayings are true together, God cannot be comprehended in any one place; and whereſoever are two or three gathered in his name, there is he preſent in the midſt of them.—Then ſaid he to his accuſer, If thou thinkeſt any otherwiſe, then I ſay, Shew forth thy reaſons before this auditory. Then he without all reaſon was dumb, and could not anſwer a word.

Art. XVII. Thou falſe heretic contemneſt faſting, and ſayſt, Thou ſhouldſt not faſt.

Answ. My lords, I find that faſting is commanded in the Scripture, therefore I were a ſlanderer of the goſpel, if I contemned faſting; and not ſo only, but I have learned by experience, that faſting is good for the health and converſation of the body; but God only knoweth who faſteth the true faſt.

Art. XVIII. Thou falſe heretic haſt preached openly, ſaying, That the ſouls of men ſhall ſleep to the latter day of judgment, and ſhall not obtain life immortal until the laſt day.

Answ. God full of mercy and goodneſs forgive them that ſay ſuch things of me. I wot, and know ſurely by the word of God, that he who hath begun to have the faith of Jeſus Chriſt, and to believe firmly in him; I know ſurely, I ſay, that the ſoul of that man ſhall never ſleep, but ever ſhall live an immortal life, the which life from day to day is renewed in grace, and augmented; nor yet ſhall ever periſh, or have an end, but ſhall ever live immortal with Chriſt the Head: to the which life all that believe in him ſhall come, and reſt in eternal glory. Amen.

When that the biſhops, with their complices, had accuſed this innocent man in manner and form aforeſaid, incontinently they condemned him to be burnt as an heretic, not having reſpect to his godly anſwers, and true reaſons which he alledged, nor yet to their own conſciences; thinking verily that they ſhould do to God good ſacrifice, conformable

to the ſayings of Jeſus Chriſt, in the goſpel of St. John, the ſixteenth chapter; 'They ſhall excom-
'municate you, yea, and the time ſhall come, that
'he which killeth you, ſhall think that he hath
'done to God good ſervice.'

The PRAYER of Mr. GEORGE WISHART.

'O immortal God! how long ſhalt thou ſuffer
'the rage and great cruelty of the ungodly, to
'exerciſe their fury upon thy ſervants which do
'further thy word in this world? ſeeing they deſire
'to do the contrary, that is, to choke and deſtroy
'thy true doctrine and verity, by the which thou
'haſt ſhewed thee unto the world, which was all
'drowned in blindneſs and miſknowledge of thy
'name. O Lord! we know ſurely that thy true
'ſervants muſt needs ſuffer for thy name's ſake,
'perſecution, affliction, and troubles, in this preſent
'life, which is but a ſhadow, as thou haſt ſhew-
'ed to us by thy prophets and apoſtles; but yet
'we deſire thee, merciful Father, that thou
'wouldſt conſerve, defend, and help thy congre-
'gation, which thou haſt choſen before the be-
'ginning of the world, and give them thy grace to
'hear thy word, and to be thy true ſervants in this
'preſent life.'

Then by and by they cauſed the common people to remove, whoſe deſire was always to hear that innocent man ſpeak. Then the ſons of darkneſs pronounced their ſentence definitive, not having reſpect to the judgment of God. When all this was done and ſaid, the cardinal cauſeth his tormenters to paſs again with the meek lamb unto the caſtle, until ſuch time as the fire was made ready. When he was come unto the caſtle, then there came two fiends (two gray-friars), friar Scot and his mate, ſaying, Sir, you muſt make your confeſſion unto us. He anſwered, I will make no confeſſion: go fetch me yonder man that preached unto us this day, and I will confer with him. Then they ſent for the ſub-prior of the abbey, who came to him with all diligence, and conferred with him a pretty while: at laſt he burſt forth in tears; but ſo ſoon as he was able to ſpeak, he aſked him, If he would receive the communion? Mr. Wiſhart anſwered, He would moſt willingly, if he could have it according to Chriſt's inſtitution under both kinds. The ſub-prior went to the cardinal and his prelates; he told them, that Mr. Wiſhart was an innocent man; which he ſaid, not to intercede for his life, but to make known the innocence of the man unto all men, as it was known to God. At theſe words the cardinal was angry, and ſaid to the ſub-prior, long ago we knew what you were. Then the ſub-prior demanded, Whether they would ſuffer Mr. Wiſhart to receive the communion or no? They anſwered, No. A while after Mr. Wiſhart had ended with the ſub-prior, the captain of the caſtle, with ſome other friends, came to him, and aſked him, if he would breakfaſt with them: he anſwered, Moſt willingly, for I know you to be moſt honeſt and godly men. So, all being ready, he deſired them to ſit down, and hear him a while with patience: then he diſcourſed to them about half an hour concerning the Lord's ſupper, his ſufferings and death for us; he exhorteth them to love one another, laying aſide all rancour, envy, and vengeance, as perfect members of Chriſt, who intercedes continually for us to God the Father. After this, he gave thanks, and bleſſing the bread and wine, he took the bread and brake it, and gave to every one of it, bidding each of them, 'Remember that Chriſt had died for
'them, and feed on it ſpiritually.' So taking the cup, he bade them, 'Remember that Chriſt's blood
'was ſhed for them,' &c. And after, he gave thanks, and prayed for them. When he had done, he told them, That he would neither eat nor drink more in this life; and ſo retired to his chamber.

Immediately after came to him (ſent from the cardinal) two executioners; one brought him a coat of linen dyed black, and put it upon him; the other brought ſome bags full of powder, which they tied to ſeveral parts of his body: thus having dreſſed him, they brought him to an outer room, near to the gate of the caſtle; then the fire was made ready, and the ſtake at the weſt port of the caſtle, near to the priory. Over againſt the place of execution, the caſtle-windows were hung with rich hangings, and velvet-cuſhions laid for the cardinal and prelates, who from thence did feed their eyes with the torments of this innocent man. The cardinal dreading that Mr. George ſhould have been taken away by his friends, before had commanded to bend all the ordnance of the caſtle right againſt the place of execution; and commanded all his gunners to be ready, and ſtand beſide their guns, until ſuch time as he was burnt. All this being done, they bound Mr. George's hands behind his back, and with ſound of trumpet, led him forth with the ſoldiers from the caſtle, to the place of their cruel and wicked execution. As he came forth of the caſtle-gate, there met him certain beg-

gars, asking of him alms for God's sake; to whom he answered, I want my hands, wherewith I was wont to give you alms: but the merciful Lord, of his benignity and abundant grace, that feedeth all men, vouchsafe to give you necessaries both unto your bodies and souls. Then afterward met him two false fiends (I should say friars), saying, Mr. George, pray to our lady, that she may be a mediatrix for you to her Son. To whom he answered meekly, Cease, tempt me not, I intreat you. After this, he was led to the fire, with a rope about his neck, and a chain of iron about his middle.

When that he came to the fire, he sat down upon his knees, and rose again; and thrice he said these words, 'O thou Saviour of the world! have 'mercy on me: Father of heaven, I commend my 'spirit into thy holy hands.' When he had made this prayer, he turned him to the people, and said these words, having obtained leave to speak a little; I beseech you, Christian brethren and sisters, that ye be not offended at the word of God, for the affliction and torments which ye see already prepared for me: but I exhort you, that ye love the word of God for your salvation, and suffer patiently, and with a comfortable heart, for the word's sake, which is your undoubted salvation, and everlasting comfort. Moreover, I pray you, shew my brethren and sisters, which have heard me oft before, that they cease not, nor leave off to learn the word of God which I taught them, after the grace given unto me, for any persecutions or troubles in this world, which last not; and shew unto them, that my doctrine was no wives fables, after the constitutions made by men; and if I had taught mens doctrine, I had gotten greater thanks by men: but for the word's sake and true gospel, which was given to me by the grace of God, I suffer this day by men, not sorrowfully, but with a glad heart and mind. For this cause I was sent, that I should suffer this fire for Christ's sake. Consider and behold my visage, ye shall not see me change my colour: this grim fire I fear not, and so I pray you for to do, if that any persecution come unto you for the word's sake; and not to fear them that slay the body, and have no power afterward to slay the soul. Some have said of me, that I taught that the soul of man should sleep until the last day: but I know surely, and my faith is such, that my soul shall sup with my Saviour this night, ere it be six hours, for whom I suffer this. Then he prayed for them which accused him, saying, 'I beseech thee, Father of 'heaven, to forgive them that have of any igno-'rance, or else of any evil mind, forged lies upon 'me; I forgive them with all my heart: I be-'seech Christ to forgive them that have condemn-'ed me to death this day ignorantly.' And last of all, he said to the people on this manner; I beseech you, brethren and sisters, to exhort your prelates to the learning of the word of God, that they may be ashamed to do evil, and learn to do good; and if they will not convert themselves from their wicked error, there shall hastily come upon them the wrath of God, which they shall not eschew. Many faithful words said he in the mean time, taking no heed or care of the cruel torments which were then prepared for him. Then the executioner that was his tormenter, sat down upon his knees, and said, 'Sir, I pray you forgive me, for I am not 'guilty of your death.' To whom he answered, Come hither to me: when he was come to him, he kissed his cheek, and said, Lo, here is a token that I forgive thee, my heart, do thy office: and then by and by the trumpet sounding, he was tied to the stake, and the fire kindled. The captain of the castle, for the love he bore to Mr. Wishart, drew so near to the fire, that the flame thereof did him harm; he wished Mr. Wishart to be of good courage, and to beg from God the forgiveness of his sins; to whom Mr. Wishart answered thus, 'This fire torments my body, but nowise abates 'my spirit.' Then Mr. Wishart looking towards the cardinal, said, 'He who in such state, from 'that high place, feedeth his eyes with my tor-'ments, within few days shall be hanged out at 'the same window, to be seen with as much igno-'miny, as he now leaneth there in pride.' Then with this, the executioner drawing the cord, stopt his breath; presently after, the fire being great, he was consumed to powder. The prelates would not suffer any prayers to be made for him, according to their custom.

After the death of Mr. Wishart, the cardinal was cried up by his flatterers, and all the rabble of the corrupt clergy, as the only defender of the catholic church, and punisher of heretics, neglecting the authority of the sluggish governor: and it was said by them, 'That if the great prelates of latter 'days, both at home and abroad, had been so stout 'and zealous of the credit of the catholic church, 'they had not only suppressed all heretics, but also 'kept under the lay-men, who were so froward 'and stubborn.' On the other side, when that the people beheld the great tormenting of that innocent, they could not with-hold from piteous mourning, and complaining of the innocent lamb's slaughter. After the death of this blessed martyr of God, began

the people, in plain ſpeaking, to condemn and deteſt the cruelty that was uſed; yea, men of great birth, and eſtimation, and honour, at open tables avowed, that the blood of the ſaid Mr. George ſhould be revenged, or elſe it ſhould coſt life for life; and that, in a ſhort time, they ſhould be like hogs kept for ſlaughter, by this vicious prieſt, and wicked monſter, which neither minded God, nor cared for man. Amongſt thoſe that ſpake againſt the cardinal's cruelty, John Leſly, brother to the earl of Rothes, was chief, with his couſin Norman Leſly, who had been a great follower of the cardinal, and very active for him but a little before, fell ſo foul with him, that they came to high reproaches one with another. The occaſion of their falling out, was a private buſineſs, wherein Norman Leſly ſaid he was wronged by the cardinal. On the other ſide, the cardinal ſaid, he was not with reſpect uſed by Norman Leſly his inferior. The ſaid John Leſly, in all companies, ſpared not to ſay, That that ſame dagger (ſhewing forth his dagger), and that ſame hand, ſhould be put in the cardinal's breaſt: theſe reports came to the cardinal's ears; but he thought himſelf ſtout enough for all Scotland: for in Babylon, that is, in his new Block-houſe, he was ſure, as he thought; and upon the fields he was able to match all his enemies: and, to ſpeak the truth, the moſt part of the nobility of Scotland had either given unto him their bands of followers, or elſe were in confederacy, and promiſed amity with him; and ſo he gave his baſtard eldeſt daughter in marriage to the earl of Crawford's eldeſt ſon and heir, and cauſed the wedding to be celebrated with ſuch ſtate, as if ſhe had been a prince's lawful daughter. He only feared them in whoſe hands God did deliver him, and for them he laid his nets ſo ſecretly (as that he made a full count), that their feet could not eſcape, as we ſhall after hear. And ſomething of his former practices we may recount: after Eaſter he came to Edinburgh, to hold the ſeingny (as the Papiſts termed then their unhappy aſſembly of Baal's ſhaven ſort). It was reported, that ſomething was purpoſed againſt him at that day by the earl of Angus, and his friends, whom he mortally feared, and whoſe deſtruction he ſought; but it failed, and ſo returned he to his ſtrength; yea, to his god and only comfort, as well in heaven as in earth, and there he remained without all fear of death, promiſing to himſelf no leſs pleaſure than did the rich man, of whom mention is made by our Maſter in the goſpel; for he did not only ſay, Eat and be glad, my ſoul, for thou haſt great riches laid up in ſtore for many days; but he ſaid, 'Tuſh, a fig for the 'fools, and a button for the bragging of heretics, 'and their aſſiſtance in Scotland: is not my lord 'governor mine? witneſs his eldeſt ſon in pledge 'at my table. Have I not the queen at my own 'devotion (he meant of the mother of Mary, 'who now 1566 reigns)? Is not France my friend, 'and I am friend to France? What danger ſhould 'I fear?' And thus in vanity the carnal cardinal delighted himſelf a little before his death; but yet he had deviſed to have cut off ſuch as he thought might trouble him: for he had appointed the whole gentlemen of Fife to have met him at Falkland on the Monday; but he was ſlain upon the Saturday before. His treaſonable purpoſe was not underſtood, and it was this, That Norman Leſly ſheriff of Fife, and apparent heir to his father the earl of Rothes, the foreſaid John Leſly father-brother to Norman, the lairds of Grange elder and younger, Sir James Learmont of Darſie and provoſt of St. Andrews, and the faithful laird of Raith, ſhould either have been ſlain, or elſe taken, and after to have been uſed at his pleaſure. This enterpriſe was diſcloſed after his ſlaughter, partly by letters and memorials found in his chamber, but plainly affirmed by ſuch as were of the council.

Many purpoſes were deviſed, how that wicked man might have been taken away; but all faileth, till Friday the twenty-eighth of May, *anno* 1546, when the aforeſaid Norman came at night to St. Andrews; William Kirkcaldy of Grange younger was in the town before, waiting upon the purpoſe; laſt came John Leſly, as aforeſaid, who was moſt ſuſpected: what concluſion they took that night, it was not known, but by the iſſue that followed. But early upon the Saturday in the morning, the twenty-ninth of May, were they in ſundry companies in the Abbey church-yard, not far diſtant from the caſtle: firſt, the gates being open, and the draw-bridge let down, for receiving of lime and ſtones, and other things neceſſary for building; for Babylon was almoſt finiſhed. Firſt, we ſay, eſſayed William Kirkcaldy of Grange younger, and with him ſix perſons, and getting entry, held purpoſe with the porter, if my lord was awake? Who anſwered, No; and ſo it was indeed, for he had been buſy at his counts with Mrs. Marion Ogilvy that night, who was eſpied to depart from him by the privy poſtern that morning; and therefore quietneſs, after the rules of phyſic, and a morning-ſleep, was requiſite for my lord. While the ſaid William and the porter talketh, and his ſervants made them to look on the work and work-

men, approached Norman Leſly with his company; and, becauſe they were in great number, they eaſily got entry: they addreſs to the midſt of the court, and immediately came John Leſly, ſomewhat rudely, and four perſons with him: the porter fearing, would have drawn the bridge; but the ſaid John being entered thereon, ſtaid it, and leapt in: and while the porter made him for defence, his head was broken, the keys taken from him, and he caſt into the ditch, and ſo the place was ſeized. The ſhout ariſeth, the workmen, to the number of more than an hundred, ran off the walls, and were without hurt put forth at the wicket-gate. The firſt thing that ever was done, William Kirkcaldy took the guard of the privy poſtern, fearing leſt the fox ſhould have eſcaped: then go the reſt to the gentlemens chambers, and without violence done to any man, they put more than fifty perſons to the gate: the number that enterpriſed and did this, was but ſixteen perſons. The cardinal awaked with the ſhouts, aſked from his window, What meant that noiſe? It was anſwered, That Norman Leſly had taken his caſtle; which underſtood, he ran to the poſtern; but perceiving the paſſage to be kept without, he returned quickly to his chamber, took his two-handed ſword, and cauſed his chamberlain to caſt cheſts and other impediments to the door: in this mean time came John Leſly unto it, and bids open. The cardinal aſking, Who calls? he anſwered, My name is Leſly. He demanded, Is that Norman? The other ſaith, Nay, my name is John. I will have Norman, ſaith the cardinal, for he is my friend. Content yourſelf with ſuch as are here, for other you ſhall have none. There were with the ſaid John, James Melvil, a man familiarly acquainted with Mr. George Wiſhart, and Peter Carmichael a ſtout gentleman. In this mean time, while they force at the door, the cardinal hides a box of gold under coals that were laid in a ſecret corner. At length he aſketh, 'Will ye ſave my 'life?' The ſaid John anſwered, 'It may be that 'we will.' 'Nay,' ſaith the cardinal, 'ſwear 'unto me by God's wounds, and I will open it un-'to you.' Then anſwered the ſaid John, 'It that 'was ſaid, is unſaid;' and ſo cried, 'Fire, fire?' (for the door was very ſtrong) and ſo was brought a chimney full of burning coals; which perceived, the cardinal or his chamberlain (it is uncertain) opened the door, and the cardinal ſat down in a chair, and cried, 'I am a prieſt, I am a prieſt, ye 'will not ſlay me.' The ſaid John Leſly, according to his former vows, ſtruck him firſt once or twice, and ſo did the ſaid Peter. But James Melvil, a man of nature moſt gentle and moſt modeſt, perceiving them both in choler, withdrew them, and ſaid, 'This work and judgment of God, al-'though it be ſecret, yet ought to be done with 'greater gravity.' And preſenting unto him the point of the ſword, ſaid, 'Repent thee of thy 'former wicked life, but eſpecially of the ſhedding 'of the blood of that notable inſtrument of God, 'Mr. George Wiſhart, which albeit the flame of 'fire conſumed before men, yet cries it for ven-'geance upon thee, and we from God are ſent to 'revenge it. For here, before my God, I proteſt, 'That neither the hatred of thy perſon, the love of 'thy riches, nor the fear of any trouble thou couldſt 'have done to me in particular, moved, or moveth 'me to ſtrike thee; but only becauſe thou haſt 'been, and remaineſt an obſtinate enemy againſt 'Chriſt Jeſus and his holy goſpel:' and ſo he ſtruck him twice or thrice through with a ſtog-ſword, and ſo he fell, never word heard out of his mouth, but 'I am a prieſt, I am a prieſt, fy, 'fy, all is gone.'

While they were thus buſied with the cardinal, the fray roſe in the town, the provoſt aſſembles the commonalty, and comes to the houſe-ſide, crying, 'What have ye done with my lord cardi-'nal? Where is my lord cardinal? Have ye ſlain 'my lord cardinal? Let us ſee my lord cardinal.' They that were within anſwered gently, 'Beſt it 'were for you to return to your own houſes, for 'the man ye call the cardinal hath received 'his reward, and in his own perſon will 'trouble the world no more:' but then more enragedly they cry, 'We ſhall never depart till that 'we ſee him.' And ſo was he brought to the eaſt Block-houſe head, and ſhewed dead over the wall to the faithleſs multitude, which would not believe before they ſaw; and ſo they departed without *requiem æternam, & requieſcat in pace*, ſung for his ſoul. Now, becauſe the weather was hot, for it was in May, as ye have heard, and his funerals could not ſuddenly be prepared, it was thought beſt, to keep him from ſtinking, to give him great ſalt enough, a cope of lead, and a corner in the bottom of the Sea-tower, a place where many of God's children had been impriſoned before, to await what exequies his brethren the biſhops would prepare for him. Theſe things we write merrily, but we would that the reader ſhould obſerve God's juſt judgments, and how that he can deprehend the worldly-wiſe in their own wiſdom, make their table to be a ſnare to trap their

own feet, and their own purpoſed ſtrength to be their own deſtruction: theſe are the works of our God, whereby he would admoniſh the tyrants of this earth, that in the end he will be revenged of their cruelty, what ſtrength ſoever they make in the contrary. But ſuch is the blindneſs of man, as David ſaith, that the poſterity doth ever follow the footſteps of their wicked fathers, and principally in their impiety. For how little differs the cruelty of that baſtard, that yet is called biſhop of St. Andrews, from the cruelty of the former, we will after hear.

The death of this aforeſaid tyrant, as it was pleaſing to ſome, *viz.* to thoſe who had received the reformation of religion, for they were mightily afraid of him; and alſo to ſundry Romaniſts, whom he kept under as ſlaves: ſo, on the other ſide, it was dolorous to the prieſts, dolorous to the governor, dolorous to the queen dowager; for in him periſhed faithfulneſs to France, and the comfort to all gentlewomen, and eſpecially to wanton widows: his death muſt be revenged. To the court again repairs the earl of Angus, and his brother Sir George; labour is made for the abbacy of Aberbrothwick, and a grant was once made of the ſame, in memory whereof George Douglas, baſtard ſon to the ſaid earl, is yet called *poſtulate*. But it was more proper, think the Hamiltons, for the governor's kitchen, than for reward to the Douglaſſes; and yet in hope thereof, the ſaid earl, and Sir George his brother, were the firſt that voted, that the caſtle of St. Andrews ſhould be beſieged: divers gentlemen of Fife went into the caſtle, and abode there with the Leſlies during the firſt ſiege, and John Rough was preacher to them. The biſhop, to declare the zeal which he had to revenge the death of him who was his predeceſſor, and for his riches he would not have had him living again, ſtill blew the coals; and firſt he cauſed ſummon, then he denounced accurſed, at laſt rebels, not only the firſt enterpriſers, but all ſuch alſo as after did accompany them. And laſt of all, a ſiege was concluded, which began in the end of Auguſt (for the twenty-third day thereof departed the ſoldiers from Edinburgh), and continued near to the end of January: at which time, becauſe they had no other hope of winning of it, but by hunger, and thereof alſo they deſpaired; for they within had broken through the eaſt wall, and made a plain paſſage by an iron gate to the ſea, which greatly relieved the beſieged, and abaſed the beſiegers; for then they ſaw that they could not ſtop them of victuals, unleſs that they ſhould be maſters of the ſea, and that they clearly underſtood they could not be; for the Engliſh ſhips had once been there, and had brought William Kirkcaldy from London, and with much difficulty (becauſe the ſaid gate was not then prepared), and ſome loſs of men, had rendered him to the caſtle again, and had taken with them to the court of England, John Leſly, and Mr. Henry Balnaves, for perfecting of all contracts betwixt them and king Henry, who promiſed to take them into his protection, upon condition only, that they ſhould keep the governor's ſon, my lord of Arran, and ſtand friends to the contract of marriage, whereof before we have made mention: theſe things clearly underſtood, we ſay, by the governor and his council, the prieſts, and the ſhaven ſort; they concluded to make an appointment, to the end that, under truce, they might either get the caſtle betrayed, or elſe ſome principal men of the company taken at unawares: in which deſign was the abbot of Dunfermline principal; and for that purpoſe had the laird of Monquhany, who was moſt familiar with thoſe of the caſtle, laboured with foot and hand, and proceeded ſo in his traffic, that from entering in day-light, at his pleaſure, he got licence to come in in the night, whenſoever it pleaſed him. But God had not appointed ſo many to be betrayed, albeit that he would that they ſhould be puniſhed, and that juſtly, as hereafter we ſhall hear.

The heads of the coloured appointment were;

I. That they ſhould keep the caſtle of St. Andrews ſtill, while that the governor and the authority of Scotland ſhould get unto them a ſufficient abſolution from the pope, Antichriſt of Rome, for the ſlaughter of the cardinal aforeſaid.

II. That they ſhould deliver pledges for the delivery of that houſe, as ſoon as the aforeſaid abſolution was delivered unto them.

III. That they, their friends, familiars, and ſervants, and others to them pertaining, ſhould never be purſued in law, by authority, for the ſlaughter aforeſaid: but that they ſhould enjoy commodities, ſpiritual or temporal, whatſoever they poſſeſſed before the ſaid ſlaughter, even as if it had never been committed.

IV. That they of the caſtle ſhould keep the earl of Arran ſo long as their pledges were kept.

And ſuch like articles liberal enough, for they never minded to keep a word of them, as the iſſue did declare. John Rough left the caſtle, ſee-

ing he could do little good upon thoſe that were within, ſo addicted were they to their evil ways: he went into England to preach God's word there.

The appointment made, all the godly were glad, for ſome hope they had, that thereby God's word ſhould ſomewhat bud, as indeed ſo it did: for John Rough, who ſoon after the cardinal's ſlaughter entered within the caſtle, and had continued in it during the whole ſiege, having left the caſtle, becauſe he could do little good upon thoſe that were with him, ſo addicted were they to their evil ways, began to preach in the city of St. Andrews: and albeit he was not the moſt learned, yet was his doctrine without corruption, and therefore well liked of the people.

At Eaſter, after *anno* 1547, came to the caſtle of St. Andrews John Knox, who, wearied of removing from place to place, by reaſon of the perſecution that came upon him by the biſhop of St. Andrews, was determined to have left Scotland, and to have viſited the ſchools of Germany (of England then he had no pleaſure, by reaſon that, although the pope's name was ſuppreſſed, yet his laws and corruptions remained in full vigour): but becauſe he had the care of ſome gentlemens children, whom certain years he had nouriſhed in godlineſs, their fathers ſolicited him to go to St Andrews, that himſelf might have the benefit of the caſtle, and their children the benefit of his doctrine: and ſo, we ſay, came he the time aforeſaid to the ſaid place; and having in his company, Francis Douglas of Longniddry, George his brother, and Alexander Cockburn, eldeſt ſon then to the laird of Ormiſton, began to exerciſe them after his accuſtomed manner: beſides the grammar, and other books of human learning, he read unto them a catechiſm, account whereof he cauſed them give publicly in the pariſh-church of St. Andrews. He read moreover unto them the goſpel of John, proceeding where he left off at his departure from Longniddry, where before his reſidence was; and that lecture he read in the chapel within the caſtle at a certain hour. They of the place, but eſpecially Mr. Henry Balnaves and John Rough preacher, perceiving the manner of his doctrine, began earneſtly to travel with him, that he would take the function of preacher upon him; but he refuſed, alledging that he would not run where God had not called him, meaning that he would do nothing without a lawful vocation: whereupon they privily among themſelves adviſing, having with them in council Sir David Lindſay of the Mount, they concluded that they would give a charge to the ſaid John, and that publicly by the mouth of the preacher. And ſo upon a certain day, a ſermon had of the election of miniſters, what power the congregation (how ſmall ſoever that it was, paſſing the number of two or three), had above any man, namely in the time of need, as that was, in whom they ſuppoſed, and eſpied the gifts of God to be; and how dangerous it was to refuſe, and not to hear the voice of ſuch as deſire to be inſtructed.

Theſe and other heads, we ſay, declared, the ſaid John Rough preacher directed his words to the ſaid John Knox, ſaying, 'Brother, ye ſhall 'not be offended, albeit that I ſpeak unto you that 'which I have in charge, even from all thoſe that 'are here preſent, which is this: In the name of 'God, and of his Son Jeſus Chriſt, and in the 'name of theſe who preſently call you by my 'mouth, I charge you that you refuſe not this ho'ly vocation; but as ye tender the glory of God, 'the increaſe of Chriſt's kingdom, the edification 'of your brethren, and the comfort of me, whom 'ye underſtand well enough to be oppreſſed by the 'multitude of labours, that ye take upon you the 'public office and charge of preaching, even as ye 'look to avoid God's heavy diſpleaſure, and de'ſire that ye ſhall multiply his graces upon you.' And in the end, he ſaid to thoſe that were preſent, 'Was not this your charge to me? and do 'ye not approve this vocation?' They anſwered, 'It is, and we approve it.' Whereat the ſaid Mr. John abaſhed, burſt forth in moſt abundant tears, and withdrew himſelf to his chamber; his countenance and behaviour, from that day till the day that he was compelled to preſent himſelf to the public place of preaching, did ſufficiently declare the grief and trouble of his heart; for no man ſaw any ſign of mirth in him, neither yet had he pleaſure to accompany any man, for many days together.

The neceſſity that cauſed him to enter in the public place, beſides the vocation aforeſaid, was dean John Annan, a rotten Papiſt, had long troubled John Rough in his preaching. The ſaid John Knox had fortified the doctrine of the preacher by his pen, and had beaten the ſaid dean John from all his defences, that he was compelled to flee to his laſt refuge, that is, to the authority of the church; which authority, ſaid he, damned all Lutherans and heretics, and therefore he needed no further diſputation. John Knox anſwered, 'Before we hold ourſelves, or that ye can prove 'us ſufficiently convinced, we muſt define the

'church by the right notes given to us in God's 'Scripture of the true church: we muſt diſcern the 'immaculate ſpouſe of Jeſus Chriſt, from the mo-'ther of confuſion, ſpiritual Babylon; leſt that 'imprudently we embrace a harlot, inſtead of the 'chaſte ſpouſe; yea, to ſpeak in plain words, leſt 'that we ſubmit ourſelves to Satan, thinking that 'we ſubmit ourſelves to Jeſus Chriſt. For as for 'your Roman church, as it is now corrupted, and 'the authority thereof, wherein ſtands the hope of 'your victory; I no more doubt but that it is 'the ſynagogue of Satan, and the head thereof, 'called the Pope, to be that man of ſin, of whom 'the apoſtle ſpeaketh, than that I doubt that Je-'ſus Chriſt ſuffered by the procurement of the vi-'ſible church of Jeruſalem. Yea, I offer myſelf 'by word or writing, to prove the Roman church 'this day farther degenerated from the purity which 'was in the days of the apoſtles, than was the 'church of the Jews from the ordinance given by 'Moſes, when they conſented to the innocent 'death of Jeſus Chriſt.' Theſe words were ſpoken in the open audience of the pariſh-church of St. Andrews, after the ſaid dean John had ſpoken what it pleaſed him, and had refuſed to diſpute. The people hearing the offer, cried with one conſent, 'We cannot all read your writings, but we can 'all hear your preaching: therefore we require 'you in the name of God, that ye let us hear the 'approbation of that which ye have affirmed; for, 'if it be true, we have been miſerably deceived.'

And ſo the next Sunday was appointed to the ſaid John, to expreſs his mind in the public preaching-place; which day approaching, the ſaid John took the text written in Daniel, the ſeventh chapter, beginning thus: 'And another king ſhall 'riſe after them, and he ſhall be unlike unto the 'firſt, and he ſhall ſubdue three kings, and ſhall 'ſpeak words againſt the Moſt High, and ſhall 'conſume the ſaints of the Moſt High, and think 'that he can change times and laws: and they 'ſhall be given into his hands, until a time, and 'times, and dividing of times, &c. In the be-ginning of his ſermon, he ſhewed the great love of God towards his church, whom he pleaſed to forewarn of dangers to come, ſo many years before they came to paſs. He briefly treated of the ſtate of the Iſraelites, who then were in bondage in Ba-bylon, for the moſt part; and made a ſhort diſ-courſe of the four empires, the Babylonian, the Perſian, that of the Greeks, and the fourth of the Romans, in the deſtruction whereof, roſe up that laſt beaſt, which he affirmed to be the Roman church; for to none other power that ever hath yet been, do all the notes that God hath ſhewed to the prophet appertain, except to it alone; and unto it they do ſo properly appertain, that ſuch as are not more than blind, may clearly ſee them. But before he began to open the corruptions of Papiſtry, he defined the true church, ſhewed the true notes of it, whereupon it was built, why it was the pillar of verity, and why it could not err; *viz.* 'Becauſe it heard the voice of the only paſ-'tor Jeſus Chriſt, would not hear a ſtranger, nei-'ther would be carried with every wind of doc-'trine.' Every one of theſe heads ſufficiently de-clared, he entered to the contrary; and upon the notes given in his text, he ſhewed that the Spirit of God in the New Teſtament gave to this king other new names; *viz.* 'The Man of Sin, the 'Antichriſt, the Whore of Babylon.' He ſhew-ed, that this Man of Sin, or Antichriſt, was not to be reſtrained to the perſon of any one man only, no more than by the fourth beaſt was to be underſtood the perſon of any one emperor: but by ſuch names the Spirit of God would forewarn his choſen of a body and a multitude, having a wicked head, which ſhould not only be ſinful him-ſelf, but alſo ſhould be occaſion of ſin to all that ſhould be ſubject unto him (as Chriſt Jeſus is the cauſe of juſtice to all the members of his body), and is called the Antichriſt, that is to ſay, One contrary to Chriſt, becauſe that he is contrary to him in life, doctrine, laws, and ſubjects. And there began to decipher the lives of divers popes, and the lives of all the ſhavelings for the moſt part: their doctrine and laws, he plainly proved to repugn directly to the doctrine and laws of God the Father, and of Chriſt Jeſus his Son: this he proved, by conferring the doctrine of juſtification expreſſed in the Scriptures, which teach, 'That 'man is juſtified by faith only, that the blood of 'Jeſus Chriſt purgeth us from all ſins;' and the doctrine of the Papiſts, which attribute juſtifica-tion to the works of the law, yea, to the works of mens inventions, as pilgrimage, pardons, and o-ther ſuch baggage. That the Papiſtical laws re-pugned to the laws of the goſpel, he proved, by the laws made of obſervation of days, abſtaining from meats, and from marriage, which Chriſt Jeſus made free: and the forbidding whereof, St. Paul calleth the doctrine of devils. In handling the notes of that beaſt given in the text, he willed men to conſider, if theſe notes, 'There ſhall ano-'ther riſe, unlike to the other, having a mouth 'ſpeaking great things and blaſphemous,' could be

applied unto any other, but to the pope, and his kingdom; for if theſe, ſaid he, be not great words and blaſphemous, 'The ſucceſſor of Peter, the 'vicar of Chriſt, the head of the church, moſt 'holy, moſt bleſſed, that cannot err; that can 'make right of wrong, and wrong of right; that 'of nothing can make ſomewhat, and that had all 'verity in the ſhrine of his breaſt; yea, that had 'power of all, and none power of him;' nay, not to ſay, 'That he doth wrong, although he draw 'ten thouſand millions of ſouls with himſelf to 'hell.' If theſe, ſaid he, and many others, eaſy to be ſhewn in his own canon-law, be not great and blaſphemous words, and ſuch as never mortal men ſpake before, let the world judge. And yet, ſaid he, is there one moſt evident of all, *viz.* John, in his Revelation, ſays, 'That the merchandize 'of that Babylonian harlot, among other things, 'ſhall be the bodies and ſouls of men.' Now, let very Papiſts themſelves judge, if ever any before them took upon them power to relax the pains of them that were in purgatory, as they affirm to the people that daily they do, by the merits of their maſs, and of their other trifles. In the end, he ſaid, if any one here (and there were preſent Mr. John Mair, the univerſity, the ſub-prior, and many canons, with ſome friars of both the orders), that will ſay, that I have alledged Scriptures, doctor, or hiſtory, otherwiſe than it is written, let them come unto me with ſufficient witneſſes, and by conference I ſhall let them ſee, not only the original where my teſtimonies are written, but I ſhall prove, that the writers meant as I have ſpoken.

Of this ſermon, which was the firſt that ever John Knox made in public, was divers reports: ſome ſaid, He not only hews the branches of Papiſtry, but he ſtrikes at the root alſo, to deſtroy the whole. Others ſaid, If the doctors, and *magiſtri noſtri*, defend not now the pope and his authority, which in their own preſence is ſo manifeſtly impugned, 'The devil may have my part 'of him, and of his laws both.' Others ſaid, Mr. George Wiſhart ſpake never ſo plainly, and yet he was burnt; even ſo will he be. In the end, others ſaid, The tyranny of the cardinal made not his cauſe the better, neither yet the ſuffering of God's ſervant made his cauſe the worſe: and, therefore, we would counſel you and them to provide better defences than fire and ſword; for it may be that elſe ye will be diſappointed; men now have other eyes than they had then. This anſwer gave the laird of Niddry, a man fervent and upright in religion. The baſtard-biſhop, who yet was not execrated (conſecrated they call it), wrote to the ſub-prior of St. Andrews, who (*ſede vacante*), was vicar-general, and ſaid, That he wondered that he ſuffered ſuch heretical and ſchiſmatical doctrine to be taught, and not to oppoſe himſelf to the ſame: upon this rebuke, was a convention of gray-friars and black fiends appointed, with the ſaid ſub-prior dean John Winram in St. Leonard's Yard, whereunto was firſt called John Rough, and certain articles read to him; and thereafter was John Knox called for. The cauſe of their convention, and why that they were called, is expounded; and the articles were read, which were theſe,

I. No mortal man can be the head of the church.

II. The pope is an Antichriſt, and ſo is no member of Chriſt's myſtical body.

III. Man may neither make nor deviſe a religion that is acceptable to God, but man is bound to obſerve and keep the religion that from God is received, without chopping or changing thereof.

IV. The ſacraments of the New Teſtament ought to be miniſtered as they were inſtituted by Chriſt Jeſus, and practiſed by his apoſtles; nothing ought to be added unto them, nothing ought to be diminiſhed from them.

V. The maſs is abominable idolatry, blaſphemous to the death of Chriſt, and a profanation of the Lord's ſupper.

VI. There is no purgatory, in the which the ſouls of men can either be pined or purged after this life. But heaven reſteth to the faithful, and hell to the reprobate and unfaithful.

VII. Praying for the dead is vain, and to the dead is idolatry.

VIII. There is no biſhop, except he preach even by himſelf, without any ſubſtitute.

IX. The tithes by God's law do not appertain of neceſſity to the churchmen.

The ſtrangeneſs, ſaid the ſub-prior, of theſe articles which are gathered forth of your doctrine, have moved us to call for you, to hear your own anſwers. John Knox ſaid, I for my part praiſe my God, that I ſee ſo honourable, and apparently ſo modeſt and quiet an auditory: but becauſe it is long ſince that I have heard, that ye are one that is not ignorant of the truth, I may crave of you in the name of God, yea, and I appeal your conſcience before that Supreme Judge, that if ye think any article there expreſſed contrary unto the truth of God, that ye oppoſe yourſelf plainly un-

to it, and ſuffer not the people to be therewith deceived: but, on the other ſide, if in your conſcience ye know the doctrine to be true, then will I crave your patrociny thereto, that by your authority the people may be moved the rather to believe the truth, whereof many doubt by reaſon of our youth. The ſub-prior anſwered, I came not here as a judge, but only familiarly to talk; and therefore I will neither allow nor condemn; but if ye liſt, I will reaſon.

SUB-PRIOR. Why may not the church, ſaid he, for good cauſes deviſe ceremonies, to decore the ſacraments, and other parts of God's ſervice?

JOHN KNOX. Becauſe the church ought to do nothing 'but in faith, and ought not to go before, 'but is bound to follow the voice of the true paſ-'tor.'

SUB-PRIOR. It is in faith that the ceremonies are commanded, and they have proper ſignifications to help our faith, as the hards in baptiſm ſignify the roughneſs of the law, and the oil the ſoftneſs of God's mercy; and likewiſe every one of the ceremonies hath a godly ſignification; and therefore they both proceed from faith, and are done in faith.

JOHN KNOX. It is not enough that man invent a ceremony, and then give it a ſignification according to his pleaſure; for ſo might the ceremonies of the Gentiles, and this day the ceremonies of Mahomet, be maintained: but if that any thing proceed from faith, it muſt have the word of God for its aſſurance; for ye are not ignorant, 'That 'faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the 'word of God:' now, if that ye will prove that your ceremonies proceed from faith, and do pleaſe God, ye muſt prove that God in expreſs words hath commanded them, or elſe ſhall you never prove that they proceed from faith, nor yet that they pleaſe God; but that they are ſin, and do diſpleaſe him, according to the words of the apoſtle, 'Whatſoever is not of faith is ſin.'

SUB-PRIOR. Will ye bind us ſo ſtrait, that we may do nothing without the expreſs word of God? What if I aſk drink, think ye that I ſin? and yet I have not God's word for me. This anſwer gave he, as might appear to ſhift over the argument upon the friar, as that he did.

JOHN KNOX. I would ye ſhould not jeſt in ſo grave a matter; neither would I that ye ſhould begin to hide the truth with ſophiſtry; and if ye do, I will defend it the beſt that I can. And firſt to your drinking, I ſay, that if ye either eat or drink, without aſſurance of God's word, that in ſo doing ye diſpleaſe God, and ſin in your very eating and drinking. For, ſaith not the apoſtle, ſpeaking even of meat and drink, 'That the creatures 'are ſanctified unto men, even by word and pray-'er?' The word is this, 'All things are clean to 'the clean.' Now let me hear this much of your ceremonies, and I ſhall give you the argument: but I wonder that ye compare things profane and holy things ſo indiſcreetly together. The queſtion was not, nor is not of meat or drink, wherein the kingdom of God conſiſteth not; but the queſtion is of God's true worſhipping, without the which we can have no ſociety with God: and here it is doubted, if we may take the ſame freedom in the uſing of Chriſt's ſacraments, that we may do in eating and drinking: one meat I may eat, another I may refuſe, and that without ſcruple of conſcience. I may change one with another, even as oft as I pleaſe. Whether may we do the ſame in matters of religion? May we caſt away what we pleaſe, and retain what we pleaſe? If I be well remembered, Moſes, in the name of God, ſaith to the people of Iſrael, 'All that the Lord thy God 'commanded thee to do, that do thou to the Lord 'thy God, add nothing to it, diminiſh nothing from 'it:' by theſe rules think I that the church of Chriſt will meaſure God's religion, and not by that which ſeemeth good in their own eyes.

SUB-PRIOR. Forgive me, I ſpake it but in mows, and I was dry: and now father, ſaid he to the friar, follow the argument, ye have heard what I have ſaid, and what is anſwered to me again.

ARBUCKIL *gray-friar*. I ſhall prove plainly, that ceremonies are ordained by God.

JOHN KNOX. Such as God hath ordained we allow, and with reverence we uſe them. But the queſtion is of thoſe which God hath not ordained; ſuch as in baptiſm, are ſpittle, ſalt, candle (except it be to keep the bairn from the cold), hards, oil, and the reſt of the Papiſtical inventions.

ARBUCKIL. I will even prove thoſe that ye condemn to be ordained of God.

JOHN KNOX. The proof thereof I would gladly hear.

ARBUCKIL. Saith not St. Paul, that another foundation than Jeſus Chriſt may no man lay:

but upon this foundation, ſome build gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones; ſome hay, ſtubble, and wood. The gold, ſilver, and the precious ſtones, are the ceremonies of the church, which do abide the fire, and conſume not away, *&c.*—This place of Scripture is moſt plain, ſaith the fooliſh fiend.

JOHN KNOX. I praiſe my God through Jeſus Chriſt, for I find his promiſe ſure, true, and ſtable. Chriſt Jeſus bids us not fear, when we ſhall be called before men to give confeſſion of his truth, for he promiſeth, that it ſhall be given unto us in that hour what we ſhall ſpeak. If I had ſought the whole Scriptures, I could not have produced a place more proper for my purpoſe, nor more potent to confound you. Now to your argument; the ceremonies of the church, ſay ye, are gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones, becauſe they are able to abide the fire: but I would learn of you, what fire is it which your ceremonies do abide? and in the mean time, while ye be adviſed to anſwer, I will ſhew my mind, and make an argument againſt yours upon the ſame text. And firſt, I ſay, that I have heard this text adduced for a proof of purgatory; but for defence of ceremonies, I never heard, nor yet read it. But omitting whether ye underſtand the mind of the apoſtle or not, I make my argument, and ſay, That which can abide the fire, can abide the word of God; but your ceremonies cannot abide the word of God: *ergo*, They cannot abide the fire; and if they may not abide the fire, then are they not gold, ſilver, nor precious ſtones; now, if ye find any ambiguity in this term *fire*, which I interpret to be the word, find ye me another fire, by the which things builded upon Jeſus Chriſt ſhould be tried, than God and his word, which both in the Scriptures are called fire, and I ſhall correct my argument.

ARBUCKIL. I ſtand not thereupon; but I deny your minor, *viz.* That our ceremonies may not abide the trial of God's word.

JOHN KNOX. I prove that abides not the trial of God's word, which God's word condemns; but God's word condemns your ceremonies, therefore they do not abide the trial thereof. But as a thief abides the trial of the inqueſt, and thereby is condemned to be hanged, even ſo may your ceremonies abide the trial of God's word, but not elſe. And now in few words, to make plain that wherein ye may ſeem to doubt, *viz.* That God's word condemns your ceremonies, it is evident: for the plain and ſtrait commandment of God is, 'Not 'that thing which appeareth good in thine eyes ſhalt 'thou do to the Lord thy God, but what the Lord 'thy God hath commanded thee, that do thou; 'add nothing to it, diminiſh nothing from it.' Now, unleſs ye be able to prove, that God hath commanded your ceremonies, this his former commandment will condemn both you and them.

The friar ſomewhat abaſhed what firſt to anſwer, while he wanders about in the miſt, he falls in a foul mire; for alledging, that we may not be ſo bound to the word, he affirmed, that the apoſtles had not received the Holy Ghoſt when they did write their epiſtles; but after they received him, and then they did ordain the ceremonies (few would have thought that ſo learned a man would have given ſo fooliſh an anſwer, and yet it is even as true as he did wear a gray cowl). John Knox hearing the anſwer, ſtarted, and ſaid, 'If that be true, I have long been in an error, 'and I think I ſhall die therein.' The ſub-prior ſaid to him, 'Father, what ſay ye? God forbid 'that ye affirm that; for then farewell the ground 'of our faith.' The friar aſtoniſhed, made the beſt ſhift that he could to correct his fault, but it would not be. John Knox brought him oft again to the ground of the argument; but he would never anſwer directly, but ever fled to the authority of the church, whereto the ſaid John anſwered oftener than once, 'That the ſpouſe of 'Chriſt had neither power nor authority againſt 'the word of God.' Then ſaid the friar, 'If ſo 'be, ye will leave us no church.' 'Indeed,' ſaid the other, 'in David I read, that there is a church 'of the malignants; for he ſaith, *Odi eccleſiam* '*malignantium*; that church ye may have without the word, and doing many things directly 'fighting againſt the word: of that church, if ye 'will be, I cannot hinder you; but as for me, I 'will be of none other church, except of that 'which hath Jeſus Chriſt to be Paſtor, which 'hears his voice, and will not hear a ſtranger.'

In this diſputation many other things were merrily ſcoffed over: for the friar, after his fall could ſpeak nothing to any purpoſe: for purgatory, he had no better proof than the authority of Virgil, in the ſixth of his Æneiads; and the pains thereof to him was an *evil wife*. John Knox anſwered that, and many other things, as he himſelf witneſſeth, in a treatiſe that he did write in the galleys, containing the ſum of his doctrine, and the confeſſion of his faith; and ſent it to his familiars in Scotland, with this exhortation, That they ſhould continue in the truth which they had profeſſed, notwithſtanding any worldly adverſity.

might enſue thereof. This much of that diſputation have we inſerted here, to the intent that men may ſee how Satan ever travelleth to obſcure the light; and how God, by his power working in his weak veſſels, confounds the craft, and diſcloſeth the darkneſs of Satan.

After this, the Papiſts and friars had no great heart of further diſputation or reaſoning, but invented another ſhift, which appeared to proceed from godlineſs, and it was this, Every learned man in the abbey, and in the univerſity, ſhould preach in the pariſh-church his Sunday about. The ſub-prior began, followed the official, called Spittal (ſermons were penned), to offend no man, followed all the reſt in their ranks. And ſo John Knox ſmelled out the craft, and in his ſermons which he made upon the week-days, he prayed to God, that they ſhould be as buſy in preaching, when there ſhould be more want of it than there was then. Always, ſaid he, I praiſe God that Jeſus Chriſt is preached, and nothing is ſaid publicly againſt the doctrine that ye have heard: if in my abſence they ſhall ſpeak any thing, which in my preſence they do not, I proteſt that ye ſuſpend your judgment, till that it pleaſe God ye hear me again.

God ſo aſſiſted his weak ſoldier, and ſo bleſſed his labours, that not only all thoſe of the caſtle, but alſo a great number of the town, openly profeſſed, by participation of the Lord's table, in the ſame purity that now it is miniſtered in the church of Scotland, with that ſame doctrine that he had taught unto them. Amongſt whom was he that now either rules, or elſe miſrules Scotland, *viz.* Sir James Balfour (ſometimes called Mr. James), the chief and principal Proteſtant that then was to be found within this realm: this we write, becauſe that we have heard, that the ſaid Mr. James alledgeth, that he was never of this our religion, but that he was brought up in Martin Luther's opinion of the ſacrament, and therefore he cannot communicate with us: but his own conſcience, and two hundred witneſſes beſides, know that he lies, and that he was one of the chief (if he had not been after his cups) that would have given his life, if men might credit his words, for defence of the doctrine which the ſaid John Knox taught; but albeit that thoſe who never were of us (as none of Monquhany's houſe have ſhewed themſelves to be) depart from us, it is no great wonder: for it is proper and natural, that the children follow the father; and let the godly beware of that race and progeny, by eſchewing it; for if in them be either fear of God, or love of virtue, further then the preſent commodity perſuades them, men of judgment are deceived.—But to return to our hiſtory.

The prieſts and biſhops enraged at all theſe proceedings that were in St. Andrews, ran now upon the governor, now upon the queen, now upon the whole council, and there might have been heard complaints and cries, 'What are we doing? ſhall we 'ſuffer this whole realm to be infected with perni-'cious doctrine? fy upon you, and fy upon us.' The queen, and monſieur d' Oſel (who then was *a ſecretis mulierum* in the court), comforted them, and willed them to be quiet, for they ſhould ſee remedy ere it were long; and ſo it proved indeed; for upon the nine-and-twentieth day of June, appeared in the ſight of the caſtle of St. Andrews, one-and-twenty French galleys with a great army, the like whereof was never ſeen in that haven before. This treaſonable means had the governor, the biſhop, the queen, and monſieur d' Oſel under their appointment, drawn; but to excuſe their treaſon, eight days before, they had preſented an abſolution unto them, as ſent from Rome, containing, after the aggravation of the crime, this clauſe, *Remittimus irremiſſibile*, that is, We remit the crime that cannot be remitted. Which conſidered by the worſt of the company that was in the caſtle, anſwer was given, that the governor and council of the realm had promiſed unto them a ſufficient and aſſured abſolution, which that appeareth not to be, and therefore they could not deliver the houſe, neither thought they that any reaſonable man would require them ſo to do, conſidering that promiſe was not kept unto them. The next day after that the galleys were arrived, they ſummoned the houſe, which being denied (becauſe they knew then no magiſtrates in Scotland), they prepared for ſiege; and firſt they began to aſſault by ſea, and ſhot two days, but thereof they neither got advantage nor honour, for they threw down the ſlates of houſes; but neither ſlew man, nor did harm to any wall. But the caſtle handled them ſo, that *Sancta Barbara* (the gunner's goddeſs) helped them nothing; for they loſt many of their rowers, men chained in the galleys, and ſome ſoldiers both by ſea and land. And further, a galley that approached nearer than the reſt, was ſo beaten with the cannon and other ordnance, that ſhe was ſtricken under water, and almoſt drowned; and ſo ſhe had been, had not the reſt given her ſuccour in time, and drawn her to the weſt ſands, without the ſhot of the caſtle, and afterward to Dundee, where

they remained, till that the governor, who was then at the ſiege of Langhope, came unto them with the reſt of the French faction.

The ſiege by ſea and land was laid about the caſtle of St. Andrews the three-and-twentieth day of July; the trenches were caſt, ordnance were planted upon the abbey-church, and upon St. Salvator's College (and yet was the ſteeple thereof burnt), and ſome upon the ſtreet that leads to the caſtle, which ſo annoyed the caſtle, that neither could they keep their Block-houſe, the Sea-tower head, nor the weſt wall; for in all thoſe places men were ſlain by great ordnance; yea, they mounted the ordnance ſo high upon the abbey-church, that they might diſcover the ground of the court of the caſtle in divers places: moreover, within the caſtle was the plague, and divers therein died, which more affrighted ſome that were therein, than did the external force without. But John Knox was of another judgment; for he ever ſaid, that their corrupt life, having fallen into all kind of licentiouſneſs, puffed up with pride of their ſucceſs, and relying upon England for help in caſe of need, could not eſcape the puniſhment of God; and that was his continual advertiſement, from the time that he was called to preach. When they triumphed of their victory (the firſt twenty days they had many proſperous chances), he lamented, and ever ſaid, they ſaw not what he ſaw: when they bragged of the force and thickneſs of their walls, he ſaid, they ſhould be but egg-ſhells: when they vaunted, England will reſcue us, he ſaid, Ye ſhall not ſee them; but ye ſhall be delivered into your enemies hands, and ſhall be carried into a ſtrange country.

Upon the nine-and-twentieth of July, at night, was the ordnance planted for the battery thirteen cannon, whereof four were cannon-royal, called Double Cannon, beſides other pieces. The battery began at four of the clock in the morning, and before ten in the forenoon, the whole ſouth quarter, betwixt the Fore-tower and the eaſt Block-houſe, was made aſſaultable. The lower gallery was ſtopped, divers ſlain in it; and the eaſt Block-houſe was ſhot off from the place. Betwixt ten and eleven of the clock, there fell a ſhower of rain that continued near an hour, the like whereof had ſeldom been ſeen; it was ſo vehement, that no man might abide without a houſe. The cannon were left alone. Some within the caſtle were of judgment, that men ſhould have iſſued, and put all in the hands of God; but becauſe that William Kirkcaldy was coming with the prior of Capua, who had the commiſſion of that journey from the king of France, nothing was enterpriſed. And ſo was appointment made, and the caſtle rendered upon Saturday the laſt of July. The heads of the appointment were, That the lives of all within the caſtle ſhould be ſaved, as well Engliſh as Scots; that they ſhould be ſafely tranſported to France; and in caſe that upon conditions, which by the king of France ſhould be offered unto them, they could not be content to remain in ſervice and freedom there, they ſhould, upon the expences of the king of France, be ſafely conveyed to what country they would require, other than Scotland. With the governor they would have nothing ado, neither with any Scotſman; for they had all traiterouſly betrayed them (which, ſaid the laid of Grange elder, a man ſimple, and of moſt ſtout courage, I am aſſured God will revenge it, ere it be long). The galleys well furniſhed with the ſpoil of the caſtle aforeſaid, after certain days returned to France, and eſcaping a great danger (for upon the back of the ſands they all choked), they arrived at Felcame in November, and thereafter paſſed up the water of Sequan, and lay before Rhoan, where the principal gentlemen, who looked for freedom, were diſperſed, and put in ſundry priſons; the reſt were left in the galleys, and there miſerably uſed, amongſt whom the foreſaid Mr. James Balfour was, with his two brethren, David and Gilbert, men without God; which we write, becauſe that we hear that the ſaid Mr. James, principal miſguider now in Scotland, denies that he had any thing to do with the caſtle of St. Andrews, or yet that ever he was in the galleys. Among others, John Knox was in the galleys all the winter. Then was the joy of the Papiſts, both of Scotland and of France, even in full perfection; for this was their ſong of triumph,

Prieſts content you now, prieſts content you now,
For Norman and his company have fill'd the galleys fow.

The pope wrote letters to the king of France, and ſo did he to the governor of Scotland, thanking them heartily for taking pains to revenge the death of his kind creature, the cardinal of Scotland, deſiring them to continue in their begun ſeverity, that ſuch things thereafter ſhould not be attempted; ſo were all thoſe that were deprehended in the caſtle condemned to perpetual priſon: and the ungodly judged, that after this Chriſt

Jeſus ſhould never triumph in Scotland. One thing we cannot paſs by, from Scotland was ſent a famous clerk (laugh not, reader), Mr. John Hamilton of Milburn, with credit to the king of France, and unto the cardinal of Lorrain, and yet he had neither French nor Latin, and ſome ſay his Scots tongue was not very good. The ſum of his negociation was, that thoſe of the caſtle ſhould be ſharply handled; in the which ſuit he was heard with favour, and was diſpatched from the court of France with letters, and great credit, which that famous clerk forgot by the way: for paſſing up to the mountain of Dunbarton, before his letters were delivered, he brake his neck, and ſo God took away a proud ignorant enemy. But now to our hiſtory. Theſe things againſt promiſe, 'for 'princes have no fidelity, further than for their 'own advantage,' done at Rhoan, the galleys departed to Nantz in Britany, where, upon the water of Lore, they lay the whole winter. In Scotland that ſummer was nothing but mirth, for all went with the prieſts even at their own pleaſure. The caſtle of St. Andrews was razed to the ground, the Block-houſe thereof caſt down, and the walls round about demoliſhed. Whether this was to fulfil their law, which commands places where cardinals are ſlain ſo to be uſed, or elſe for fear that England ſhould have taken it, as after they did Broughty-rock, we remit to the judgment of ſuch as were of council.

This ſame year, in the beginning of September, entered Scotland an army of ten thouſand men from England by land; and ſome ſhips with ordnance came by ſea. The governor and the biſhop hereof advertiſed, gathered together the forces of Scotland, and aſſembled at Edinburgh. The protector of England, with the earl of Warwick and their army, remained at Preſton, and about Preſton-pans; for they had certain offers to propoſe unto the nobility of Scotland, concerning the promiſe before made by them, unto the which king Henry before his death gently required them to ſtand faſt: and if they would ſo do, of him, nor of his realm, they ſhould have no trouble, but the help and the comfort that he could make them in all things lawful. And hereupon there was a letter directed to the governor and council; which coming to the hands of the biſhop of St. Andrews, he thought it could not be for his advantage that it ſhould be divulgate; and therefore, by his craft, it was ſuppreſſed. Upon Friday the ſeventh of September, the Engliſh army marched towards Leith, and the Scots army marched from Edinburgh to Inverеſk. The whole Scots army was not aſſembled, and yet the ſkirmiſhing began; for nothing was concluded, but victory without ſtroke. The protector, the earl of Warwick, the lord Gray, and all the Engliſh captains, were playing at the dice. No men were ſtouter than the prieſts and canons, with their ſhaven crowns, and black jacks. The earl of Warwick, and the lord Gray, who had the chief charge of the horſemen, perceiving the hoſt to be moleſted with the Scots preachers, and knowing that the multitude were neither under order nor obedience (for they were divided from the great army), ſent forth certain troops of horſemen and ſome of their borderers, either to fetch them, or elſe to put them out of their ſight, ſo that they might not annoy the hoſt. The ſkirmiſh grew hot, and at length the Scotſmen gave back, and fled without gain-turn: the chace continued far, both towards the eaſt, and towards the weſt, in the which many were ſlain, and he that is now lord Hume was taken, which was the occaſion that the caſtle of Hume was after ſurrendered to the Engliſhmen: the loſs of theſe men neither moved the governor, nor yet the biſhop his baſtard brother, bragging, that they would revenge the matter well enough upon the morrow; for they had hands enow (no word of God), 'The Engliſh 'heretics had no faces, they would not abide.' Upon the Saturday, the armies of both ſides paſt to array.

The Engliſh army takes the middle part of Fawſide-hill, having their ordnance planted before them, and having their ſhips and two galleys brought as near the land as water would ſerve. The Scots army ſtood firſt in a reaſonable ſtrength, and good order, having betwixt them and the Engliſh army the water of Eſk (otherwiſe called Muſſelburgh water). But at length a charge was given, in the governor's behalf, with ſound of trumpet, that all men ſhould march forward, and go over the water. Some ſay, that this was procured by the abbot of Dunfermline and Mr. Hugh Rig, for preſervation of Carbarry. Men of judgment liked not the journey; for they thought it no wiſdom to leave their ſtrength; but commandment upon commandment, and charge upon charge, was given, which urged them ſo, that unwillingly they obeyed. The earl of Angus, being in the van-guard, had in his company the gentlemen of Fife, of Angus, Mearns, and the weſt country, with many others, that of love reſorted unto him; and eſpecially thoſe that were

profeſſors of the goſpel, for they ſuppoſed that England would not have made great purſuit of him. He paſſed firſt through the water, and arrayed his hoſt direct before the enemies; followed the earl of Huntly, with his north-country-men; laſt came the governor, having in his company the earl of Argyle, with his own friends, and the body of the realm. The Engliſhmen perceiving the danger, and how that the Scotſmen intended to have taken the top of the hill, made to prevent the peril. The lord Gray was commanded to give the charge with his men at arms, which he did, albeit the hazard was very unlikely: for the earl of Angus's hoſt ſtood even as a wall, and received the firſt aſſaulters upon the points of their ſpears (which were longer than thoſe of the Engliſhmen) ſo rudely, that fifty horſe and men of the firſt rank lay dead at once, without any hurt done to the Scots army, except that the ſpears of the former two ranks were broken: which diſcomfiture received, the reſt of the horſemen fled; yea, ſome paſſed beyond Fawſide-hill: the lord Gray himſelf was hurt in the mouth, and plainly denied to charge again; for he ſaid, it was alike to run againſt the wall. The galleys and the ſhips, and ſo did the ordnance planted upon Myde-hill, ſhoot terribly: but the ordnance of the galleys, ſhooting amongſt the Scots army, affrayed them wonderouſly. And while that every man laboured to draw from the north, from whence the danger appeared, they begin to fail; and with that were the Engliſh footmen marching forward, albeit that ſome of their horſemen were upon the flight. The earl of Angus's army ſtood ſtill, looking that either Huntly or the governor ſhould have rencountered the next battle: but they had decreed, that the favourers of England and the heretics, as the prieſts called them, and the Engliſhmen, ſhould part it betwixt them for that day. The fear riſeth, and at an inſtant, they which before were victors, and were not yet aſſaulted with any force, except with ordnance, as is ſaid, caſt from them their ſpears, and fled: ſo that God's power was ſo evidently ſeen, that in one moment, yea, at one inſtant of time, both the armies were fleeing. The ſhout came from the hill, from thoſe that hoped no victory upon the Engliſh part; the ſhout riſes, we ſay, 'They flee, they flee;' but at the firſt it could not be believed, till at the laſt it was clearly ſeen, that all had given back, and ſtill began the cruel ſlaughter, which was the greater, by reaſon of the late diſpleaſure of the men of arms. The chace and ſlaughter laſted till near Edinburgh upon the one part, and towards Dalkeith upon the other.

The number of the ſlain upon the Scots ſide, were judged near ten thouſand men. The earl of Huntly was taken, and carried to London; but he relieved himſelf, being ſurety for many ranſoms, honeſtly or diſhoneſtly we know not, but as the report was, he uſed policy with England. In that ſame battle was ſlain the maſter of Erſkine, dearly beloved of the queen, for whom ſhe made great lamentation, and kept his death many days in mind. When the certainty of the diſcomfiture came, ſhe was in Edinburgh, abiding upon tidings; but with expedition ſhe poſted that ſame night to Stirling with monſieur d' Oſel, who was as fearful as 'a fox when his hole is ſmoked;' and thus did God take the ſecond revenge upon the perjured governor, with ſuch as aſſiſted him to defend an unjuſt quarrel; albeit that many innocents fell amongſt the midſt of the wicked. The Engliſh army came to Leith, and there taking order with their priſoners and ſpoil, they returned with this victory (which they looked not for) to England. That winter following were great herſhips made upon all the borders of Scotland; Broughty-mountain was taken by the Engliſhmen, and beſieged by the governor, but ſtill kept: and at it was ſlain Gavin, the beſt of the Hamiltons, and the ordnance left; whereupon the Engliſhmen encouraged, began to fortify upon the hill above Broughty-houſe, which was called the Fort of Broughty, and was very noiſome to Dundee, which it burnt and laid waſte, and ſo did it the moſt part of Angus, which was not aſſured to, and under friendſhip with them.

The Lent following was Haddington fortified by the Engliſhmen; the moſt part of Lothian, from Edinburgh eaſt, was either aſſured or laid waſte: thus did God plague in every quarter, but men were blind, and would not, nor could not conſider the cauſe. The lairds Ormiſton and Brunſton were baniſhed, and after ſore aſſaulted, and ſo were all thoſe of the caſtle of St. Andrews. The ſure knowledge of the troubles of Scotland coming to France, there was prepared a navy and army. The navy was ſuch, as never was ſeen to come from France for the ſupport of Scotland; for, beſides the galleys, being twenty-two in number, they had threeſcore great ſhips, beſides victuallers. How ſoon ſoever they took the plain ſeas, the red lion of Scotland was diſplayed, and they holden as rebels unto France (ſuch policy is no falſe-

hood in princes), for good peace ſtood betwixt France and England, and the king of France approved nothing that they did. The chief men, to whom the conducting of the army was appointed, were monſieur Dandelot, monſieur de Termes, and Peter Strozi. In their journey they made ſome herſhip upon the coaſt of England, but it was not great. They arrived in Scotland in May, *anno* 1549. The galleys did viſit the fort of Broughty, but did no more at that time. Preparations were made for the ſiege of Haddington, but it was another thing that they meant, as the iſſue did declare.

The whole body of the realm aſſembled, the form of a parliament was ſet to be holden there, *viz.* in the abbey of Haddington. The principal head was, The marriage of the princeſs (by them before contracted to king Edward) to the king of France, and of her preſent delivery, by reaſon of the danger ſhe ſtood in, by the invaſion of the old enemies of England. Some were corrupted with bribes, ſome deceived with flattering promiſes, and ſome for fear were compelled to conſent; for the French ſoldiers were the officers of arms in that parliament. The laird of Balcleuch, a bloody man, with many God's wounds, ſwore, 'They that would not conſent, ſhould do 'worſe.' The governor got the title of Duke of Chattel-herauld, with the order of the Cockle, and a penſion of twelve thouſand pounds, with a full diſcharge of all intromiſſions with king James V. his treaſure and ſubſtance whatſoever, with poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Dunbarton, till that iſſue ſhould be ſeen of the queen's body. 'With theſe 'and other conditions ſtood he content to ſell his 'ſovereign out of his own hands,' which in the end will be his deſtruction. God thereby puniſhing his former wickedneſs (if ſpeedy repentance prevent not God's judgments, which we heartily wiſh). Huntly, Argyle, and Angus, were likewiſe made knights of the Cockle; and for that and other good deeds received, they ſold alſo their part. Shortly none was found to reſiſt that unjuſt demand; and ſo was ſhe ſold to go to France, to the end that in her youth ſhe ſhould drink of that liquor that ſhould remain with her all her life-time, for a plague to this realm, and for her own ruin: and therefore, albeit that now a fire cometh out of her, that conſumes many, let no man wonder, ſhe is God's hand, in his diſpleaſure puniſhing our former ingratitude. Let men patiently abide God's appointed time, and turn unto him by hearty repentance; then God will ſurely ſtop the fire that now comes from her, by ſudden changing her heart to deal favourably with his people; or elſe by taking her away, or by ſtopping her to go on in her courſe, by ſuch means as he ſhall think meet in his wiſdom: for he, having all in his hand, diſpoſeth of all, and doth with all according to his own will; unto which we muſt not only yield, but alſo be heartily pleaſed with it, ſince it is abſolutely good; and both by ſacred and profane hiſtory we are taught to do ſo; for in them we find, that princes have been raiſed up by his hand to puniſh his people; but when they turned unto him with hearty repentance, he either turned the heart of the prince to deal kindly with his people, or elſe did take him away; or at leaſt did ſtop his violent courſe againſt his people. Of this the examples are ſo frequent, that we ſpare to name them here. But to return to our hiſtory.

This concluſion, That our queen (without further delay) ſhould be delivered to France. The ſiege continued, great ſhooting, but no aſſaulting, and yet they had fair occaſion offered unto them: for the Engliſhmen approaching unto the town, for the comforting of the beſieged, with powder, victuals, and men, loſt an army of ſix thouſand men. Sir Robert Bowes was taken, and the moſt part of the borderers were taken or ſlain, and ſo might the town juſtly have deſpaired of any further ſuccour to have been looked for; but yet it held good for the ſtout courage and prudent government of Sir James Wolford general, who did ſo encourage the whole captains and ſoldiers, that they determined to die upon their walls: but from the time that the Frenchmen had gotten the bone, for the which the *dog barked*, the purſuit of the town was ſlow. The ſiege was raiſed, and the queen was conveyed by the weſt ſeas to France, with four galleys, and ſome ſhips, and ſo the cardinal of Lorrain got her in his keeping; a morſel, I aſſure you, meet for his own mouth. We omit many things that occurred in this time, as the ſitting down of the ſhip called the Cardinal, (the faireſt ſhip in France), betwixt St. Colm's Inch and Cramond, without any occaſion except negligence; for the day was fair, and weather calm: but God would ſhew, that the country of Scotland can bear no cardinals. In this time alſo there was a combat betwixt the galleys and the Engliſh ſhips. They ſhot frankly a while. An Engliſh ſhip took fire, or elſe the galleys had come ſhort home; and, as it was, they fled without mercy, till that they were above St. Colm's Inch. The

captains left the galleys, and took a fort made in the Inch for their defence; but the Engliſh ſhips made no purſuit (except that they burnt the Cardinal where ſhe lay), and ſo the galleys and the galley-men did both eſcape.

Order was taken, that the next September ſome galleys ſhould remain in Scotland, and that the reſt ſhould return to France, as they did all, except one that was taken by an Engliſh ſhip (by an Engliſh ſhip only, we ſay), as they were paſſing betwixt Dover and Calais.

That winter remained monſieur de Termes in Scotland, with the bands of Frenchmen. They fortified Invereſk, to ſtay the Engliſh that they ſhould not invade Edinburgh and Leith. Some ſkirmiſhes there were betwixt the one and the other, but no notable thing done, except that the French had almoſt taken Haddington; the occaſion whereof was this:

The Frenchmen thinking themſelves more than maſters in all parts of Scotland, and in Edinburgh principally, thought they could do wrong to no Scotſman: for a certain Frenchman delivered a culverin to George Tod Scotſman, to be ſtocked, who bringing it through the ſtreet, another Frenchman claimed it, and would have taken it from the ſaid George; but he reſiſted, alledging, that the Frenchman did wrong; thus began parties to aſſemble, as well to the Scotſman as to the French, ſo that two of the Frenchmen were ſtricken down, and the reſt chaſed from the croſs to Niddry's Wynd head. The provoſt being on the ſtreet, apprehended two of the French, and was carrying them to the tolbooth; but from monſieur d' Eſſie's lodging, or cloſs, iſſued forth Frenchmen, to the number of threeſcore perſons, with drawn ſwords, and reſiſted the ſaid provoſt. Then the town aſſembling, repulſed them, till that they came to the Nether-bow; and there monſieur de la Chappelle, with the whole bands of Frenchmen armed, rencountered the ſaid provoſt, and violently repulſed him (for the town was without weapons, for the moſt part), and ſo made invaſion upon all that they met. And firſt, in the entry of the Bow, were ſlain David Kirk and David Barber, being at the provoſt's back, and afterwards was ſlain the ſaid provoſt himſelf, being laird of Stane-houſe and captain of the caſtle, James Hamilton his ſon, William Chapman, Mr. William Stuart, William Purves, and a woman named Eliſabeth Stuart); and thereafter tarried within the town by force, from five of the clock till after ſeven at night, and then retired to the Canongate, as to their receptacle and refuge.

The whole town, yea, the governor and nobility, commoved at the unworthineſs of this bold attempt, craved juſtice upon the malefactors, or elſe they would take juſtice of the whole. The queen craftily enough, monſieur d' Eſſie, and monſieur d' Oſel, laboured for pacification, and promiſed, that unleſs the Frenchmen by themſelves alone ſhould do ſuch an act as might recompenſe the wrong that they had done, that then they ſhould not refuſe but that juſtice ſhould be executed to the rigour: 'Theſe fair 'words pleaſed our fools;' and ſo were the French bands the next night directed to Haddington, to the which they approached a little after midnight ſo ſecretly, that they were never eſpied, till that the foremoſt were within the outer court, and the whole company in the church-yard, not two pair of buts length diſtant from the town. The Engliſh ſoldiers were all aſleep, except the watch, the which was ſlender; and yet the ſhout ariſes, 'Bows and 'bills, bows and bills;' which is a ſignification of extreme defence, to avoid the preſent danger in all towns of war. They affrighted, ariſe; weapons that firſt come to hand ſerve for the need. One amongſt many came to the eaſt gate, where lay two great pieces of ordnance, and where the enemies were known to be, and cried to his fellows that were at the gate making defence, 'Beware before;' and ſo fires a great piece, and thereafter another, which God ſo conducted, that after them was no further purſuit made; for the bullets redounded from the wall of the Friar-church, to the wall of St. Katharine's chapel, which ſtood directly over it, and from the wall of the ſaid chapel to the church-wall again, ſo oft, that there fell more than an hundred of the French at thoſe two ſhots only. They ſhot oft; but the French retired with diligence, and returned to Edinburgh without harm done, except the deſtruction of ſome drinking beer, which lay in the ſaid chapel and church: and this was ſatisfaction more than enough, for the ſlaughter of the foreſaid captain and provoſt, and for the ſlaughter of ſuch as were ſlain with them. This was the beginning of the French fruits.

This winter, in the time of Chriſtmas, was the caſtle of Hume recovered from the Engliſh, by the negligence of the captain, named Dudley. This winter alſo did the laird of Raith moſt innocently ſuffer, and after was forfeited, becauſe that he wrote a letter to his ſon John Melvil, who then was in England, which was alledged to have been found in the houſe of Ormiſton: but many ſuſpected the

pranks and craft of Ninian Cockburn, now called Captain Ninian, to whom the ſaid letter was delivered. But howſoever it was, the cruel beaſts, the biſhop of St. Andrews and the abbot of Dunfermline, ceaſed not, till that the head of that nobleman was ſtricken from him; eſpecially, becauſe that he was known to be one that unfeignedly favoured the truth of God's word, and was a great friend to thoſe that were in the caſtle of St. Andrews; of whoſe deliverance, and of God's wonderful working with them during the time of their bondage, we will now ſpeak, leſt that, in ſuppreſſing of ſo notable a work of God, we ſhould juſtly be accuſed of ingratitude.

Firſt then, the principals being put in ſeveral houſes, as before we have ſaid, great labours were made to make them have a good opinion of the maſs. But chiefly, travel was taken upon Norman Leſly, the laird of Grange, the laird of Pitmillie, who were in the caſtle of Cherburg, that they would come to maſs with the captain; who anſwered, 'That the captain had command-'ment to keep their bodies, but he had no power 'to command their conſciences.' The captain replied, 'That he had power to command, and to 'compel them to go where he went.' They anſwered, 'That to go to any lawful place with 'him, they would not refuſe; but to do any thing 'that was againſt their conſcience, they would 'not, neither for him, nor yet for the king.' The captain ſaid, 'Will ye not go to the maſs?' They anſwered, 'No; and if ye compel us, yet we will 'diſpleaſe you further; for we ſhall ſo uſe ourſelves 'there, that all thoſe that are preſent ſhall know 'we deſpiſe it.' Theſe ſame anſwers (and ſomewhat ſharper) William Kirkcaldy, Peter Carmichael, and ſuch as were with them in Mount St. Michael, gave to their captain; for they ſaid, 'They 'would not only hear maſs every day, but that 'they would help to ſay it, providing that they 'might ſtick the prieſts, or elſe they would 'not.' Mr. Henry Balnaves, who was in the caſtle of Rhoan, was moſt ſharply aſſaulted of all; for, becauſe he was judged learned (as he was, and is indeed), therefore learned men were appointed to travel with him, with whom he had many conflicts; but God ſo ever aſſiſted him, that they departed confounded; and he by the power of God's Spirit remained conſtant in the truth, and profeſſing of the ſame, without any wavering, or declining to idolatry. In the priſon he wrote a comfortable treatiſe of juſtification, and of the works and converſation of a man juſtified; which is extant to this day. Thoſe that were in the galleys were threatened with torments, if they would not give reverence to the maſs (for at certain times the maſs was ſaid in the galleys, or elſe hard by upon the ſhore, in preſence of the above); but they could never make the pooreſt of that company to give reverence to that idol; yea, when upon the Saturday at night they ſung their *Salve Regina*, all the Scotſmen put on their caps, their hoods, or ſuch things as they had to cover their heads; and when that others were compelled to kiſs a painted board, which they called *Noſtre Dame*, they were not preſſed after once; for this was the chance.

Soon after their arrival at Nantz, their great *Salve* was ſung; and a glorious painted lady was brought in to be kiſſed, and amongſt others, was preſented to one of the Scotſmen then chained. He gently ſaid, 'Trouble me not, ſuch a jewel is 'accurſed, and therefore I will not touch it.' The patron and the arguiſer, with two officers, having the chief charge of all ſuch matters, ſaid, 'Thou 'ſhalt handle it;' and ſo they violently thruſt it to his face, and put it betwixt his hands, who ſeeing the extremity, took the idol, and adviſedly looking about him, he caſt it into the river, and ſaid, 'Let our lady now ſave herſelf, ſhe is light 'enough, let her learn to ſwim.' After that was no Scotſman urged with that idolatry. Theſe are things which appear to be of no great importance; and yet, if we do rightly conſider, they expreſs the ſame obedience that God requireth of his people Iſrael, when they ſhould be carried to Babylon: for he gave charge unto them, when they ſhould ſee the Babylonians worſhip their gods of gold, ſilver, metal, and wood, they ſhould ſay, 'The gods that have not made heaven and earth, 'ſhall periſh from the heaven, and out of the 'earth.' That confeſſion gave that whole number, during the time of their bondage, in the which would God they had continued in their freedom, for then had not Mr. James Balfour been official, neither yet borne a cope for the pleaſure of the biſhop. But to proceed, the ſaid Mr. James Balfour being in the galley with John Knox, and being wonderous familiar with him, would oftentimes aſk his judgment, 'If he thought that 'ever they ſhould be delivered?' Whoſe anſwer was ever, from the day that they entered into the galleys, 'That God would deliver them from that 'bondage, to his glory, even in this life.' And lying betwixt Dundee and St. Andrews, the ſecond time that the galleys returned to Scotland, the ſaid John Knox being ſo extremely ſick, that few

hoped his life, the ſaid Mr. James willed him to look to the land, and aſked if he knew it? Who anſwered, 'Yes, I know it well, for I ſee the 'ſteeple of that place, where God in public open-'ed my mouth to his glory: and I am fully per-'ſuaded, how weak ſoever that I now appear, that 'I ſhall not depart this life, till that my tongue 'ſhall glorify his holy name in the ſame place.' This reported the ſaid Mr. James, in the preſence of many famous witneſſes, many years before that ever the foreſaid John ſet his foot in Scotland this laſt time to preach.

William Kirkcaldy, then of Grange younger, Peter Carmichael, Robert and William Leſlies, who were altogether in Mount St. Michael, wrote to John Knox, aſking counſel, if they might with ſafe conſcience break their priſon? Whoſe anſwer was, 'That if without the blood of any ſhed or 'ſpilt by them for their deliverance, they might 'ſet themſelves at freedom, that they might ſafely 'do it: but to ſhed any man's blood for their free-'dom, thereto would he never conſent.' Adding further, that he was aſſured that God would deliver them, and the reſt of that company, even in the eyes of the world, but not by ſuch means as they looked for; that was, by the force of friends, or by their other labours: by ſuch means, he affirmed, they ſhould not be delivered, but that God would ſo work in the deliverance of them, that the praiſe thereof ſhould redound to his glory only. He willeth therefore every one to take the occaſion that God offered unto them, providing that they did nothing againſt God's expreſs commandment for deliverance of themſelves. He was the more earneſt in giving his counſel, becauſe the old laird of Grange, and others, repugned to their purpoſe; fearing, leſt that the eſcaping of the others ſhould be an occaſion of their worſe treatment. Whereunto the ſaid John anſwered, That ſuch fear proceeded not from God's Spirit, but only from a blind love of themſelves; and therefore that no good purpoſe was to be ſtaid, 'for 'things that were in the hand and power of God.' And added, That in one inſtant God delivered the whole company into the hands of unfaithful men, but ſo would he not relieve them; but ſome would he deliver by one means, and at one time, and others muſt abide for a ſeaſon upon his good pleaſure. This counſel in the end was embraced, upon the king's even, when Frenchmen commonly uſed to drink liberally. The aforeſaid four perſons having the help and conducting of a boy of the houſe, bound all that were in the caſtle, put them in ſundry houſes, locked the doors upon them, took the keys from the captain, and departed without harm done to the perſon of any, or without touching of any thing that appertained to the king, captain, or to the houſe.

Great ſearch was made through the whole country for them; but it was God's good pleaſure ſo to conduct them, that they eſcaped the hands of the faithleſs, albeit it was with long travel, and great pain and poverty ſuſtained; for the French boy left them, and took with him the ſmall money that they had; and ſo, having neither money nor knowledge of the country, and further, fearing that the boy ſhould diſcover them, as that in very deed he did, they purpoſed to divide themſelves, to change their garments, and to go in ſundry parts. The two brethren, William and Robert Leſlies (who are now become, the ſaid Robert eſpecially, enemies to Chriſt Jeſus, and unto all virtue), came to Rhoan; William Kirkcaldy and Peter Carmichael, in beggars garments, came to Conquet; and for the ſpace of twelve or thirteen weeks they travelled, as poor mariners, from port to port, till at length they got a French ſhip, landed in the weſt of Scotland, and from thence came to England, where they met before them the ſaid John Knox, who that ſame winter was delivered, and Alexander Clark in his company.

The ſaid John was firſt appointed preacher to Berwick, then to Newcaſtle, laſt he was called to London, and to the ſouth part of England, where he remained till the death of king Edward VI. When he left England, he then paſſed to Geneva, and there remained at his privy ſtudy, till that he was called by the Engliſh congregation that then was aſſembled at Francfort, to be preacher to them; which vocation he obeyed, albeit unwillingly, at the commandment of that notable ſervant of God John Calvin: at Francfort he remained, till that ſome of the learned, whoſe names we ſuppreſs, more given to unprofitable ceremonies than to ſincerity of religion, began to quarrel with the ſaid John; and becauſe they deſpaired to prevail before the magiſtrate there, for the eſtabliſhing of their corruptions, they accuſed him of treaſon committed againſt the emperor, and againſt their ſovereign queen Mary; that, in his Admonition to England, he called the one little inferior to Nero, and the other more cruel than Jezebel. The magiſtrate perceiving their malice, and fearing that the ſaid John ſhould fall into the hands of his accuſers, by one mean or other, gave advertiſement ſecretly to him to depart their city; for they could

not ſave him, if he were required by the emperor, or by the queen of England in the emperor's name. And ſo the ſaid John returned to Geneva, from thence to Diepe, and thereafter to Scotland, as we ſhall after hear.

The time, and that winter that the galleys remained in Scotland, were delivered Mr. James Balfour, his two brethren David and Gilbert, John Auchinleck, John Sibbald, John Gray, William Guthry, and Stephen Bell. The gentlemen that remained in priſon were, by the procurement of the queen dowager to the cardinal of Lorrain, and to the king of France, ſet at liberty in the month of July, *anno* 1550; who ſhortly thereafter were called to Scotland, their peace proclaimed, and they themſelves reſtored to their lands, in deſpite of their enemies: and that was done in hatred of duke Hamilton, becauſe that then France began to thirſt to have the government of Scotland in their own hands; howſoever it was, God made the hearts of their enemies to ſet them at liberty and freedom. There reſted a number of common ſervants yet in the galleys, who were all delivered upon the contract of peace that was made betwixt France and England, after the taking of Bullen, and ſo was the whole company ſet at liberty, none periſhing (no not before the world), except James Melvil, who departed from the miſery of this life in the caſtle of Breſt in Britany. This we write, to let the poſterity to come underſtand, how potently God wrought in preſerving and delivering of thoſe that had but a ſmall knowledge of his truth, and for the love of the ſame hazarded all; that if either we now in our days, having greater light, or our poſterity that ſhall follow us, ſhall ſee a fearful diſperſion of ſuch as oppoſe themſelves to impiety, or take upon them to puniſh the ſame otherwiſe than laws of men will permit: if we, ſay we, or they, ſhall ſee ſuch, left of men, yea, as it were deſpiſed and puniſhed of God, yet let us not condemn the perſons that puniſh vice (and that for juſt cauſe); nor yet deſpair, but that the ſame God that dejects, for cauſes unknown to us, will raiſe up again the perſons dejected, to his glory, and their comfort.

And to let the world underſtand in plain terms what we mean, the great abuſer of this commonwealth, that paltroon, and vile knave Davie, was juſtly puniſhed the ninth of March, in the year of our Lord 1565, for abuſing the commonwealth, and for his other villanies, which we liſt not to expreſs, by the counſel and hands of James Douglas earl of Morton, Patrick lord Lindſay, and the lord Ruthven, with other aſſiſters in their company, who all, for their juſt act, and moſt worthy of all praiſe, are now unworthily left of all their brethren, and ſuffer the bitterneſs of baniſhment and exile. But this is our hope, in the mercies of our God, that this ſame blind generation, whether it will or not, ſhall be compelled to ſee, that he will have reſpect to them that are unjuſtly purſued; that he will pardon their former offences; that he will reſtore them to the liberty of their country and commonwealth again; and that he will puniſh (in deſpite of man) the head and the tail, that now troubles the juſt, and maintaineth impiety. The head is known: the tail hath two branches; the temporal lords that maintain ſuch abominations as we ſee, and flattering counſellors of ſtate, blaſphemous Balfour, now called clerk of regiſter, Sinclair dean of Reſtalrig and biſhop of Brechin, blind of one eye in the body, but of both of his ſoul, upon whom God ſhortly after took vengeance, Leſly abbot of Lindroſs, and biſhop of Roſs, Simon Preſton of Craigmillar, a right Epicurean, whoſe end will be, ere it be long, according to their works.—But now to return to our hiſtory.

Haddington being kept, and much herſhip done about in the country (for what the Engliſhmen deſtroyed not, that was conſumed by the French), God begins to fight for Scotland; for in the town he ſent a plague ſo contagious, that with great difficulty could they have their dead buried. They were oft refreſhed with new men, but all was in vain: hunger and plague within, and the purſuit of the enemy with a flying camp lay about them, and intercepted all victuals (except when they were brought by a convoy from Berwick), ſo conſtrained them, that the council of England was compelled, in the ſpring time, to call their forces from that place; and ſo ſpoiling and burning ſome part of the town, they left it to be occupied to ſuch as firſt ſhould take poſſeſſion, and thoſe were the Frenchmen, with a ſmall number of the ancient inhabitants; and ſo did God perform the words and threatenings of Mr. George Wiſhart, who ſaid, 'That for their contempt 'of God's meſſenger, they ſhould be viſited with 'ſword and fire, with peſtilence, ſtrangers, and 'famine;' all which they found in ſuch perfection, that to this day yet, that town has neither recovered the former beauty, nor yet men of ſuch wiſdom and ability as then did inhabit it.

Hereafter was peace contracted betwixt France, England, and Scotland; yea, a ſeveral peace was

contracted betwixt Scotland and Flanders, together with all the Eaſterlings, ſo that Scotland had peace with the world: but yet would their biſhops make war againſt God; for, as ſoon as ever they got any quietneſs, they apprehended Adam Wallace, *alias* Fian, a ſimple man, without great learning, but one that was zealous in godlineſs, and of an upright life; he, with his wife Beatrice Livingſton, frequented the company of the lady Ormiſton, for inſtruction of her children, during the trouble of her huſband, who then was baniſhed. This baſtard, called Biſhop of St. Andrews, took the ſaid Adam forth of the place of Winton (men ſuppoſed, that they thought to have apprehended the laird), and carried him to Edinburgh, where, after certain days, he was preſented to judgment in the church of the black thieves, *alias* friars, before duke Hamilton, the earl of Huntly, and divers others beſides. The biſhops and their rabble began to accuſe him (Mr. John Lauder was his accuſator), 'That he took upon him to preach.' He anſwered, That he never judged himſelf worthy of ſo excellent a vocation, and therefore he never took upon him to preach: but he would not deny, that ſometimes at table, and ſometimes in ſome other privy places, he would read, and had read the Scriptures, and had given ſuch exhortations as God pleaſed to give him to ſuch as pleaſed to hear him. Knave, quoth one, What have you to do to meddle with the Scripture? I think, ſaid he, it is the duty of every Chriſtian, to ſeek the will of his God, and the aſſurance of his ſalvation, where it is to be found, and that is within the Old and New Teſtaments. What then, ſaid another, ſhall we leave to the biſhops and churchmen for to do, if every man ſhall be a babler upon the Bible? It becometh you, ſaid he, to ſpeak more reverently of God, and of his bleſſed word. If the judge were uncorrupted, he would puniſh you for your blaſphemy. But to your queſtion, I anſwer, That albeit ye and I, and other five thouſand within this realm, ſhould read the Bible, and ſpeak of it what God ſhould give us to ſpeak, yet left we more to the biſhops to do than either they will do, or can do: for we leave to them publicly to preach the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, and to feed the flock which he hath redeemed by his own blood, and hath commanded the ſame to all true paſtors; and when we leave this unto them, methinks, we leave to them a heavy burden; and that we do unto them no wrong, although we ſearch our own ſalvation where it is to be found, conſidering that they are but 'dumb dogs, and unſavoury 'ſalt,' that hath altogether loſt the ſeaſon.

The biſhops hereat offended, ſaid, What prating is this? let his accuſation be read. And then was begun, 'Falſe traitor, heretic, thou baptizedſt 'thine own child; thou ſaidſt, There is no pur-'gatory; thou ſaidſt, That to pray to ſaints, and 'for the dead, is idolatry, and a vain ſuperſtition,' &c. What ſayſt thou to theſe things? He anſwered, If I ſhould be bound to anſwer, I would require an upright and an indifferent judge. The earl of Huntly diſdainfully ſaid, Fooliſh man, wilt thou deſire any other judge than my lord duke's grace, great governor of Scotland; and my lords the biſhops, and the clergy here preſent? Whereto he anſwered, The biſhops can be no judges to me, for they are open enemies to the doctrine that I profeſs. And as for my lord duke, I cannot tell, whether he hath the knowledge that ſhould be in him, that ſhould judge and diſcern betwixt lies and the truth, the inventions of men and the true worſhipping of God. I deſire God's word (and with that he produced the Bible) to be judge betwixt the biſhops and me, and I am content that ye all hear; and if by this book I ſhall be convicted to have taught, ſpoken, or done, in matters of religion, any thing that repugneth to God's will, I refuſe not to die; but if I cannot be convicted (as I am aſſured by God's word I ſhall not), then I, in God's name, deſire your aſſiſtance, that malicious men execute not upon me unjuſt tyranny. The earl of Huntly ſaid, What a babling fool is this? thou ſhalt get none other judges than theſe that ſit here. Whereunto the ſaid Adam anſwered, The good will of God be done; but be ye aſſured, my lord, with ſuch meaſure as ye mete to others, with the ſame meaſure it ſhall be mete to you again: I know that I ſhall die, but be ye aſſured, that my blood ſhall be required at your hands. Alexander earl of Glencairn ſaid to the biſhop of Orkney, and others that ſat near him, take heed, all you my lords of the clergy, for here I proteſt, for my part, that I conſent not to his death. And ſo without fear prepared the ſaid Adam to anſwer. And firſt, to the baptizing of his own child, he ſaid, 'It was and is as lawful 'to me, for lack of a true miniſter, to baptize my 'own child, as that it was to Abraham to circum-'ciſe his ſon Iſhmael, and his family. And as for 'purgatory, praying to ſaints, and for the dead, 'I have oft read, ſaid he, both the Old and New 'Teſtaments, but I neither could find mention, nor 'aſſurance of them; and therefore I believe that 'they are but mere inventions of men, deviſed for 'covetouſneſs ſake.' Well, quoth the biſhop, ye

hear this, my lords. What ſayſt thou of the maſs? ſaid the earl of Huntly. He anſwered, I ſay, my lord, as my Lord Jeſus Chriſt ſaith, 'That which is 'in greateſt eſtimation before men, is abomination 'before God.' Then all cried out, 'Hereſy, he-'reſy.' And ſo was the ſimple ſervant of God adjudged to the fire, which he patiently ſuſtained that ſame day in the afternoon, upon the Caſtle-hill.

And ſo began they again to pollute the land which God had lately plagued; for yet their iniquity was not come to ſo full ripeneſs, as that God would that they ſhould be manifeſted to this whole realm (as this day they are), to be faggots prepared for everlaſting fire; and to be men whom neither plagues may correct, nor the light of God's word convert from their darkneſs and impiety.

The peace, as is ſaid, is contracted. The queen dowager paſt by ſea to France, with galleys prepared for that purpoſe; and took with her divers of the nobility of Scotland, *viz.* the earls Huntly, Glencairn, Marſhal, Caſſils; the lords Maxwel, Fleming, Sir George Douglas, together with all the late king's natural ſons, and divers barons and gentlemen of eccleſiaſtical eſtate, the biſhop of Galloway, and many others, with promiſe that they ſhould be richly rewarded for their good ſervice. What they received we cannot tell, but few were made rich at their returning. The dowager had to practiſe ſomewhat with her brethren, the duke of Guiſe and the cardinal of Lorrain, the weight whereof the governor after felt; for ſhortly after her return, was the governor depoſed from the government (juſtly by God, but moſt unjuſtly by man), and ſhe made regent, in the year of our Lord 1554, and a crown put upon her head, as ſeemly a ſight (if men had eyes) as to 'put a 'ſaddle upon the back of an unruly cow.' And ſo began ſhe to practiſe, practice upon practice, how France might be advanced, her friends made rich, and ſhe brought to immortal glory; for that was her common talk, 'So that I may procure the 'wealth and honour of my friends, and a good 'fame unto myſelf, I regard not what God do af-'ter with me.' And in very deed, in deep diſſimulation, to bring her own purpoſe to effect, ſhe paſſed the common ſort of women, as we will after hear; but yet God, to whoſe goſpel ſhe declared herſelf enemy, in the end fruſtrated her of all her devices.

Thus did light and darkneſs ſtrive within the realm of Scotland: the darkneſs ever before the world ſuppreſſing the light, from the death of that notable ſervant of God Mr. Patrick Hamilton, until the death of Edward VI. the moſt godly and moſt virtuous king that had been known to have reigned in England, or elſewhere, theſe many years by-paſt, who departed the miſeries of this life the ſixth of July, *anno* 1553. The death of this prince was lamented by all the godly within Europe; for the graces given unto him of God, as well of nature, as of erudition and godlineſs, paſſed the meaſure that accuſtomably is uſed to be given to other princes in their greateſt perfection, and yet exceeded he not ſixteen years of age. What gravity, above age! what wiſdom, wherein he paſſed all underſtanding or expectation of man! and what dexterity in anſwering, in all things propoſed, were in that excellent prince! the ambaſſadors of all countries (yea, ſome that were mortal enemies to him, and to his realm, amongſt whom the queen dowager of Scotland was not the leaſt) could, and did teſtify: for the ſaid queen dowager returning from France through England, communed with him at length, and gave record when ſhe came to this realm, that ſhe found more wiſdom and ſolid judgment in young king Edward, than ſhe would have looked for in any three princes that were then in Europe. His liberality towards the godly and learned that were in other realms perſecuted, was ſuch, as Germans, Frenchmen, Italians, Scots, Spaniards, Polonians, Grecians, and Hebrews born, can yet give ſufficient document. For how honourably were Martin Luther, Peter Martyr, John Alaſco, Emanuel Gualterus, and many others, upon his public ſtipends entertained, their patents can witneſs, and they themſelves during their lives would never have denied.

After the death of this moſt virtuous prince, of whom the godleſs people of England (for the moſt part) were not worthy, Satan intended nothing leſs than the light of Jeſus Chriſt utterly to have been extinguiſhed within the whole iſle of Britain: for after him, was raiſed up in God's hot diſpleaſure, that idolatrous and miſchievous Mary, of the Spaniards blood, a cruel perſecutrix of God's people, as the acts of her unhappy reign can ſufficiently witneſs.

And in Scotland that ſame time (as we have heard) reigned that crafty practiſer, Mary of Lorrain, then named regent of Scotland, who bound to the devotion of her two brethren, the duke of Guiſe and cardinal of Lorrain, did only abide the opportunity to cut the throat of all thoſe, in whom ſhe ſuſpected any knowledge of God to be within

the realm of Scotland: and ſo thought Satan, that his kingdom of darkneſs was in quietneſs and reſt, as well in the one realm as in the other. But that provident eye of our eternal God, who continually watches for the preſervation of his church, did ſo order all things, that Satan ſhortly after found himſelf far diſappointed of his concluſion taken: for in that cruel perſecution uſed by queen Mary of England, were godly men diſperſed into divers nations, of whom it pleaſed the goodneſs of God to ſend ſome unto us for our comfort and inſtruction. And firſt came a ſimple man, William Harlaw, whoſe erudition, although it excel not, yet for his whole and diligent plainneſs in doctrine, is he to this day worthy of praiſe, and remains a fruitful member within the church of Scotland. After him came that notable man, John Willock, as one who had ſome commiſſion to the queen regent, from the ducheſs of Embden: but his principal purpoſe was, to eſſay what God would work by him in his native country. Theſe two did ſometimes in ſeveral companies aſſemble the brethren, who, by their exhortations, began greatly to be encouraged, and did ſhew, that they had an earneſt thirſt after godlineſs. And laſt came John Knox, in the end of the harveſt, *anno* 1555, who firſt being lodged in the houſe of that notable man of God James Syme, began to exhort ſecretly in that ſame houſe, whereunto repaired the laird of Dun, David Forreſt, and ſome certain perſons of the town; among whom was Eliſabeth Adamſon, then ſpouſe to James Barron, burgeſs of Edinburgh, who, by reaſon that ſhe had a troubled conſcience, delighted much in the company of the ſaid John; becauſe that he, according to the grace given unto him, opened more fully the fountain of God's mercies, than did the common ſort of teachers that ſhe had heard before (for ſhe had heard none except friars); and did with ſuch greedineſs drink thereof, that at her death ſhe did expreſs the fruit of her hearing, to the great comfort of all thoſe that repaired unto her: for albeit ſhe ſuffered moſt grievous torment in her body, yet out of her mouth was heard nothing but praiſing of God, except that ſometimes ſhe lamented the troubles of thoſe that were troubled by her. Being ſometimes demanded by her ſiſters, What ſhe thought of that pain which ſhe then ſuffered in body, in reſpect of that wherewith ſometimes ſhe was troubled in ſpirit? She anſwered, 'A thouſand years of 'this torment, and ten times more joined unto 'it, is not to be compared to the quarter of an 'hour that I ſuffered in my ſpirit. I thank my 'God, through Jeſus Chriſt, that hath delivered 'me from that fearful pain; and welcome be this, 'even ſo long as it pleaſeth his Godly Majeſty to 'exerciſe me therewith.' A little before her departure, ſhe deſired her ſiſters, and ſome others that were beſide her, to ſing a pſalm; and among others, ſhe appointed the hundred and third pſalm, beginning, 'My ſoul praiſe thou the Lord always;' which ended, ſhe ſaid, 'At the teaching of this 'pſalm, began my troubled ſoul firſt effectually to 'taſte of the mercy of my God, which now to 'me is more ſweet and precious, than if all the 'kingdoms of the earth were given to me to poſſeſs them a thouſand years.' The prieſts urged her with their ceremonies and ſuperſtitions; to whom ſhe anſwered, 'Depart from me, ye ſerjeants of Satan; for I have refuſed, and in your own preſence do refuſe, all your abominations. 'That which you call your ſacrament, and Chriſt's 'body (as ye have deceived us to believe in times 'paſt), is nothing but an idol, and hath nothing 'to do with the right inſtitution of Jeſus Chriſt; 'and therefore, in God's name, I command you 'not to trouble me.' They departed, alledging, that ſhe raved, and wiſt not what ſhe ſaid. And ſhe ſhortly after ſlept in the Lord Jeſus, to no ſmall comfort of thoſe that ſaw her bleſſed departing. This we could not omit of this worthy woman, who gave ſo notable a confeſſion, before that the great light of God's word did univerſally ſhine throughout this realm.

At the firſt coming of the ſaid John Knox, he perceiving divers, who had a zeal to godlineſs, make ſmall ſcruple to go to the maſs, or to communicate with the abuſed ſacraments in the Papiſtical manner; began, as well in privy conference, as in preaching, to ſhew the impiety of the maſs, and how dangerous a thing it was to communicate in any ſort with idolatry; wherewith the conſcience of ſome being affrighted, the matter began to be agitated from man to man: and ſo was the ſaid John called to ſupper by the laird of Dun, for that ſame purpoſe, where were aſſembled David Forreſt, Mr. Robert Lockhart, John Willock, and William Maitland of Lethington younger, a man of good learning, and of ſharp wit and reaſoning. The queſtion was propoſed, and it was anſwered by the ſaid John, 'That in no wiſe it was lawful to a 'Chriſtian to preſent himſelf to that idol.' Nothing was omitted that might ſerve for the purpoſe, and yet was every head ſo fully anſwered, and eſpecially one, wherein they thought their great defence ſtood, *viz.* That Paul, at the com-

mandment of James, and of the elders of Jeruſalem, paſſed to the temple, and feigned himſelf to pay his vow with others. This, we ſay, and other things, were ſo fully anſwered, that William Maitland concluded, ſaying, 'I ſee very perfectly 'that our ſhifts will ſerve nothing before God, 'ſeeing that they ſtand us in ſo ſmall ſtead before 'men.' The anſwer of John Knox to the fact of Paul, and to the commandment of James, was, That Paul's fact had nothing to do with their going to maſs: for to pay vows was ſometimes God's commandment, as was never idolatry; but their maſs from the original, was, and remained odious idolatry; therefore the fact was moſt unlike. Secondly, ſaid he, I greatly doubt whether either James's commandment, or Paul's obedience, proceeded from the Holy Ghoſt: we know their counſel tendeth to this, That Paul would ſhew himſelf one that obſerved diligently the very ſmall points of the law, to the end he might purchaſe to himſelf the favours of the Jews, who were offended at him, by reaſon of the reports that were ſpread, That he taught defection from Moſes. Now, while he obeyed their counſel, he fell into the moſt deſperate danger that ever he ſuſtained before: whereby it was evident, that God approved not that mean of reconciliation; but rather, that he plainly declareth, That evil ſhould not be done, that good might come of it. Evil it was for Paul to confirm theſe obſtinate Jews in their ſuperſtition, by his example; worſe it was to him to expoſe himſelf, and the doctrine which before he had taught, to ſlander and mockage. And therefore concluded the ſaid John, That the fact of Paul, and the ſequel that thereof followed, appeared rather to fight againſt them that would go to the maſs, than to give unto them any aſſurance to follow his example; unleſs that they would that the like trouble ſhould inſtantly apprehend them, that apprehended him for obeying worldly-wiſe counſel.

After theſe, and like reaſonings, the maſs began to be abhorred of ſuch as before uſed it for the faſhion and avoiding of ſlander, as then they termed it. John Knox, at the requeſt of the laird of Dun, followed him to his place of Dun, where he remained a month, daily exerciſed in preaching, whereunto reſorted the principal men of that country. After his returning, his reſidence was moſt in Calder, whither repaired unto him the lord Erſkine, the earl of Argyle, then lord of Lorn, and lord James, then prior of St. Andrews, and after earl of Murray, where they heard, and ſo approved his doctrine, that they wiſhed it to have been public. That ſame winter he taught commonly in Edinburgh; and after Chriſtmas, by the conduct of the laird of Bar and Robert Campbell of Kinzeancleugh, he came to Kyle, and taught in the Bar, in the houſe of the Carnel, in the Kinzeancleugh, in the town of Air, and in the houſes of Ochiltree and Gathgirth; and in ſome of them he miniſtered the Lord's table. Before Eaſter, the earl of Glencairn ſent for him to his place of Finlaſton, where, after ſermon, he alſo miniſtered the Lord's table; whereof, beſides himſelf, were partakers, his lady, two of his ſons, and certain of his friends. And ſo returned he to Calder, where divers from Edinburgh, and from the country about, aſſembled, as well for the doctrine, as for the right uſe of the Lord's table, which before they had never practiſed. From thence he departed the ſecond time to the laird of Dun, and teaching them in greater liberty, the gentlemen required that he ſhould miniſter likewiſe unto them the table of the Lord Jeſus, where were partakers the moſt part of the gentlemen of the Mearns, who, God be praiſed, to this day do conſtantly remain in the ſame doctrine which then they profeſſed; *viz.* That they refuſed all ſociety with idolatry, and bent themſelves to the uttermoſt of their powers to maintain the true preaching of the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, as God ſhould offer unto them preachers and opportunity. The report hereof ſpread (for the friars from all quarters flocked to the biſhops), the ſaid John Knox was ſummoned to appear in the church of the black-friars in Edinburgh, the fifteenth day of May; which day the ſaid John decreed to keep; and for that purpoſe John Erſkine of Dun, with divers other gentlemen, aſſembled at the town of Edinburgh. But that diet held not; for whether the biſhops perceived informality in their own proceedings, or if they feared danger to enſue upon their extremity, it is unknown to us: but the Saturday before the day appointed, they ſet aſide their own ſummons; and the ſaid John, the ſame day of the ſummons, taught in Edinburgh, in a greater audience than ever before he had done in that town. The place was in the great lodging belonging to the biſhop of Dunkeld, where he continued in teaching ten days, both before and after noon. The earl of Glencairn allured the earl of Marſhal, who, with Henry Drummond, his counſellor for that time, heard an exhortation (but it was in the night); who were ſo well contented with it, that they both willed the ſaid John to write unto the queen regent ſomewhat that might move her to hear the word

of God. He obeyed their deſire, and wrote that which after was publiſhed, which we have cauſed to be printed at the end of this book, and is called 'The LETTER to the Queen Dowager,' which was delivered into her own hands, by the ſaid Alexander earl of Glencairn: which letter when ſhe had read, within a day or two, ſhe delivered it to the proud prelate Beaton biſhop of Glaſgow, and ſaid in mockage, 'Pleaſe you, my lord, to read a 'paſquil;' which words coming to the ears of the ſaid John, was the occaſion that to his Letter he made his additions, as yet may be ſeen. As concerning the threatenings pronounced againſt her own perſon, and the moſt principal of her friends, let theſe very flatterers ſee what hath failed of all that he had written. And therefore it were expedient that her daughter, now miſchievouſly reigning, ſhould look to that which hath paſſed before, leſt that in following the counſels of the wicked, ſhe end more miſerable than her crafty mother did.

While John Knox was thus occupied in Scotland, letters came to him from the Engliſh church that was aſſembled at Geneva (which was ſeparated from that ſuperſtitious and contentious company that was at Francfort), commanding him in God's name, as he that was their choſen paſtor, to repair unto them for their comfort: upon the which the ſaid John took his leave from us, almoſt in every congregation where before he had preached, and exhorted us to prayers, to reading of the Scriptures, and mutual conference, until ſuch time as God ſhould give unto us greater liberty. And hereupon he ſent before him to Diepe, his mother-in-law Elizabeth Bowes, and his wife Marjory, with no ſmall dolour of their hearts, and of many of us. He himſelf, by procurement and labours of Robert Campbell of Kinzeancleugh, remained behind in Scotland, and paſſed to the earl of Argyle, who then was in the caſtle of Campbell, where he taught certain days. The laird of Glenurquhay being one of his auditors, willed the ſaid earl of Argyle to retain him ſtill; but he, reſolved on his journey, would not at that time ſtay for any requeſt, adding, 'That if God bleſſed thoſe ſmall 'beginnings, and if that they continued in godli-'neſs, whenſoever they pleaſed to command him, 'they ſhould find him obedient.' But he ſaid, That once he muſt needs viſit that little flock which the wickedneſs of men had compelled him to leave; and ſo, in the month of July, he left this realm, and paſt to France, and ſo to Geneva. Immediately after, the biſhops ſummoned him, and for non-appearance, burnt him in effigy, at the croſs of Edinburgh, in the year of our Lord 1555: from the which unjuſt ſentence the ſaid John made his Appellation, and cauſed to print the ſame, and direct it to the nobility and commons of Scotland, as yet may be read. In the winter that the ſaid John abode in Scotland, appeared a comet, the courſe whereof was from the ſouth and ſouth-weſt to the north and north-eaſt. It was ſeen in the months of November, December, and January: it was called 'The Fiery Beſom.' Soon after died Chriſtiern king of Denmark; and war aroſe between Scotland and England, for the commiſſioners of both realms were diſappointed, who almoſt the ſpace of ſix months had been upon the conditions of peace, and were upon a near point of concluſion. The queen regent, with her council of the French faction, decreed war at Newbattle, without giving any advertiſement to the commiſſioners for the part of Scotland: 'Such is the fi-'delity of princes, guided by prieſts, whenſoever 'they ſeek their own affections to be ſerved.'

In the end of that next harveſt, was ſeen upon the borders of England and Scotland, a ſtrange fire, which deſcended from the heaven, and burnt divers corns in both the realms, but moſt in England. There was preſented to the queen regent, by Robert Ormiſton, a calf having two heads; whereat ſhe ſkipped, and ſaid, 'It was but a com-'mon thing.' The war began in the end of harveſt, as is ſaid; and concluſion was taken that Wark ſhould be beſieged. The army and ordnance paſt forward to Maxwel-heugh. The queen regent remained in the caſtle of Hume, and thinking that all things were in aſſurance, monſieur d' Oſel, then lieutenant for France, gave charge, that the cannon ſhould be tranſported over the water of Tweed, which was done with expedition (for the Frenchmen in ſuch facts are expert); but the nobility of Scotland not content with ſuch proceedings, after conſultation amongſt themſelves, paſt to the pavilion of monſieur d' Oſel, and in his own face declared, 'That in nowiſe would they invade Eng-'land,' and therefore commanded the ordnance to be retired; and ſo it was, without further delay. This put an affray in monſieur d' Oſel's breeches, and kindled ſuch a fire in the queen regent's ſtomach, as was not well ſlacked till her breath failed; and thus was that enterpriſe fruſtrated. But yet war continued, during the which the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt began wonderouſly to flouriſh: for in Edinburgh began publicly to exhort William Harlaw; and John Douglas, who had been with the earl of Argyle, preached in Leith, and ſometimes

exhorted in Edinburgh. Paul Methven began publicly to preach in Dundee; and ſo did divers others in Angus and the Mearns. And laſt, at God's good pleaſure, arrived John Willock the ſecond time from Embden, whoſe return was ſo joyful to the brethren, that their zeal and godly courage daily increaſed. And albeit he contracted a dangerous ſickneſs, yet he ceaſed not from labours, but taught and exhorted from his bed ſome of the nobility (of whom ſome are fallen back, amongſt them the lord Seton is chief), with many barons and gentlemen his auditors, and by him were the godly inſtructed, and wonderouſly comforted. They kept their conventions, and held counſels with ſuch gravity and cloſeneſs, that the enemies trembled: the images were ſtolen away in all parts of the country.

And in Edinburgh was that great idol, called St. Gile, firſt drowned in the North Loch, after burnt, which raiſed no ſmall trouble in the town; for the friars rowping like ravens upon the biſhops, the biſhops ran upon the queen, who to them was favourable enough, but that ſhe thought it could not ſtand with her advantage to offend ſuch a multitude as then took upon them the defence of the goſpel, and the name of Proteſtants; and yet conſented ſhe to ſummon the preachers; whereat the Proteſtants neither offended, neither yet thereof afraid, determined to keep the day of ſummons, as that they did: which perceived by the prelates and prieſts, they procured a proclamation to be publicly made, That all men that were come to the town without commandment of the authority, ſhould with all diligence repair to the borders, and there remain fifteen days; for the biſhop of Galloway, in this manner of rhyme, ſaid to the queen,

Madam, becauſe they're come without order,
I rede ye ſend them a' to the border.

Now, ſo had God provided, that the quarter of the weſt country (in the which were many faithful men) was that ſame day returned from the border; who underſtanding the matter to proceed from the malice of the prieſts, aſſembled themſelves together, and made paſſage to themſelves, till that they came to the very privy chamber, where the queen regent and the biſhops were. The gentlemen began to complain upon their ſtrange entertainment, conſidering that her majeſty had found in them ſo faithful obedience in all things lawful.

While the queen began to craft, a zealous and a bold man, James Chalmers of Cathgirth, ſaid, 'Madam, we know that this is the malice and de-
'vice of the jewels, and of that baſtard (meaning
'the biſhop of St. Andrews) that ſtandeth by you;
'we avow to God we ſhall make a day of it. They
'oppreſs us and our tenants, for feeding of their
'idle bellies; they trouble our preachers, and
'would murder them and us; ſhall we ſuffer this
'any longer? No, madam, it ſhall not be.' And therewith every man put on his ſteel bonnet. There was heard nothing of the queen's part, but, 'My
'joys, my hearts, what ails you? I mean no
'evil to you, nor to your preachers: the biſhops
'ſhall do you no wrong, ye are all my loving ſub-
'jects; I know nothing of this proclamation; the
'day of your preachers ſhall be diſcharged, and
'I will hear the controverſy that is betwixt the
'biſhops and you; they ſhall do you no wrong.
'My lords,' ſaid ſhe to the biſhops, 'I forbid you
'either to trouble them, or their preachers.' And unto the gentlemen, who were wonderouſly commoved, ſhe turned again and ſaid, 'O my hearts,
'ſhould ye not love the Lord your God with all
'your heart, with all your mind? And ſhould ye
'not love your neighbours as yourſelves?' With theſe and the like words ſhe kept the biſhops from buffets at that time; and ſo the day of ſummons being diſcharged, began the brethren univerſally farther to be encouraged.

But yet could the biſhops in no ſort be quiet; for St. Gile's day approaching, they gave charge to the provoſt, bailies, and council of Edinburgh, either to get again the old St. Gile, or elſe upon their expences to make a new image. The council anſwered, 'That to them the charge appeareth
'very unjuſt; for they underſtood, that God in
'ſome places had commanded idols and images to
'be deſtroyed: but where he had commanded
'images to be ſet up, they had not read, and de-
'ſired the biſhop to find a warrant for his com-
'mandment.' Whereat the biſhop offended, admoniſhed, under pain of curſing; which they prevented by a formal appellation, appealing from him, as a partial and corrupt judge, unto the pope's holineſs; and ſo, great things ſhortly following, that paſſed in oblivion. Yet would not the prieſts and friars ceaſe to have that great ſolemnity, and manifeſt abomination, which they accuſtomedly had upon St. Gile's day; *viz.* They would have that idol borne, and therefore was all preparations duly made. A marmouſet-idol was borrowed from the gray-friars (a ſilver piece of James Carmichael's was laid in pledge); it was faſt fixed with iron nails, upon a barrow called

their Fertor. Their aſſes, bloody prieſts, friars, canons, and rotten Papiſts, with tapers and trumpets, banners and bag-pipes: and who was there to lead the ring, but the queen regent herſelf, with all her ſhavelings, for honour of that feaſt? Weſt about goeth it, and cometh down the High-ſtreet, and down to the common croſs. The queen regent dined that day in Alexander Carpenter's houſe, betwixt the Bows: and ſo, when the idol returned back again, ſhe left it, and paſt in to her dinner. The hearts of the brethren were wonderouſly inflamed; and ſeeing ſuch abomination ſo manifeſtly maintained, were decreed to be revenged. They were divided in ſeveral companies, whereof not one knew of another. There were ſome temporizers that day (amongſt whom David Forreſt, called the General, was one), who fearing the chance to be done, as it fell, laboured to ſtay the brethren; but that could not be: for immediately after that the queen was entered in the lodging, ſome of thoſe that were of the enterpriſe drew near to the idol, as willing to help to bear him; and getting the fertor upon their ſhoulders, began to ſhoulder, thinking that thereby the idol would have fallen; but that was provided and prevented by the iron nails, as we have ſaid. And ſo began one to cry, 'Down with the idol, down 'with it;' and then without delay it was pulled down. Some brag made the prieſts patrons at the firſt; but when they ſaw the feebleneſs of their god, for one took him by the heels, and daſhing his head to the ſtreet, left Dagon without a head or hands, and ſaid, 'Fy upon thee, thou 'young St. Gile, thy father would have tarried 'for ſuch.' This conſidered, we ſay, the prieſts and friars fled faſter than they did at Pinky-cleugh. There might have been ſeen ſo ſudden a fray, as ſeldom hath been ſeen amongſt that ſort of men within this realm: for down go the croſſes, off go the ſurplices, round caps, cornets, with the crowns. The gray-friars gaped, the black-friars blew, the prieſts panted and fled, and happy was he that firſt got the houſe; for ſuch a ſudden fray came never amongſt the generation of Antichriſt within this realm before.

By chance there lay upon a ſtair a merry Engliſhman; and ſeeing the diſcomfiture to be without blood, thought he would add ſome merrineſs to the matter; and ſo cried he over the ſtair, and ſaid, 'Fy upon you, whore-ſons, why have you 'broken order?' Down the ſtreet they paſſed in array, and with great mirth. 'Why flee the villains 'now without order? Turn, and ſtrike every man a 'ſtroke for the honour of his god; fy, cowards, 'fy, ye ſhall never be judged worthy of your 'wages again.' But exhortations were then unprofitable; for after that Bell had broken his neck, there was no comfort to his confuſed army.

The queen regent laid up this amongſt her other inventions, till that ſhe might have ſeen the time proper to have revenged it. Search was made for the doers, but none could be deprehended: for the brethren aſſembled themſelves in ſuch ſort, in companies, ſinging pſalms, and praiſing God, that the proudeſt of the enemies were aſtoniſhed. This tragedy of St. Gile's was ſo terrible to ſome Papiſts, that Dury, ſometimes called for his filthineſs Abbot Stottikin, and then entitled, Biſhop of Galloway, left his rhyming, wherewith he was accuſtomed, and departed this life even as he had lived. For the articles of his belief were, 'I refer, 'Decarte you. Ha, ha, the four kings and all 'made. The devil go with it; it is but a varlet. 'From France we thought to have gotten a ruby; 'and yet it was nothing but a cohuby;' with ſuch faith, and ſuch prayers, departed out of this life that enemy of God, who had vowed and plainly ſaid, 'That in deſpite of God, ſo long as they 'that then were prelates lived, ſhould that word '(called the goſpel) never be preached within this 'realm.' After him followed that belly-god Mr. David Panter, called Biſhop of Roſs, even with the like documents; except that he departed eating and drinking, which, together with the reſt that thereupon depended, was the paſtime of his life.

The moſt part of the lords that were in France at the queen's marriage, although that they got their leave from the court, yet they forgot to return to Scotland: for whether it was by an Italian poſſet, or French figs, or by the pottage of their apothecary (he was a Frenchman), there departed from this life, the earl of Caſſils, the earl of Rothes, lord Fleming, and the biſhop of Orkney, whoſe end was even according to his life; for after that he was driven back by a contrary wind, and forced to land again at Diepe, perceiving his ſickneſs to increaſe, he cauſed to make his bed betwixt his two coffers (ſome ſaid upon them); ſuch was his god, the gold that therein was incloſed, that he could not depart therefrom, ſo long as memory would ſerve him. The lord James, then prior of St. Andrews, had (by all appearance) licked of the ſame broth that diſpatched the reſt; for thereof to his death, his ſtomach doth teſtify: but God preſerved for a better purpoſe. This ſame lord James,

afterwards earl of Murray, and the ſaid biſhop, were commonly at debate in matters of religion; and therefore the ſaid lord, hearing of the biſhop's diſeaſe, came to viſit him, and finding him not ſo well at a point, as he thought he ſhould have been, and as the honour of the country required, ſaid unto him, 'Fy, my lord, how lie you ſo? Will you 'not go to your chamber, and not lie here in this 'outer room?' His anſwer was, 'I am well where 'I am, my lord, ſo long as I can tarry, for I am 'near unto my friends' (meaning his coffers, and the gold therein). 'But, my lord,' ſaid he, 'how long have you and I been in plea for purga-'tory? I think that I ſhall know, ere it be long, 'whether there be ſuch a place or not.' While the other did exhort him to call to mind the promiſes of God, and the virtue of Chriſt's death, he anſwered, 'Nay, my lord, let me alone, for you and 'I never agreed in our life, and I think we ſhall 'not agree now at my death: I pray you there-'fore let me alone.' The ſaid lord James departed to his lodging, and the other ſhortly after departed this life; whither, the great day of the Lord will declare.

When the word of the departing of ſo many patrons of Papiſtry, and of the manner of their departing, came unto the queen regent; after aſtoniſhment and muſing, ſhe ſaid, 'What ſhall I ſay of 'ſuch men? they left me as beaſts, and as beaſts 'they die: God is not with them, neither with 'that which they enterpriſe.'.

While theſe things were doing in Scotland and France, that perfect hypocrite Mr. John Sinclair, then dean of Reſtalrig, and now lord preſident and biſhop of Brechin, began to preach in his church of Reſtalrig; and at the beginning held himſelf ſo indifferent, that many had opinion of him, that he was not far from the kingdom of God: but his hypocriſy could not long be cloaked; for when he underſtood that ſuch as feared God began to have a good opinion of him, and that the friars and others of that ſect began to whiſper, that if he took not heed in time to himſelf and to his doctrine, he would be the deſtruction of the whole ſtate of the church: this by him underſtood, he appointed a ſermon, in the which he promiſed to give his judgment, upon all ſuch heads as then were in controverſy in the matters of religion. The report hereof made his audience great at the firſt; but that day he ſo handled himſelf, that after that no godly man did credit him; for he not only gainſaid the doctrine of juſtification and of prayer, which before he had taught, but alſo he ſet up and maintained Papiſtry to the uttermoſt point; yea, holy water, pilgrimage, purgatory, and pardons, were of ſuch virtue in his conceit, that without them he looked not to be ſaved.

In this mean time the clergy made a brag, that they would diſpute: but Mr. David Panter, who then lived and lay at Reſtalrig, diſſuaded them therefrom, affirming, that if ever they diſputed, but where themſelves were both judge and party, and where that fire and ſword ſhould obey their decree, that then their cauſe was marred for ever: for their victory ſtood neither in God nor in his word, but in their own wills, and in the things concluded by their own counſels (together with ſword and fire), whereto, ſaid he, theſe new upſtart fellows will give no place, but they will call you to your count-book, and that is to the Bible; and by it ye will no more be found the men that ye are called, than the devil will be approved to be God: and therefore, if ye love yourſelves, enter never into diſputation, neither yet call ye the matter into queſtion; but defend your poſſeſſion, or elſe all is loſt. Caiaphas could not give any better counſel to his companions; but yet God diſappointed both them and him, as after we ſhall hear.

At this ſame time ſome of the nobility directed their letters to call John Knox from Geneva, for their comfort, and for the comfort of their brethren the preachers, and others that then courageouſly fought againſt the enemies of God's truth. The tenor of their letter is this:

Grace, Mercy, and Peace for Salvation.

DEARLY beloved in the Lord, the faithful that are of your acquaintance in theſe parts (thanks be unto God) are ſtedfaſt in the belief wherein ye left them, and have a godly thirſt and deſire day by day of your preſence again; now, if the Spirit of God will ſo move you, and grant time unto you, we all heartily deſire you, in the name of the Lord, that ye would return again into theſe parts, where you ſhall find all the faithful that ye left behind you, not only glad to hear your doctrine, but alſo ready to hazard their lives and goods for the ſetting forward of the glory of God, as he will permit. And albeit the magiſtrates in this country be as yet but in the ſtate ye left them in, yet, at the making hereof, we have no experience of any more cruelty to be uſed than was before: but rather, we have belief, that God will augment his flock, becauſe we ſee daily the friars, enemies to Chriſt's goſpel, in leſs eſtimation with the queen and the nobility of our realm. This, in few words, is the mind of the faithful being preſent, and others

abſent. The reſt of our minds this faithful bearer will ſhew you at length. Thus fare ye well in the Lord.

At Stirling, the tenth of March, anno 1556.

This is the true copy of the letter, being ſubſcribed by the names underwritten.

Sic ſubſcribitur,

GLENCAIRN.
ERSKINE.
LORN, *now* ARGYLE.
JAMES STUART.

The letters were delivered to the foreſaid John in Geneva, by the hands of James Syme, who now reſteth with Chriſt, and of James Barron, who yet liveth. In the month of May, immediately after theſe letters were received and adviſed upon, he took conſultation, as well with his own church, as with that notable ſervant of God John Calvin, and with other godly miniſters, who all with one conſent ſaid, That he could not refuſe that vocation, unleſs he would declare himſelf rebellious unto his God, and unmerciful to his country: and ſo he returned anſwer, with promiſe to viſit them with reaſonable expedition, and as ſoon as he might put order to that dear flock that was committed to his charge. And ſo, in the end of the next September, he departed from Geneva, and came to Diepe, where there met him contrary letters, as by his anſwer thereto we may underſtand.

The ſpirit of wiſdom, conſtancy, and ſtrength, be multiplied with you, by the favour of God our Father, and by the grace of God our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

ACCORDING to my promiſe, my right honourable, I came to Diepe the four-and-twentieth day of October, of full mind, by the good will of God, with the firſt ſhips to have viſited you; but becauſe two letters, not very pleaſing unto the fleſh, were there preſented unto me, I was compelled to ſtay for a time. The one was directed to myſelf from a faithful brother, which made mention, that a new conſultation was appointed for final concluſion of the matter before purpoſed; and willed me therefore to abide in theſe parts till the determination of the ſame. The other letter was directed from a gentleman to a friend, with charge to advertiſe me, that he had communed with all thoſe that ſeemed moſt frank and fervent in the matter; and that in none did he find ſuch boldneſs and conſtancy as was requiſite for ſuch an enterpriſe; but that ſome did, as he writeth, repent that ever any ſuch thing was moved: ſome were partly aſhamed, and others were able to deny, that ever they did conſent to any ſuch purpoſe, if any trial or queſtion ſhould be taken thereof, *&c.* Which letters when I had conſidered, I was partly confounded, and partly was pierced with anguiſh and ſorrow; confounded I was, that I had ſo far travelled in the matter, moving the ſame to the moſt godly and moſt learned that this day we know to live in Europe, to the effect that I might have their judgments and grave counſels, for aſſurance as well of your conſciences, as of mine, in all enterpriſes; and then, that nothing ſhould ſucceed of ſo long conſultation, cannot but redound either to your ſhame or mine: for either it ſhall appear that I was marvellous vain, being ſo ſolicited, where no neceſſity required; or elſe that ſuch as were my movers thereto, lacked the ripeneſs of judgment in their firſt vocation. To ſome it may appear a ſmall and light matter, that I have caſt off, and as it were abandoned, as well my particular care, as my public office and charge, leaving my houſe and poor family deſtitute of all head, ſave God only; and committing that ſmall (but to Chriſt dearly beloved) flock, over the which I was appointed one of the miniſters, to the charge of another; this, I ſay, to worldly men may appear a ſmall matter; but to me it was, and is ſuch, that more worldly ſubſtance than I will expreſs, could not have cauſed me willingly to behold the eyes of ſo many grave men weep at once for my cauſe, as that I did in taking my laſt good-night from them: to whom, if it pleaſe God that I return, and queſtion be demanded, What was the impediment of my purpoſed journey? judge you what I ſhall anſwer. The cauſe of my dolour and ſorrow (God is my witneſs) is for nothing pertaining either to my corporal contentment, or worldly diſpleaſure; but it is for the grievous plagues and puniſhments of God, which aſſuredly ſhall apprehend, not only you, but every inhabitant of that miſerable realm and iſle, except that the power of God, by the liberty of his goſpel, deliver you from bondage. I mean not only that perpetual fire and torment prepared for the devil, and for ſuch as denying Chriſt Jeſus, and his known verity, do follow the ſons of wickedneſs to perdition (which moſt is to be feared), but alſo that thraldom and miſery that ſhall apprehend your own bodies, your children, ſubjects, and poſterity, whom ye have

betrayed (in conſcience I can except none that bear the name of nobility), and preſently fight to betray them, and your realm, to the ſlavery of ſtrangers. The war begun (although I acknowledge it be the work of God) ſhall be your deſtruction, unleſs that betimes remedy be provided. God open your eyes, that ye may eſpy and conſider your own miſerable eſtate. My words ſhall appear to ſome ſharp and indiſcreetly ſpoken; but as charity ought to interpret all things to the beſt, ſo ought wiſe men to underſtand, 'That a true friend cannot be a flat-'terer;' eſpecially when the queſtions of ſalvation, both of body and ſoul, are moved; and that not of one, nor of two, but, as it were, of a whole realm or nation. What are the ſobs, and what is the affliction of my troubled heart, God ſhall one day declare: but this will I add to my former rigour and ſeverity, *viz.* If any perſuade you, for fear of dangers that may follow, to faint in your former purpoſe, be he never ſo wiſe and friendly, let him be judged of you both fooliſh, and your mortal enemy: fooliſh, for becauſe he underſtood nothing of God's approved wiſdom; and enemy unto you, becauſe he laboured to ſeparate you from God's favour, provoking his vengeance and grievous plagues againſt you: becauſe he would that ye ſhould prefer your worldly reſt to God's praiſe and glory, and the friendſhip of the wicked to the ſalvation of your brethren. 'I am not ignorant that fearful troubles 'ſhall enſue your enterpriſe (as in my former let-'ters I did ſignify unto you). But, O joyful and 'comfortable are the troubles and adverſities which 'man ſuſtaineth for accompliſhment of God's will, 'revealed by his word! for how terrible ſoever 'they appear to the judgment of natural men, yet 'are they never able to devour, nor utterly to con-'ſume the ſufferers: for the inviſible and invin-'cible power of God ſuſtaineth and preſerveth, 'according to his promiſe, all ſuch as with ſimpli-'city do obey him.' The ſubtile craft of Pharaoh, many years joined with his bloody cruelty, was not able to deſtroy the male children of Iſrael; neither were the waters of the Red Sea, much leſs the rage of Pharaoh, able to confound Moſes, and the company which he conducted; and that, becauſe the one had God's promiſe that they ſhould multiply, and the other had his commandment to enter into ſuch dangers. I would your wiſdoms ſhould conſider, that our God remaineth one, and is immutable; and that the church of Chriſt Jeſus hath the ſame promiſe of protection and defence that Iſrael had of multiplication. And further, That no leſs cauſe have ye to enter into your former enterpriſe, than Moſes had to go to the preſence of Pharaoh; for your vaſſals, yea, your brethren, are oppreſſed, their bodies and ſouls holden in bondage, and God ſpeaketh to your conſciences, unleſs ye be dead with the blind world, that ye ought to hazard your own lives, be it againſt kings or emperors, for their deliverance: for only for that cauſe are ye called princes of the people; and ye receive of your brethren honour, tribute, and homage, at God's commandment, not by reaſon of your birth and progeny, as the moſt part of men do falſly ſuppoſe, but by reaſon of your office and duty, which is to vindicate and deliver your ſubjects and brethren from all violence and oppreſſion to the uttermoſt of your power. Adviſe diligently, I beſeech you, with the points of that letter which I directed to the whole nobility; and let every man apply the matter and caſe to himſelf; for your conſcience ſhall one day be compelled to acknowledge, that the reformation of religion, and of public enormities, doth appertain to more than the clergy, or chief rulers, called Kings. The mighty Spirit of the Lord Jeſus rule and guide your counſels to his eternal glory, and your eternal comfort, and to the conſolation of your brethren. Amen.

From Diepe, the 27th of October 1557.

Theſe letters received and read, together with others directed to the whole nobility, and ſome to particular gentlemen, as to the lairds of Dun and Petarrow, new conſultation was had what was beſt to be done; and in the end it was concluded, that they would follow forward their purpoſe once intended, and would commit themſelves, and whatſoever God had given them, into his hands, rather than they would ſuffer idolatry ſo manifeſtly to reign, and the ſubjects of that realm ſo to be defrauded, as long as they had been, of the only food of their ſouls, the true preaching of Chriſt's goſpel: and that every one ſhould be the more aſſured of other, a common bond was made, and by ſome ſubſcribed: the tenor thereof followeth:

We perceiving how Satan in his members, the Antichriſts of our time, cruelly do rage, ſeeking to overthrow and deſtroy the goſpel of Chriſt, and his congregation, ought, according to our bounden duty, to ſtrive in our Maſter's cauſe, even unto the death, being certain of the victory in him: the which, our duty, being well conſidered, we do

promiſe before the Majeſty of God, and his congregation, That we, by his grace, ſhall with all diligence continually apply our whole power, ſubſtance, and our very lives, to maintain, ſet forward, and eſtabliſh the moſt bleſſed word of God, and his congregation; and ſhall labour, according to our power, to have faithful miniſters, truly and purely to miniſter Chriſt's goſpel and ſacraments to his people. We ſhall maintain them, nouriſh them, and defend them, the whole congregation of Chriſt, and every member thereof, according to our whole powers, and waging of our lives, againſt Satan and all wicked power that doth intend tyranny or trouble againſt the foreſaid congregation. Unto the which holy word and congregation, we do join us; and ſo do forſake and renounce the congregation of Satan, with all the ſuperſtitious abomination and idolatry thereof. And moreover, ſhall declare ourſelves manifeſtly enemies thereto, by this our faithful promiſe before God, teſtified to this congregation by our ſubſcription at theſe preſents. At Edinburgh, the third day of December, *anno* 1557. God called to witneſs.

Sic ſubſcribitur,

A. Earl of Argyle.
GLENCAIRN.
MORTON.
ARCHIBALD Lord of Lorn.
JOHN ERSKINE of Dun, *&c.*

A little before that this bond was ſubſcribed by the fore-written, and many other letters were directed again to John Knox from the ſaid lords; together with their letters to Mr. Calvin, craving of him, that, by his authority, he would command the ſaid John once again to viſit them; theſe letters were delivered by the hands of Mr. John Gray, in the month of November, *anno* 1558, who at that ſame time paſt to Rome, for expedition of the bows of the biſhop of Roſs, to Mr. Henry Sinclair. Immediately after the ſubſcription of this foreſaid bond, the lords and barons profeſſing Chriſt Jeſus, convened frequently in council; in the which theſe heads were concluded: '*Firſt*, It 'is thought expedient, deviſed and ordained, That 'in all pariſhes of this realm the common-prayers 'be read weekly on Sunday, and other feſtival-'days, publicly in the pariſh-churches, with the 'leſſons of the Old and New Teſtaments, conform-'able to the order of the Book of Common-pray-'ers. And if the curates of the pariſhes be quali-'fied, to cauſe them read the ſame; and if they 'be not, or if they refuſe, that the moſt qualified 'in the pariſh uſe and read the ſame. *Secondly*, It 'is thought neceſſary, that doctrine, preaching, 'and interpretation of Scriptures be had, and uſed 'privately in quiet houſes, without great conven-'tions of the people thereto, till afterward that 'God move the prince to grant public preaching 'by faithful and true miniſters.'

Theſe two heads concerning the religion, and ſome others concerning the policy, being concluded, the old earl of Argyle took the maintenance of John Douglas, cauſed him to preach publicly in his houſe, and reformed many things according to his counſel. The ſame boldneſs took divers others, as well within towns, as in the country; which did not a little trouble the biſhops and queen regent: as by this Letter and Credit committed to Sir David Hamilton, from the biſhop of St. Andrews to the ſaid earl of Argyle, may be clearly underſtood.

The Biſhop's Letter to the old Earl of Argyle.

MY LORD,

After moſt hearty commendations, this is to advertiſe your lordſhip, that we have directed this bearer, our couſin, towards your lordſhip, in ſuch buſineſs and affairs as concerneth your lordſhip's honour, profit, and great well-being, as the ſaid bearer will declare to your lordſhip at more length. I pray your lordſhip effectuouſly to advert thereto, and to have care to uſe your lordſhip's friends, that always hath wiſhed the honour, profit, and proſperity of your lordſhip's houſe, as of our own. I pray you give credit to the bearer. Jeſus have your lordſhip in everlaſting keeping. Of Edinburgh, the five-and-twentieth day of March, *anno* 1558.

Sic ſubſcribitur,

Your Lordſhip's at all power,

SAINT ANDREWS.

Follows the Credit.

MEMORANDUM, *To Sir David Hamilton, to my Lord Earl of Argyle, in my Behalf, and let him ſee and hear every Article.*

Imprimus, To repeat the ancient blood of his houſe, how long it hath ſtood, how notable it hath been, and ſo many noblemen hath been earls, lords, and knights thereof; how long they have reigned

in their parts, true and obedient both to God and the prince, without any ſpot in their days in any manner of ſort: and to remember how many notable men are come off his houſe.

Secondly, To ſhew him the great affection I bear towards him, his blood, houſe, and friends; and of the ardent deſire I have of the perpetual ſtanding of it in honour and fame, with all them that are come of it; which is my part, for many and divers cauſes, as you ſhall ſee.

Thirdly, To ſhew my lord how heavy and diſpleaſing a thing it is to me, now to hear, That he, who is, and hath been ſo noble a man, ſhould be ſeduced and abuſed by the flattery of ſuch an infamed perſon of the law, and men-ſworn apoſtate, who, under the pretence that he giveth himſelf forth as a preacher of the goſpel and verity, under that colour, ſetting forth ſchiſms and diviſions in the holy church of God, with heretical propoſitions; thinking that, under his maintenance and defence, to infect this country with hereſy; perſuading my ſaid lord, and others, his children and friends, that all that he ſpeaketh is Scripture, and conform thereunto, albeit that many of his propoſitions are many years paſt condemned by general councils, and the whole ſtate of Chriſtian people.

Fourthly, To ſhew to my lord how perilous this is to his lordſhip and his houſe, and decay thereof, in caſe that authority ſhould be ſharp, and ſhould uſe rigour conform both to civil and canon, and alſo your own municipal law of this realm.

Fifthly, To ſhew his lordſhip how ſorry I would be, either to hear, ſee, or know any diſpleaſure that might come to him, his ſon, or any of his houſe, or friends, and eſpecially in his own time and days; and alſo how great diſpleaſure I have now to hear great and evil reports of him that ſhould in his old age, in a manner, waver from his faith, and to be altered therein, when the time is that he ſhould be moſt ſure and firm therein.

Sixthly, To ſhew his lordſhip that there is dilation of that man called Douglas, or Grant, of ſundry articles of hereſy, which lieth to my charge and conſcience to put remedy to; or elſe all the peſtilentious doctrine he ſows, and alſo all that are corrupted by his doctrine, and all that he draweth from our faith and Chriſtian religion, will lie to my charge before God; and I to be accuſed before God for overſeeing of him, if I put not remedy thereto, and correct him for ſuch things he is dilated of. And therefore that my lord conſider, and weigh it well, how highly it lieth both to my honour and conſcience; for if I favour him, I ſhall be accuſed for all them that he infects and corrupts in hereſy.

Seventhly, Therefore I pray my lord, in moſt hearty manner, to take this matter in the beſt part, for his own conſcience, honour, and well of himſelf, houſe, friends, and ſervants; and alſo for my part, and for my conſcience and honour. Then conſidering, that there are divers articles of hereſy to be laid to him, that he is dilated of, and that he is preſently in my lord's company, that my lord would, by ſome honeſt way, part with this man, and put him from him, and from his ſon's company; for I would be right ſorry, that any being in any of their companies, ſhould be called for ſuch cauſes, or that any of them ſhould be reported to hold any ſuch man: and this I would advertiſe my lord, and have his lordſhip's anſwer and reſolution, before any ſummons paſſed upon him.

Eighthly, *Item*, If my lord would have a man to inſtruct him truly in the faith, and preach to him, I would provide a learned man to him, and I ſhall anſwer for his true doctrine, and ſhall pawn my ſoul that he ſhall teach nothing but truly, according to our catholic faith. Of Edinburgh, this laſt of March 1558.

Sic ſubſcribitur,

SAINT ANDREWS.

Moreover, I hope your lordſhip will call to good remembrance, and weigh the great and heavy murmur againſt me, both by the queen, the churchmen, ſpiritual and temporal eſtates, and well-given people, moaning, crying, and murmuring at me greatly, that I do not my office, to thoſe ſuch infamous perſons, with ſuch perverſe doctrine, within my dioceſſes, and this realm, by reaſon of my legacy and primacy; which I have the rather ſuſtained and long ſuffered, for the great love that I had to your lordſhip and poſterity, and your friends, and your houſe; as believing ſurely your lordſhip's wiſdom ſhould not have maintained and meddled with ſuch things that might do me diſhonour or diſpleaſure; conſidering that I have been ready to put good order thereto always, but have modeſtly abſtained, for the love of your lordſhip and houſe aforeſaid, that I bear truly; knowing and ſeeing the great harm, and diſhonour, and lack apparently that might come there-through, in caſe your lordſhip remedy not the ſame haſtily, whereby we might both be quit of all danger, which doubtleſs will come upon us both, if I uſe not my office, or

that he be called, while that he is now with your lordſhip, and under your lordſhip's protection.

Subſcribed again,

SAINT ANDREWS.

By theſe former inſtructions thou mayeſt perceive, gentle reader, what was the care that this paſtor, or rather impoſtor, with his complices, took to feed the flock committed to their charge, as they alledge, and to gain-ſtand falſe teachers. Here is oft mention of conſcience, of hereſy, and ſuch other terms that might frighten the ignorant, and deceive the ſimple: but we hear no crime in particular laid to the charge of the accuſed, and yet is he condemned as a forſworn apoſtate. This was my lord's conſcience, which he learned of his fathers the Phariſees, old enemies to Chriſt Jeſus, who condemned him before they heard him: but who ruled my lord's conſcience, when he took his couſin's wife, the lady Gilton? Conſider thou the reſt of his perſuaſions, and thou ſhalt clearly ſee, That honour, eſtimation, love to houſe and friends, is the beſt ground that my lord biſhop hath, why he ſhould perſecute Jeſus Chriſt in his members. We thought good to inſert the anſwers of the ſaid earl, which follow:

MEMORANDUM. *This preſent writ is to make anſwer particularly to every article, directed from my lord of St. Andrews to me, by Sir David Hamilton; which articles are in number nine, and here repeated and anſwered, as I truſt, to his lordſhip's contentment.*

THE *firſt* article putteth me in remembrance of the antiquity of the blood of my houſe, how many earls, lords, and knights, hath been thereof; how many noblemen deſcended from the ſame houſe; how long it continued true to God and the prince, without ſpot, in their days, in any manner of ſort.

Anſwer. True it is, my lord, that there is well long continuance of my houſe, by God's providence, and benevolence of our princes whom we have ſerved, and ſhall ſerve truly, next to God. And the like obedience towards God, and our princes, remaineth with us yet, or rather better (praiſed be the Lord's name); neither know we any ſpot towards our princeſs, and her due obedience. And if there be offence towards God, he is merciful to remit our offences; for he willeth not the death of a ſinner. Likeas, it ſtandeth in his omnipotent power to make up houſes, to continue the ſame, to alter them, to make them ſmall or great, or to extinguiſh them, according to his own inſcrutable wiſdom: for in exalting, depreſſing, and changing of houſes, the laud and praiſe muſt be given to that one eternal God, in whoſe hands the ſame ſtandeth.

The *ſecond* article beareth the great affection and love your lordſhip beareth towards me and my houſe, and of the ardent deſire ye have of the perpetual ſtanding thereof in honour and fame, with all them that are coming of it.

Anſwer. Forſooth it is your duty to wiſh good unto my houſe, and unto them that are coming of the ſame; not only for the faithfulneſs, amity, and ſociety, that hath been between our forefathers, but alſo for the late conjunction of blood that is between our ſaid houſes, if it be God's pleaſure that it have ſucceſs; which ſhould give ſufficient occaſion to your lordſhip to wiſh good to my houſe, and perpetuity, with God's glory, without which nothing is perpetual, unto whom be praiſe and worſhip for ever and ever. Amen.

Thirdly, Your lordſhip declareth how diſpleaſant it is to you that I ſhould be ſeduced by an infamed perſon of the law, and by the flattery of a forſworn apoſtate, that under pretence of his giving forth, maketh us to underſtand, That he is a preacher of the goſpel, and therewith raiſeth ſchiſms and diviſions in the whole church of God; and, by our maintenance and defence, would infect this country with hereſy, alledging that to be Scripture, which theſe many years paſt hath been condemned as hereſy by the general councils, and whole eſtate of Chriſtian people.

Anſwer. The God that created heaven and earth, and all that is therein, preſerve me from ſeducing; for I dread others: many under the colour of godlineſs are ſeduced, and think that they do God a pleaſure, when they perſecute one of them that profeſs his name. What that man of the law is, we know not, we hear none of his flattery; his perjured oath of apoſtacy is unknown to us; but if he hath made any unlawful oath, contrary to God's commandment, it were better to violate it than to obſerve it. He preaches nothing to us but the goſpel; if he would do otherwiſe, we would not believe him, nor yet an angel of heaven; we hear him ſow no ſchiſms nor diviſions, but ſuch as may ſtand with God's word, which we ſhall cauſe him to confeſs in preſence of your lordſhip and the clergy, when ye require us thereto. And as to it that hath been condemned by

general councils, we truſt you know well, that all the general councils have been at diverſity among themſelves, and never two of them univerſally agreeing in all points, in ſo much as they are of men. But the Spirit of verity, that bears teſtimony of our Lord Jeſus, hath not, neither can err; for heaven and earth ſhall periſh ere one jot of it periſh. Beyond this, my lord, neither teacheth he, neither will we accept of him, but that which agrees with the word of God, ſet forth by the patriarchs, prophets, apoſtles, and evangeliſts, left to our ſalvation in expreſs words: and ſo, my lord, to condemn the doctrine not examined, is not required; for when your lordſhip pleaſeth to hear the confeſſion of that man's faith, the manner of his doctrine, which agreeth with the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, I will cauſe him to aſſiſt to judgment, and ſhall be preſent there at God's pleaſure, that he may render reckoning of his belief, and our doctrine, to the ſuperior powers, according to the preſcription of that blood of the eternal teſtament, ſealed by the immaculate Lamb, to whom with the Father, and the Holy Spirit, be all honour and glory for ever and ever. Amen.

The *fourth* article puts me in remembrance, how dangerous it is, if the authority would put me to it, and my houſe, according to comely and common laws, and our own municipal laws of this realm, and how it appeareth to the decay of our houſe.

Anſwer. All laws are, or at leaſt ſhould be, ſubject to God's law, which law ſhould be firſt placed and planted in every man's heart; it ſhould have no impediment; men ſhould not abrogate it, for the defence and ſetting up of their own advantage. If it would pleaſe authorities to put at our houſe, for confeſſing of God's word, or for maintenance of his law, God is mighty enough in his own cauſe; he ſhould be rather obeyed than man. I will ſerve my prince with body, heart, goods, ſtrength, and all that is in my power, except that which is God's due, which I will reſerve to him alone; that is, to worſhip him in truth and verity, and as near as I can to conform to his written word, to his own honour, and obedience of my princeſs.

The *fifth* article puts me in remembrance, how ſorry your lordſhip would be, to hear, to ſee, or know any diſpleaſure that might come to me, my ſon, or any of my houſe, and eſpecially in my time and days: and alſo to hear the great and evil report of me, that ſhould now in my old age in a manner begin to vary in my faith, and to be altered therein, when it is time that I ſhould be moſt ſure and firm therein.

Anſwer. Your lordſhip's good-will is ever made manifeſt unto me in all your articles, that you ſhould be ſorry to hear, ſee, or know my diſpleaſure; for the which I am bound to render your lordſhip thanks, and ſhall do the ſame aſſuredly: but as for wavering in my faith, God forbid that I ſhould ſo do; for I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and in Jeſus Chriſt his only Son our Saviour. My lord, I vary not in my faith; but I praiſe God, that of his goodneſs, now in my latter days, hath of his infinite mercy opened his boſom of grace unto me, to acknowledge him the eternal Wiſdom, his Son Jeſus Chriſt my one ſufficient ſatisfaction, to refuſe all idolatry, ſuperſtition, and ignorance, wherewith I have been blinded in times paſt; and now believe that God will be merciful unto me; for now he hath declared his bleſſed will clearly to me, before my departing out of this tranſitory life.

The *ſixth* article declareth, That there are delations of ſundry points of hereſy upon that man Douglas, or Grant, which lies to your charge and conſcience to put remedy to; or elſe, that all the peſtilentious doctrine he ſows, and all whom he corrupteth with his feed, will be required at your hands, and all whom he draws from your Chriſtian faith; and if ye ſhould ſuffer him, that ye will be accuſed for all them whom he infecteth with hereſy; and therefore to regard your lordſhip's honour and conſcience therein.

Anſwer. What is his ſirname I know not, but he calleth himſelf Douglas; for I know neither his father nor his mother: I have heard him teach no articles of hereſy, but that which agreeth with God's word; for I would maintain no man in hereſy or error. Your lordſhip regards your conſcience in the puniſhment thereof; I pray God that ye do ſo, and examine well your conſcience. He preacheth againſt idolatry; I remit to your lordſhip's conſcience if it be hereſy or not: he preacheth againſt adultery and fornication; I refer that to your lordſhip's conſcience: he preacheth againſt hypocriſy; I refer that to your lordſhip's conſcience: he preacheth againſt all manner of abuſes, and corruption of Chriſt's ſincere religion; I refer that to your lordſhip's conſcience. My lord, I exhort you, in Chriſt's name, to weigh all theſe affairs in your conſcience, and conſider if it be your duty alſo, not only to ſuffer this, but in like manner to do the ſame. This is all, my lord, that I vary in my old age, and in no other thing, but that I knew

not theſe offences to be abominable to God, and now knowing his will by manifeſtation of his word, abhor them.

The *ſeventh* article deſireth me to weigh theſe matters in moſt hearty manner, and to take them in beſt part, for the well of both our conſciences, my houſe, friends, and ſervants, and put ſuch a man out of my company, for fear of the rumour and report that ſhould follow thereupon, by reaſon he is delated of ſundry hereſies; and that your lordſhip would be ſorry to hear any of our ſervants delated or reported for ſuch a cauſe, or for holding of any ſuch men: and that your lordſhip would underſtand mine anſwer hereunto, or any ſummons paſſed thereupon.

Anſwer. I thank your lordſhip greatly, that ye are ſo ſolicitous for the well of me and my houſe, and are ſo humane, as to give me advertiſement, before ye have ſummoned, of your own good will and benevolence. I have weighed theſe matters as highly as my judgment can ſerve me, both for your lordſhip's honour and mine: and when that I have reaſoned all that I can do with myſelf in it, I think it always beſt to ſerve God, and obey his manifeſt word, and not be obſtinate in the contrary; and to give their due obedience to our princes, rulers, and magiſtrates; and to hear the voice of God's prophets, declaring his good promiſe to them that repent, and threatening to obſtinate wicked doers everlaſting deſtruction. Your lordſhip knows well the man; he hath ſpoken with your lordſhip: I thought you content with him: I hear no occaſion of offence in him: I cannot well want him, or ſome preacher: I cannot put away ſuch a man, without I knew him an offender, as I know not; for I hear nothing of him, but ſuch as your lordſhip's ſelf hears of him, and ſuch as he yet will profeſs in your preſence, whenſoever your lordſhip requires. Such a man, that is ready to preſent himſelf to judgment, ſhould not be expelled without knowledge of the cauſe; for like as I anſwered before in another article, when your lordſhip pleaſeth, that all the ſpiritual and temporal men of eſtate in Scotland be aſſembled, I ſhall cauſe him to render an account of his belief and doctrine in your preſence, then if he deſerves puniſhment and correction, let him ſo ſuffer; if he be found faithful, let him live in his faith.

The *eighth* article propoſes to me, That your lordſhip would take the labour to get me a man to inſtruct me in your catholic faith, and to be my preacher, for whoſe doctrine ye would lay your ſoul, that he would teach nothing but truly conform to your faith.

Anſwer. God Almighty ſend us many of that ſort, that will preach truly, and nothing but a catholic or univerſal Chriſtian faith, and we Highland rude people have need of them: and if your lordſhip would get and provide me ſuch a man, I ſhould provide him a corporal living, as to myſelf, with great thanks unto your lordſhip; for truly, I and many more have great need of ſuch men; and becauſe I am able to ſuſtain more than one of them, I requeſt your lordſhip earneſtly to provide me a man as ye wrote; 'For the harveſt is great, but 'the labourers are few.'

The *laſt* and *ninth* article putteth me in remembrance, to conſider what murmur your lordſhip ſuffers, and great report, at many mens hands, both ſpiritual and temporal, and at the queen's hand, and other well-given people, for not putting order to theſe affairs; and that your lordſhip hath abſtained from execution hereof, for love of my houſe and poſterity, to the effect that myſelf ſhould remedy it, for fear of the diſhonour that might come upon us both for the ſame, which being remedied, might bring us out of all danger.

Anſwer. My lord, I know well what murmur and indignation your lordſhip ſuffers at enemies hands of all eſtates, for not purſuing of poor ſimple Chriſtians: and I know, that if your lordſhip ſhould uſe their counſel, who would by blood-ſhedding, and burning of poor men, to make your lordſhip ſerve their wicked appetites, yet your lordſhip knows your own duty, and ſhould not fear the danger of men, as of him whom ye profeſs. And verily, my lord, there is nothing that may be to your lordſhip's relief in this behalf, but I will uſe your lordſhip's counſel therein, and further the ſame, God's honour being firſt provided, and the truth of his eternal word having liberty; and to abſtain for my love from purſuit, as your lordſhip hath ſignified, I am indebted to your lordſhip, as I have written divers times before: but there is One above, for whoſe fear ye muſt abſtain from blood-ſhedding, or elſe, my lord, knock on your conſcience. Laſt of all, your lordſhip will pleaſe to conſider, how deſirous ſome are to have ſedition amongſt friends; how mighty the devil is to ſow diſcord; how that many would deſire no better game but to hunt us at other. I pray your lordſhip beguile them; we will agree upon all purpoſes with God's pleaſure, ſtanding to his glory. There are divers houſes in Scotland

near us, that profeſs the ſame God ſecretly; they deſire but that ye begin the bargain at us; and when it begins at us, God knows the end thereof, and who ſhall bide the next put. My lord, conſider this, make no preparative of us; let not the vain exhortation of them that regard little of the well and ſtrength of both our houſes, ſtir up your lordſhip, as they would, to do againſt God, your own conſcience, and the well of your poſterity for ever: and therefore, now in the end, I pray your lordſhip, weigh theſe things wiſely; and if ye do otherwiſe, God is God, was, and ſhall be God, when all is wrought that man can work.

This anſwer received, the biſhop and his complices found themſelves ſomewhat diſappointed; for the biſhops looked for nothing leſs than for ſuch anſwers from the earl of Argyle; and therefore they made them for their extreme defence, that is, to corrupt, and by bribes to ſtir up the queen regent againſt us, as in the Second Book we ſhall more plainly hear. Shortly after that, God called to his mercy the ſaid earl of Argyle from the miſeries of this life, whereof the biſhops were glad; for they thought that their great enemy was taken out of the way, but God diſappointed them: for as the ſaid earl departed moſt conſtant in the true faith of Jeſus Chriſt, with a plain renunciation of all impiety, ſuperſtition, and idolatry; ſo he left it to his ſon in his teſtament, that he ſhould ſtudy to ſet forward the public and true preaching of the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, and to ſuppreſs all ſuperſtition and idolatry to the uttermoſt of his power. In which point ſmall fault can be found with him unto this day, May 10, *anno* 1568. God be merciful unto other offences. Amen.

The Blind, Crooked, Lame, Widows, Orphans, and all other Poor, ſo viſited by the hand of God as cannot work.

To all the flock of friars within this realm, we wiſh reſtitution of wrongs paſt, and reformation in times coming, for ſalvation.

Ye yourſelves are not ignorant (and though ye would be, it is now, thanks be to God, well known to the whole world, by his moſt infallible word), that the benignity or alms of all Chriſtian people pertaineth to us alone, which ye, being whole of body, ſtrong, ſturdy, and able to work, what under pretence of poverty (and yet nevertheleſs poſſeſſing moſt eaſily all abundance), what through cloaked and hidden humility (though your proudneſs is known), and what through feigned holineſs (which now is declared to be ſuperſtition and idolatry), have theſe many years, expreſsly againſt God's word, and the practice of his holy apoſtles, to our great torment, alas! moſt faſly ſtolen from us. And as ye have, by your falſe doctrine, and wreſting of God's word, learned of your father Satan, induced the whole people, high and low, into a ſure hope and belief, that to clothe, feed, and nouriſh you, is the only moſt acceptable alms allowed before God; and to give a penny, or a piece of bread once in a week is enough for us: even ſo ye have perſuaded them to build you great hoſpitals, and maintain you therein by their force, which only pertains now to us by all law, as builded and given to the poor, of whoſe number ye are not, nor can be reputed, neither by the law of God, nor yet by no other law proceeding of nature, reaſon, or civil policy: wherefore ſeeing our number is ſo great, ſo indigent, and ſo heavily oppreſſed by your falſe means, that none taketh care of our miſery, and that it is better for to provide there our impotent members, which God hath given us, to oppoſe to you in plain controverſy, than to ſee you hereafter (as ye have done afore) ſteal from us our houſes, and ourſelves in the mean time to periſh and die for want of the ſame; we have thought good therefore, ere we enter with you in the conflict, to warn you, in the name of the great God, by this public writing, affixed at your gates where ye now dwell, that ye remove forth of our ſaid hoſpitals, betwixt this and the feaſt of Whitſunday next, ſo that we, the only lawful proprietors thereof, may enter thereinto, and afterward enjoy the commodities of the church, which ye have hereunto wrongfully holden from us; certifying you, if ye fail, we will at the ſaid term, in whole number (with the help of God, and aſſiſtance of his ſaints in earth, of whoſe ready ſupport we doubt not), enter and take poſſeſſion of our ſaid patrimony, and eject you utterly forth of the ſame.

Let him therefore that before hath ſtolen, ſteal no more; but rather let him work with his hands, that he may be helpful to the poor.

From all Cities, Towns, and Villages of Scotland, January 1. 1558.

The biſhops continued in their provincial council, even unto the day that John Knox arrived in Scotland; and that they might give ſome ſhew to the people that they minded reformation, they diſperſed abroad a rumour thereof, and ſet forth

ſomewhat in print, which of the people was called, The Two-penny Faith. Amongſt their acts there was much ado for caps, ſhaven crowns, tippets, long gowns, and ſuch other trifles.

I. *Item*, That none ſhould enjoy office, or benefice eccleſiaſtical, except a prieſt.

II. *Item*, That no churchman ſhould nouriſh his own children in his own company, but that every one ſhould hold the children of others.

III. That none ſhould put his own ſon in his own benefice.

IV. That if any were found in open adultery, for the firſt fault he ſhould loſe the third of his benefice; for the ſecond crime, the half; and for the third, the whole benefice.

But herefrom appealed the biſhop of Murray, and other prelates, ſaying, That they would abide at the canon law; and ſo they might well enough do, ſo long as they remained interpreters, diſpenſators, makers, and diſannullers of the law: but let the ſame law have the true interpretation, and juſt execution, and the devil ſhall as ſoon be proved a true and obedient ſervant unto God, as any of that ſort ſhall be proved a biſhop, or yet to have any juſt authority within the church of Chriſt Jeſus. But we will return to our hiſtory.

The perſecution was decreed as well by the queen regent as by the prelates. But there reſted a point, which the queen regent and France had not at that time obtained; *viz.* That the crown-matrimonial ſhould be granted to Francis, huſband to our ſovereign, and ſo ſhould France and Scotland be but one kingdom, the ſubjects of both the realms to have equal liberty, Scotſmen in France, and Frenchmen in Scotland. The gliſter of the profit that was judged hereof to have enſued to Scotſmen, at the firſt ſight blinded many mens eyes, but a ſmall wind cauſed that miſt ſuddenly to vaniſh away: for the greateſt offices and benefices within the realm were appointed for the Frenchmen; monſieur Ruby kept the great ſeal, Vielmort was comptroller, Melroſe and Kelſo ſhould have been commendams to the poor cardinal of Lorrain. The freedoms of Scots merchants were reſtrained in Rhoan, and they compelled to pay toll and taxations, others than their ancient liberties did bear.

To bring this head to paſs, *viz.* to the matrimonial-crown, the queen regent left no point of the compaſs unaſſailed. With the biſhops and prieſts, ſhe practiſed on this manner; 'Ye may clearly ſee, 'that I cannot do what I would within this realm; 'for theſe heretics and confederates of England 'are ſo banded together, that they ſtop all good 'order: but will ye be favourable unto me in this 'ſuit of the matrimonial-crown, to be granted to 'my daughter's huſband, then ſhall ye ſee how I 'ſhall handle theſe heretics and traitors ere it be 'long:' and in very deed, in theſe her promiſes, ſhe meant no deceit in that behalf. Unto the Proteſtants ſhe ſaid, 'I am not unmindful how oft ye 'have ſolicited me for reformation in religion, and 'gladly would I conſent thereunto; but ye ſee the 'power and craft of the biſhop of St. Andrews, 'together with the power of duke Hamilton, and 'of churchmen, ever to be bent againſt me in all 'my proceedings; ſo that I may do nothing, un'leſs the full authority of this realm be delivered 'to the king of France, which cannot be, but by 'donation of the crown-matrimonial; which thing 'if ye will bring to paſs, then deviſe ye what ye 'pleaſe in matters of religion, and they ſhall be 'granted.' With this commiſſion and credit was lord James, then prior of St. Andrews, directed to the earl of Argyle, with more other promiſes than we liſt to rehearſe: by ſuch diſſimulation to thoſe that were ſimple and true of heart, inflamed ſhe them to be more fervent in her petition, than herſelf appeared to be. And ſo at the parliament holden at Edinburgh, in the month of October, in the year of God 1558, it was clearly voted, no man reclaiming (except the duke for his intereſt), and yet for it there was no better law produced, except that there was a ſolemn maſs appointed for that purpoſe in the Pontifical. This head obtained, whereat France and ſhe principally ſhot, what faith ſhe kept to the Proteſtants, in this our Second Book ſhall be declared; in the beginning whereof we may more amply rehearſe ſome things, which in this our firſt are ſummarily touched.

THE END OF BOOK FIRST.

5 JY61

BOOK SECOND.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REFORMATION OF RELIGION,

WITHIN THE REALM OF

SCOTLAND.

Beginning in the Year of our Lord God 1558.

OUR purpoſe was to have made the beginning of our Hiſtory, from the things that were done from the year of God 1558, till the Reformation of Religion, which of God's mercy we once poſſeſſed, and yet in doctrine, and in the right uſe of adminiſtration of ſacraments, do poſſeſs.

BUT becauſe divers of the godly, as before is ſaid, earneſtly required, that ſuch perſons as God raiſed up in the midſt of darkneſs, to oppoſe themſelves to the ſame, ſhould not be omitted; we obeyed their requeſt, and have made a ſhort rehearſal of all ſuch matters as concern religion, from the death of that notable ſervant of God, Mr. Patrick Hamilton, unto the aforeſaid year, when that it pleaſed God to look upon us more mercifully than we deſerve, and to give unto us greater boldneſs, and better (albeit not without hazard and trouble) ſucceſs in all our enterpriſes than we looked for, as the true narration of this Second Book ſhall witneſs. The Preface whereof followeth.

BRITISH MUSEUM

THE

PREFACE.

LEST that Satan by our ſilence ſhall take occaſion to blaſpheme, and to ſlander us the Proteſtants of the realm of Scotland, as that our fact tended rather to ſedition and rebellion, than to reformation of manners and abuſes in religion, we have thought expedient, ſo truly and briefly as we can, to commit to writing the cauſes moving us (as we ſay, and great part of the nobility and barons of the realm), to take the ſword of juſt defence againſt thoſe that moſt unjuſtly ſeek our deſtruction: and, in this our confeſſion, we ſhall faithfully declare, what moved us to put our hands to the reformation of religion, how we have proceeded in the ſame, what we have aſked, and what preſently we require of the ſacred authority: to the end that our cauſe being known, as well our *enemies*, as our *brethren*, in all realms, may underſtand how falſly we are accuſed of tumult and rebellion, and how unjuſtly we are perſecuted by France, and by their faction; and alſo, that our brethren, natural Scotſmen, of whatſoever religion they be, may have occaſion to examine themſelves, if they can with ſafe conſcience oppoſe themſelves to us, who ſeek nothing but 'Chriſt Jeſus' glorious goſpel to be preached, his holy ſacraments to be truly miniſtered, 'ſuperſtition, tyranny, and idolatry, to be ſuppreſſed in this realm; and finally, this our 'native country to remain free from the bondage and tyranny of ſtrangers.'

While that the queen regent practiſed with the prelates, how that Chriſt Jeſus' bleſſed goſpel might utterly be ſuppreſſed within Scotland, God ſo bleſſed the labours of his weak ſervants, that no ſmall part of the barons of this realm began to abhor the tyranny of the biſhops: God did ſo open their eyes, by the light of his word, that they could clearly diſcern betwixt idolatry and the true honouring of God: yea, men almoſt univerſally began to doubt, whether they could (God not offended) give their bodily preſence to the maſs, or yet offer their children to the Papiſtical baptiſm. Theſe doubts when the moſt godly and the moſt learned in Europe had anſwered, both by word and writing, affirming, 'That 'neither of both we might do, without peril of our ſouls,' we began to be more troubled; for then alſo began men of eſtimation, and thoſe that did bear rule amongſt us, to examine themſelves concerning their duties, as well towards reformation of religion, as towards the juſt defence of their brethren moſt cruelly perſecuted. And ſo began divers queſtions to be moved, *viz.* 'If that with ſafe conſcience ſuch as were judges, lords, and rulers of the people, might 'ſerve the higher powers in maintaining of idolatry, in perſecuting their brethren, and 'in ſuppreſſing Chriſt's truth?' or, 'Whether they, to whom God in ſome caſe hath com-'mitted the ſword of juſtice, might ſuffer the blood of their brethren to be ſhed in their 'preſence, without any declaration that ſuch tyranny diſpleaſed them?' By the plain Scriptures it was found, 'That a lively faith required a plain confeſſion when Chriſt's truth is 'oppugned, that not only are they guilty that do evil, but alſo they that conſent to evil.' And plain it is, That they conſent to evil, who, ſeeing iniquity openly committed, by their ſilence ſeem to juſtify and avow whatſoever is done.

Theſe things being reſolved, and ſufficiently proved by evident Scriptures of God, we began every man to look more diligently to his ſalvation: for the idolatry and tyranny of the clergy (called the churchmen) was, and is ſo manifeſt, that whoſoever doth deny it, declareth himſelf ignorant of God, and enemy to Chriſt Jeſus. We therefore, with humble confeſſion of our former offences, with faſting, and ſupplication unto God, began to ſeek ſome remedy in ſo preſent a danger. And firſt, it was concluded, 'That the brethren in every town, at certain times, ſhould aſſemble together, to common prayers, to exerciſe, in reading of the Scriptures, till it ſhould pleaſe God to give the gift of exhortation by ſermon unto ſome, for the comfort and inſtruction of the reſt.'

And this our weak beginning God did ſo bleſs, that within a few months the hearts of many were ſo ſtrengthened, that we ſought to have the face of a church amongſt us, and open crimes to be puniſhed without reſpect of perſons; and for that purpoſe, by common election, were elders appointed, to whom the whole brethren promiſed obedience: for at that time we had no public miniſters of the word, only did certain zealous men (amongſt whom was the laird of Dun, David Forreſt, Mr. Robert Lockhart, Mr. Robert Hamilton, William Harlaw, and others) exhort their brethren, according to the gifts and graces granted unto them. But ſhortly after did God ſtir up his ſervant Paul Methven (his latter fall ought not to deface the work of God in him), who in boldneſs of ſpirit began openly to preach Chriſt Jeſus in Dundee, in divers parts of Angus, and in Fife; and ſo did God work with him, that many began openly to renounce their old idolatry, and to ſubmit themſelves to Chriſt Jeſus, and unto his bleſſed ordinances; inſomuch that the town of Dundee began to erect the face of a public church reformed, in the which the word was openly preached, and Chriſt's ſacraments truly miniſtered.

In this mean time did God ſend to us our dear brother John Willock, a man godly, learned, and grave, who, after his ſhort abode at Dundee, repaired to Edinburgh, and there, notwithſtanding his long and dangerous ſickneſs, did ſo encourage the brethren by godly exhortations, that we began to deliberate upon ſome public reformation; for the corruption in religion was ſuch, that with ſafe conſcience we could no longer ſuſtain it; yet, becauſe we would attempt nothing without the knowledge of the ſacred authority, with one conſent, after the deliberation of many days, it was concluded, That by our public and common ſupplication, we ſhould attempt the favour, ſupport, and aſſiſtance of the queen, then regent, to a godly reformation; and for that purpoſe, with all diligence, after we had drawn our Oration and Petition as followeth, we appointed from amongſt us a man, whoſe age and years deſerved reverence, whoſe honeſty and worſhip might have craved audience of any magiſtrate on the earth, and whoſe faithful ſervice to the authority at all times hath been ſuch, that in him could fall no ſuſpicion of unlawful diſobedience. This orator was that ancient and honourable father, Sir James Sandilands of Calder, knight, to whom we gave commiſſion and power in all our names then preſent, before the queen regent thus to ſpeak:

THE

FIRST ORATION AND PETITION

OF THE

PROTESTANTS OF SCOTLAND,

TO THE

QUEEN REGENT.

ALBEIT we have of long time contained ourſelves in that modeſty, moſt noble princeſs, that neither the exile of body, loſs of goods, nor periſhing of this mortal life, was able to make us to aſk at your majeſty reformation and redreſs of thoſe wrongs, and of that ſore grief patiently borne by us in bodies and minds of long time; yet are we now by very conſcience, and by the fear of our God, compelled to crave at your majeſty's feet, remedy againſt the moſt unjuſt tyranny, uſed againſt your majeſty's moſt obedient ſubjects, by thoſe that are called the State-eccleſiaſtical. Your majeſty cannot be ignorant what controverſy hath been, and yet is, concerning the true religion, and right worſhipping of God; and how the clergy (as they will be termed) uſurp to themſelves ſuch empire above the conſciences of men, that whatſoever they command muſt be obeyed, and whatſoever they forbid muſt be avoided, without further reſpect to God's pleaſure, commandment, or will, revealed to us in his moſt holy word; or elſe there abideth nothing for us but fagots, fire, and ſword, by the which many of our brethren moſt cruelly and moſt unjuſtly have been ſtricken of late years within this realm, which now we find to trouble and wound our conſciences; for we acknowledge it to have been our bounden duties before God, either to have defended our brethren from thoſe cruel murderers (ſeeing we are a part of that power which God hath eſtabliſhed in this realm), or elſe to have given open teſtification of our faith with them, which now we offer ourſelves to do, leſt that, by our continual ſilence, we ſhall ſeem to juſtify the cruel tyranny of thoſe men; which doth not only diſpleaſe us, but your majeſty's wiſdom moſt prudently doth foreſee, that, for the quieting of this inteſtine diſſenſion, a public reformation, as well in the religion, as in the temporal government, were moſt neceſſary; and to the performance thereof, moſt gravely and moſt godly (as we are informed) ye have exhorted as well the clergy as the nobility, to employ their ſtudy, diligence, and care. We therefore, in conſcience, dare not any longer diſſemble in ſo weighty a matter, which concerneth the glory of God, and our ſalvation: neither now dare we withdraw our preſence or counſel, or petitions, leſt that the adverſaries hereafter ſhould object to us, That place was granted for reformation, and yet no man ſued for the ſame; and ſo ſhall our ſilence be prejudicial unto us in time to come: and therefore we, knowing no order placed in this realm, but your majeſty, and your grave counſel, ſet to amend, as well the diſorder eccleſiaſtical, as the defaults in the temporal government, moſt humbly proſtrate ourſelves before your feet, aſking juſtice and your gracious help againſt them that falſly traduce and accuſe us, as that we were heretics and ſchiſmatics, under that colour ſeeking our deſtruction, for that we ſeek the amendment of their corrupted lives, and Chriſt's religion to be reſtored to the original purity. Further, we crave of your majeſty, with open and patent ears to hear thoſe our ſubſequent requeſts, and, to the joy and ſatisfaction of our troubled conſciences, bountifully to grant the ſame, unleſs by God's plain word any be able to prove, that juſtly they ought to be denied.

Here begin the particular Demands.

Firſt, Humbly we aſk, That, as we have by the laws of this realm, after long debate, obtained to read the holy books of the Old and New Teſta-

ments, in our vulgar tongue, as ſpiritual food to our ſouls; ſo from henceforth it may be lawful, that we may meet publicly or privately to our common prayers in our vulgar tongue, to the end that we may increaſe and grow in knowledge, and be induced, by fervent and oft prayers, to commend to God the holy univerſal church, the queen our ſovereign, her honourable and gracious huſband, the ability of their ſucceſſion, your majeſty regent, the nobility, and whole ſtate of this realm.

Secondly, If it ſhall happen in our ſaid meetings any hard place of Scripture to be read, of which, without explanation, hardly can ariſe any profit to the hearers; that it ſhall be lawful to any qualified perſons in knowledge, being preſent, to interpret and open up the ſaid hard places, to God's glory, and to the profit of the auditory: and, if any think that this liberty ſhould be occaſion of confuſion, debate, or hereſy, we are content that it be provided, that the ſaid interpretation ſhall underly the judgment of the godly and moſt learned within the realm at this time.

Thirdly, That the holy ſacrament of baptiſm may be uſed in the vulgar tongue, that the godfathers and witneſſes may not only underſtand the points of the league and contract made betwixt God and the infant, but alſo that the church then aſſembled, more gravely may be informed and inſtructed of their duties, which at all times they owe to God, according to that promiſe made unto him, when they were received into his houſehold by the laver of ſpiritual regeneration.

Fourthly, We deſire, That the holy ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, or of his bleſſed body and blood, may likewiſe be miniſtered unto us in the vulgar tongue, and in both kinds, according to the plain inſtitution of our Saviour Chriſt Jeſus.

And, *laſtly*, we moſt humbly require, That the wicked, ſlanderous, and deteſtable lives of prelates, and of the ſtate-eccleſiaſtical, may be reformed, that the people by them have not occaſion (as of many days they have had) to contemn their miniſtry, and the preaching, whereof they ſhould be meſſengers: and if they ſuſpect, that we, rather envying their honours, or coveting their riches and poſſeſſions, than zealouſly deſiring their amendment and ſalvation, do travel and labour for this reformation, we are content, that not only the rules and precepts of the New Teſtament, but alſo the writings of the ancient fathers, and the godly and approved laws of Juſtinian the emperor, decide the controverſy betwixt us and them: and if it ſhall be found, that either malevolently or ignorantly we aſk more than theſe three fore-named have required, and continually do require, of able and true miniſters in Chriſt's church, we refuſe not correction, as your majeſty, with right judgment, ſhall think meet; but if all the fore-named ſhall condemn that which we condemn, and approve that which we require, then we moſt earneſtly beſeech your majeſty, that notwithſtanding the long cuſtom which they have had to live as they liſt, that they be compelled either to deſiſt from eccleſiaſtical adminiſtration, or to diſcharge their duties as becometh true miniſters; ſo that the grave and godly face of the primitive church reduced, ignorance may be expelled, true doctrine and good manners may once again appear in the church of this realm. Theſe things we, as moſt obedient ſubjects, require of your majeſty, in the name of the eternal God, and of his Son Chriſt Jeſus, in preſence of whoſe throne-judicial, ye, and all others that here in earth bear authority, ſhall give account of your temporal government. The Spirit of the Lord Jeſus move your majeſty's heart to juſtice and equity.

Theſe our demands being propoſed, the ſtate-eccleſiaſtical began to ſtorm, and to deviſe all manner of lies to deface the equity of our cauſe. They bragged, as that they would have public diſputation; which alſo we moſt earneſtly required, two things being provided; *firſt*, That the plain and written Scriptures of God ſhould decide all controverſies: *ſecondly*, That our brethren, of whom ſome were then exiled, and by them unjuſtly condemned, might have free acceſs to the ſaid diſputation, and ſafe conduct to return to their dwelling-places, notwithſtanding any proceſs which before had been laid againſt them in matters concerning religion. But theſe being by them utterly denied (for no judge would they admit, but themſelves, their councils, and canon-law), they and their faction began to draw certain articles of reconciliation, promiſing unto us, if we would admit the maſs to ſtand in its former reverence and eſtimation; grant purgatory after this life; confeſs prayer to ſaints, and for the dead; and ſuffer them to enjoy their accuſtomed rents, poſſeſſions, and honour; that then they would grant us to pray and baptize in the vulgar tongue, ſo that it were done ſecretly, and not in the open aſſembly. But the groſſneſs of theſe articles was ſuch, that with one voice we refuſed them, and conſtantly craved juſtice of the queen regent, and a reaſonable anſwer of our former petitions. The queen then re-

gent, a woman crafty, diſſimulate, and falſe, thinking to make her profit of both parties, gave to us permiſſion to uſe ourſelves godly, according to our deſires, provided that we ſhould not make public aſſemblies in Edinburgh, nor Leith; and did promiſe her aſſiſtance to our preachers, until ſome uniform order might be eſtabliſhed by a parliament. To them (we mean the clergy) ſhe quietly gave ſignification of her mind, promiſing, that how ſoon any opportunity ſhould ſerve, ſhe ſhould ſo put order to theſe matters, that after they ſhould not be troubled: for ſome ſay, they gave her a large purſe of forty thouſand pounds, Turn. or Scots, gathered by the laird of Earlſhall. We nothing ſuſpecting her doubleneſs or falſehood, departed fully contented with her anſwer, and did uſe ourſelves ſo quietly, that for her pleaſure we put ſilence to John Douglas, who publicly would have preached in the town of Leith; for in all things we ſought the contentment of her mind, ſo far as God ſhould not be offended againſt us, for obeying her in things as we thought unlawful.

Shortly after theſe things, that cruel tyrant and unmerciful hypocrite, falſly called Biſhop of St. Andrews, apprehended that bleſſed martyr of Chriſt Jeſus Walter Miln, a man of decrepit age, whom moſt cruelly and moſt unjuſtly he put to death by fire in St. Andrews, the twenty-eighth day of April, in the year of God 1558; which thing did ſo highly offend the hearts of all the godly, that immediately after his death began a new fervency among the whole people, yea, even in the town of St. Andrews, began the people plainly to condemn ſuch unjuſt cruelty; and, in teſtification that they would his death ſhould abide in recent memory, there was caſt together a great heap of ſtones in the place where he was burnt. The biſhops and prieſts thereat offended, cauſed once or twice to remove the ſame, with denunciation of curſing, if any man ſhould there lay any ſtones; but in vain was that wind blown; for ſtill was the heap made, till that the prieſts and Papiſts did ſteal away by night the ſtones to build their walls, and to their own private uſes.

We, ſuſpecting nothing that the queen regent was conſenting to the fore-named murder, moſt humbly did complain of ſuch unjuſt cruelty, requiring, that juſtice in ſuch caſes ſhould be miniſtered with greater indifferency. She, as a woman born to diſſemble and deceive, began with us to lament the cruelty of the biſhop excuſing herſelf as innocent in that cauſe; for that the ſentence was given without her knowledge, becauſe the man ſometimes had been a prieſt, therefore the biſhop's official did proceed upon him without any commiſſion of the civil authority, *ex officio*, as they term it. We, yet nothing ſuſpecting her falſehood, required ſome order to be taken againſt ſuch enormities, which ſhe promiſed as oft before. But becauſe ſhortly after there was a parliament to be holden, for certain affairs pertaining rather to the queen's particular profit, than to the commodity of the commonwealth, we thought good to expoſe our matter to the whole parliament, and by them to ſeek ſome redreſs: we therefore, with one conſent, did offer to the queen and parliament a Letter, in this tenor:

The form of the Letter given in Parliament.

UNTO your majeſty, and unto your right honourable lords, barons, and burgeſſes, of this preſent parliament; humbly means and ſheweth your majeſty's faithful and obedient ſubjects, That where we are daily moleſted, ſlandered, and injured, by wicked and ignorant perſons, place-holders of the miniſters of the church, who moſt untruly ceaſe not to infame us as heretics, and under that name they moſt cruelly have perſecuted divers of our brethren; and farther intend to execute their malice againſt us, unleſs by ſome godly order their fury and rage be bridled and ſtaid; and yet in us they are able to prove no crime worthy of puniſhment, unleſs that to read the holy Scriptures in our aſſemblies, to invocate the name of God in public prayers, with all ſobriety to interpret and open the places of Scripture, that be read to the further edification of the brethren aſſembled, and truly, according to Chriſt Jeſus' holy inſtitution, to miniſter the ſacraments, be crimes worthy of puniſhment; other crimes, we ſay, in us they are not able to convict. And to the premiſes we are compelled, for that the ſaid place-holders diſcharge no part of their duties rightly to us, neither yet to the people ſubject to us; and therefore, unleſs we ſhould declare ourſelves altogether unmindful of our own ſalvation, we are compelled in very conſcience, to ſeek how that we and our brethren may be delivered from the thraldom of Satan: for now it hath pleaſed God to open our eyes, and manifeſtly we ſee, that, without extreme danger of our ſouls, we may in nowiſe communicate with the damnable idolatry, and intolerable abuſes, of the Papiſtical church; and therefore moſt humbly require we of your majeſty, and of your right honourable lords, barons, and burgeſſes, aſſembled in

this preſent parliament, prudently to weigh, and as it becometh juſt judges, to grant theſe our moſt juſt and reaſonable petitions:

Firſt, Seeing that the controverſy in religion, which hath long continued betwixt the Proteſtants of Almany, Helvetia, and other provinces, and the Papiſtical church, is not yet decided by a lawful and general council; and ſeeing that our conſciences are likewiſe touched with the fear of God, as was theirs in the beginning of their controverſy; we moſt humbly deſire, That all ſuch acts of parliament as in the time of darkneſs gave power to the churchmen, to execute their tyranny againſt us, by reaſon that we to them were delated as heretics, may be ſuſpended and abrogated, till a general council, lawfully aſſembled, hath decided all controverſies in religion.

And leſt that this mutation ſhould ſeem to ſet all men at liberty to live as they liſt, we *ſecondarily* require, That it be enacted by this preſent parliament, that the prelates, and their officers, be removed from place of judgment, only granting unto them nevertheleſs the place of accuſators in the preſence of a temporal judge, before whom the churchmen accuſators ſhall be bound to call any by them accuſed of hereſy, to whom alſo they ſhall be bound to deliver an authentic copy of all depoſitions, accuſations, and proceſs laid againſt any perſon accuſed; the judge likewiſe delivering the ſame to the party accuſed, aſſigning unto him a competent term to anſwer to the ſame, after he hath taken ſufficient caution, *de judicio ſiſti*.

Thirdly, We require, That all lawful defences be granted to the perſon accuſed; as, if he be able to prove that the witneſſes be perſons unable by law to teſtify againſt him, that then their accuſations and depoſitions be null, according to juſtice.

Item, That place be granted to the party accuſed, to explain and interpret his own mind and meaning, which confeſſion we require to be inſerted in public acts, and be preferred to the depoſition of any witneſs, 'ſeeing that none ought to 'ſuffer for religion, that is not found obſtinate in 'his damnable opinion.'

Laſtly, We require, That our brethren be not condemned for heretics, unleſs, by the manifeſt word of God, they be convicted to have erred from that faith, which the Holy Spirit witneſſeth to be neceſſary to ſalvation; and if ſo they be, we refuſe not but that they be puniſhed according to juſtice, unleſs by wholeſome admonition they can be reduced to a better mind.

Theſe things require we to be conſidered of by you, who are in the place of the eternal God (who is God of order and truth), even in ſuch ſort as ye will anſwer in preſence of his throne-judicial: requiring further, that favourably you would have reſpect to the tenderneſs of our conſciences, and to the trouble which appeareth to follow in this commonwealth, if the tyranny of the prelates, and of their adherents, be not bridled by God and juſt laws. God move your hearts deeply to conſider your own duties, and our preſent troubles.

Theſe our demands did we firſt preſent to the queen regent, becauſe that we were determined to enterpriſe nothing without her knowledge, moſt humbly requiring her favourably to aſſiſt us in our juſt action. She ſpared not amiable looks, and good words in abundance; but always ſhe kept our petition cloſe in her pocket. When we required ſecretly of her majeſty, that our petition ſhould be propoſed to the whole aſſembly; ſhe anſwered, That ſhe thought not that expedient; for then would the whole eccleſiaſtical eſtate be contrary to her proceedings, which at that time was great: for the matrimonial-crown was aſked, and in that parliament granted. But, ſaid ſhe, how ſoon order can be taken with theſe things, which now may be hindered by the churchmen, ye ſhall know my good mind, and in the mean time, whatſoever I can grant unto you, ſhall gladly be granted. We, yet nothing ſuſpecting her falſehood, were content to give place for a time to her pleaſure and pretended reaſon; and yet thought we expedient ſomewhat to proteſt, before the diſſolution of the parliament: for our petition was manifeſtly known to the whole aſſembly; as alſo, how that for the queen's pleaſure we had ceaſed to purſue the uttermoſt. Our Proteſtation was formed in manner following:

The form of the Proteſtation made in the Parliament holden at Edinburgh, anno 1558.

IT is not unknown to this honourable parliament, what controverſy is now lately riſen, betwixt thoſe that will be called the prelates and rulers of the church, and a great number of us the nobility and commonalty of the realm, for the true worſhipping of God, for the duty of miniſters, for the right adminiſtration of Chriſt Jeſus' holy ſacraments. How that we have complained, by our ſupplication to the queen regent, that our conſciences are burdened with unprofitable ceremonies, and that we

are compelled to adhere to idolatry; that ſuch as take upon them the office eccleſiaſtical, diſcharge no part thereof as becometh true miniſters to do. And finally, that we, and our brethren, are moſt injuriouſly oppreſſed by their uſurped authority; and alſo, we ſuppoſe it is a thing ſufficiently known, that we were of mind at this preſent parliament to ſeek redreſs of ſuch enormities; but conſidering, that the troubles of the time do not ſuffer ſuch reformation, as we by God's plain word do require, we are inforced to delay that which moſt earneſtly we deſire; and yet, leſt that our ſilence ſhould give occaſion to our adverſaries, to think that we repent of our former enterpriſes, we cannot ceaſe to proteſt, for remedy againſt that moſt unjuſt tyranny which we heretofore have moſt patiently ſuſtained.

And, *firſt*, we proteſt, That ſeeing we cannot obtain a juſt reformation according to God's word, that it be lawful to us to uſe ourſelves in matters of religion and conſcience, as we muſt anſwer unto God, until ſuch time as our adverſaries be able to prove themſelves the true miniſters of Chriſt's church, and to purge themſelves of ſuch crimes as we have already laid to their charge, offering ourſelves to prove the ſame, whenſoever the ſacred authority pleaſes to give us audience.

Secondly, We proteſt, That neither we, nor yet any other of the godly that liſt to join with us in the true faith, which is grounded upon the invincible word of God, ſhall incur any danger of life or lands, or any political pain, for not obſerving ſuch acts as heretofore have paſſed in favour of our adverſaries, neither yet for violating of ſuch rites as man, without God's commandment or word, hath commanded.

We, *thirdly*, proteſt, That if any tumult or uproar ſhall ariſe amongſt the members of this realm, for the diverſity of religion; and if it ſhall chance that abuſes be violently reformed, that the crime thereof be not imputed to us, who moſt humbly do now ſeek all to be reformed by an order; but rather, whatſoever inconvenience ſhall happen to follow for lack of order taken, that may be imputed to thoſe that do refuſe the ſame.

And, *laſtly*, we proteſt, That theſe our requeſts, proceeding from conſcience, do tend to none other end, but to the reformation of the abuſes in religion only, moſt humbly beſeeching the ſacred authority, to take us faithful and obedient ſubjects into protection againſt our adverſaries, and to ſhew unto us ſuch indifferency in our moſt juſt petition, as it becometh God's lieutenants to do to thoſe, that in his name do call for defence againſt cruel oppreſſors, and blood-thirſty tyrants.

This our Proteſtation publicly read, we deſired it to have been inſerted in the common regiſter; but that, by the labour of enemies, was denied unto us. Nevertheleſs the queen regent ſaid, We will remember what is proteſted; 'and we ſhall put 'good order after this to all things that now are in 'controverſy.' And thus, after ſhe by craft had obtained her purpoſe, we departed, in good hope of her favour, praiſing God in our hearts, that ſhe was ſo well inclined towards godlineſs. The good opinion that we had of her ſincerity, cauſed us not only to ſpend our goods, and hazard our bodies at her pleaſure, but alſo by our public letters written to that excellent ſervant of God John Calvin, we did praiſe and commend her, for her excellent knowledge in God's word, and good-will towards the advancement of his glory; requiring of him, that, by his grave counſel, and godly exhortation, he would animate her majeſty conſtantly to follow that, which godly ſhe had begun. We did farther ſharply rebuke, both by word and writing, all ſuch as appeared to ſuſpect in her any venom or hypocriſy, or that were contrary to that opinion which we had conceived of her godly mind: but how far we were deceived in our opinion, and abuſed by her craft, did ſuddenly appear; for how ſoon that all things pertaining to the commodity of France were granted by us, and that peace was contracted betwixt king Philip and France, and England and us, ſhe began to ſpew forth and diſcloſe the latent venom of her double heart. Then began ſhe to frown, and to look frowardly to all ſuch as ſhe knew did favour the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt. She commanded her houſehold to uſe all abominations at Eaſter; and ſhe firſt herſelf, to give example to others, did communicate with the idol in open audience; ſhe controlled her houſehold, and would know where that every one received their ſacrament: and it appeared, That after that day that malice took more violent and ſtrong poſſeſſion in her, than it did before; for from that day forward ſhe appeared altogether altered, inſomuch that her countenance and facts did declare the venom of her heart; for incontinent ſhe cauſed our preachers to be ſummoned, for whom, when we made interceſſion, beſeeching her majeſty not to moleſt them in their miniſtry, unleſs any man were able to convict them of falſe doctrine, ſhe could not bridle her tongue from open blaſphemy, but proudly ſhe ſaid,

'In deſpite of you and your miniſters both, they 'ſhall be baniſhed out of Scotland, albeit they 'preached as true as ever did St. Paul:' which proud and blaſphemous anſwer did greatly aſtoniſh us; and yet ceaſed we not moſt humbly to ſeek her favour, and, by great diligence, at laſt we obtained that the ſummonſſes at that time were delayed: for to her were ſent Alexander earl of Glencairn, and Sir Hugh Campbell of Lowdon knight, ſheriff of Air, to reaſon with her, and to crave ſome performance of her manifold promiſes; to whom ſhe anſwered, 'It became not ſubjects to 'burden their princes with promiſes, further than 'it pleaſed them to keep the ſame.' Both the noblemen faithfully and boldly diſcharged their duty, and plainly forewarned her of the inconveniencies that were to follow; wherewith ſhe ſomewhat aſtoniſhed, ſaid, She would adviſe.

In this mean time did the town of Perth, called St. Johnſton, embrace the truth, which did provoke her to a new fury, in which ſhe willed the lord Ruthven, provoſt of that town, to ſuppreſs all ſuch religion there: to the which when he anſwered, That he could make their bodies to come to her majeſty, and to proſtrate themſelves before her, till that ſhe was fully ſatiate with their blood; but to cauſe them to do againſt their conſcience, he could not promiſe: ſhe in fury did anſwer, That he was too arrogant, to give her ſuch an anſwer, affirming, that both he and they ſhould repent it. She ſolicited Mr. James Haliburton, provoſt of Dundee, to apprehend Paul Methven, who, fearing God, gave ſecret advertiſement to the man to avoid the town for a time. She ſent forth ſuch as ſhe thought moſt able to perſuade at Eaſter, to cauſe Montroſe, Dundee, St. Johnſton, and other ſuch places as had received the goſpel, to communicate with the idol of the maſs; but they could profit nothing, the hearts of many were bent to follow the truth revealed, and did abhor ſuperſtition and idolatry; whereat ſhe more highly commoved, did ſummon again all the preachers to appear at Stirling, the tenth day of May, in the year of our Lord 1559, which underſtood by us, we with all humble obedience ſought the means how ſhe might be appeaſed, and our preachers not moleſted; but when we could prevail nothing, it was concluded by the whole brethren, That the gentlemen of every country ſhould accompany their preachers to the day and place appointed, whereto all men were moſt willing; and for that purpoſe, the town of Dundee, the gentlemen of Angus and Mearns, paſſed forward with their preachers to St. Johnſton, without armour, as peaceable men, minding only to give confeſſion with their preachers. And leſt that ſuch a multitude ſhould have given fear to the queen regent, the laird of Dun, a zealous, prudent, and godly man, paſſed before to the queen, then being at Stirling, to declare to her, That the cauſe of their convocation, was only to give confeſſion with their preachers, and to aſſiſt them in their juſt defence. She underſtanding the fervency of the people, began to uſe craft with him, ſoliciting him to ſtay the multitude, and the preachers alſo, with promiſe that ſhe would take ſome better order. He, a man moſt gentle of nature, and moſt addicted to pleaſe her in all things not repugnant to God, wrote to thoſe that then were aſſembled at St. Johnſton, to ſtay, and not to come forward, ſhewing what promiſe and hope he had of the queen's favour. At the reading of his letters, ſome did ſmell the craft and deceit, and perſuaded to paſs forward, until that a diſcharge of the former ſummonſſes ſhould be had, alledging that otherwiſe their proceſs of rebellion ſhould be executed againſt the preachers; and ſo ſhould not only they, but alſo all ſuch as did accompany them, be involved in a like crime. Others did reaſon, That the queen's promiſe was not to be ſuſpected, neither yet the laird of Dun's requeſt to be contemned; and ſo did the whole multitude with their preachers ſtay.

In this mean time that the preachers were ſummoned, *viz.* the ſecond of May 1559, arrived John Knox from France; who lodging two nights only in Edinburgh, hearing the day appointed to his brethren, repaired to Dundee, where he earneſtly required them that he might be permitted to aſſiſt his brethren, and to give confeſſion of his faith with them: which granted unto him, he departed unto St. Johnſton with them, where he began to exhort, according to the grace of God granted unto him. The queen perceiving that the preachers did not appear, began to utter her malice; and, notwithſtanding any requeſt made to the contrary, gave commandment to put them to the horn; inhibiting all men, under pain of high rebellion, to aſſiſt, comfort, receive, or maintain them in any ſort. Which extremity perceived by the ſaid laird of Dun, he prudently withdrew himſelf; for otherwiſe, by all appearance, he had not eſcaped impriſonment: for the maſter of Maxwel, a man zealous and ſtout in God's cauſe (as then appeared), under the cloak of another ſmall crime, was

that ſame day committed to ward, becauſe he did boldly affirm, That, to the uttermoſt of his power, he would aſſiſt the preachers and the congregation, notwithſtanding any ſentence which unjuſtly was, or ſhould be pronounced againſt them. The laird of Dun coming to St. Johnſton, expoſed the caſe even as it was, and did conceal nothing of the queen's craft and falſehood; which underſtood, the multitude was ſo inflamed, that neither could the exhortation of the preachers, nor the commandment of the magiſtrate, ſtay them from deſtroying the places of idolatry. The manner whereof was:

The preachers had declared before, how odious idolatry was in God's preſence; what commandment he had given for the deſtruction of the monuments thereof; what idolatry, and what abomination, was in the maſs. It chanced that the next day, which was the 11th of May, after that the preachers were exiled, after the ſermon, which was very vehement againſt idolatry, a certain prieſt in contempt would go to the maſs; and to declare his malapert preſumption, he would open up a glorious tabernacle, which ſtood upon the high altar: there ſtood beſide certain godly men, and, amongſt others, a young boy, who cried with a bold voice, 'This is intolerable, that when 'God by his word hath plainly condemned idola-'try, we ſhall ſtand and ſee it uſed in deſpite.' The prieſt hereat offended, gave the child a great blow; who in anger, took up a ſtone, and caſting at the prieſt, hit the tabernacle, and brake down an image: and immediately the whole multitude threw ſtones, and put hands on the ſaid tabernacle, and on all other monuments of idolatry; which they diſpatched before the tenth man of the town were advertiſed, for the moſt part were gone to dinner. Which noiſed abroad, the whole multitude aſſembled, not of the gentlemen, neither of them that were earneſt profeſſors, but of the raſcal multitude; who finding nothing to do in that church, did run without deliberation to the gray and black friars, and, notwithſtanding that they had within them very ſtrong guards kept for their defence, yet were their gates incontinent burſt up. The firſt invaſion was upon idolatry, and thereafter the common people began to ſeek ſome ſpoil. And in very deed the Gray-friars was a place ſo well provided, that unleſs honeſt men had ſeen the ſame, we would have feared to have reported what proviſion they had: their ſheets, blankets, beds, and coverlets were ſuch, that no earl in Scotland had better: their napery was fine: there were but eight perſons in the convent, and yet had they eight puncheons of ſalt beef (conſider the time of the year, the 11th of May), wine, beer, and ale, beſide ſtore of victuals belonging thereto: the like abundance was not in the Blackfriars, and yet there was more than became men profeſſing poverty.

The ſpoil was permitted to the poor: for ſo had the preachers before threatened all men, that for covetouſneſs ſake none ſhould put their hand to ſuch a reformation; that no honeſt man was enriched thereby the value of a groat: their conſcience ſo moved them, that they ſuffered thoſe hypocrites to take away what they could, of that which was in their places; the prior of the Charter-houſe was permitted to take with him even as much gold and ſilver as he was able to carry. So were mens conſciences beaten with the word, that they had no reſpect to their own particular profit, but only to aboliſh idolatry, the places and monuments thereof; in which they were ſo buſy, and ſo laborious, that within two days theſe three great places, monuments of idolatry, *viz.* the Black and Gray thieves, and Charter-houſe monks (a building of wonderous coſt and greatneſs), was ſo deſtroyed, that the walls only did remain of all thoſe great edifices. Which reported to the queen, ſhe was ſo enraged, that ſhe did vow utterly to deſtroy St. Johnſton, man, woman, and child, and to conſume the ſame by fire, and thereafter to ſalt it, in ſign of a perpetual deſolation. We ſuſpecting nothing ſuch cruelty, but thinking that ſuch words might eſcape her in choler, without purpoſe determined, becauſe ſhe was a woman ſet on fire by the complaints of thoſe hypocrites, who flocked unto her as ravens to a carrion; we, we ſay, ſuſpecting nothing ſuch beaſtly cruelty, returned to our own houſes, leaving in St. Johnſton John Knox to inſtruct the people, becauſe they were young and rude in Chriſt; but ſhe, ſet on fire partly by her own malice, partly by commandment of her friends in France, and not a little by bribes, which ſhe and monſieur d' Oſel received from the biſhops and the prieſts here at home, did continue ſtill in her rage.

And firſt ſhe ſent for all the nobility, to whom ſhe complained, That we meant nothing but rebellion: ſhe did grievouſly lament the deſtruction of the Charter-houſe, becauſe it was a king's foundation, and there was the tomb of king James I. and by ſuch other perſuaſions ſhe made the moſt part of them grant to purſue us. And then incontinent ſent ſhe for her Frenchmen; for that

was, and ever hath been her joy, to ſee Scotſmen dip one with another's blood. No man was at that time more frank againſt us than was duke Hamilton, led by that cruel beaſt the biſhop of St. Andrews, and by thoſe that yet abuſe him, the abbot of Kilwinning, and Matthew Hamilton of Milburn, two chief enemies to Chriſt Jeſus; yea, and enemies to the duke and to his whole houſe, but in ſo far as thereby they may procure their own particular profit. Theſe and ſuch other peſtilent Papiſts ceaſed not to caſt fagots in the fire, continually crying, 'Forward upon theſe heretics; we ſhall 'once rid this realm of them.' The certainty hereof coming to our knowledge, ſome of us repaired to the town again, about the 22d day of May, and there did abide, for the comfort of our brethren; where, after invocation of the name of God, we began to put the town and ourſelves in ſuch ſtrength, as we thought might beſt ſerve for our juſt defence. And becauſe we did not utterly deſpair of the queen's favour, we cauſed to form a Letter to her majeſty, as followeth:

To the Queen's Majeſty Regent, all humble obedience and duty premiſed.

As heretofore, with hazard of our lives, and yet with willing hearts, we have ſerved the authority of Scotland, and your majeſty now regent in this realm, in ſervice to our bodies dangerous and painful; ſo now, with moſt dolorous minds, we are conſtrained by unjuſt tyranny purpoſed againſt us, to declare unto your majeſty, That, except this cruelty be ſtaid by your wiſdom, we ſhall be compelled to take the ſword of juſt defence, againſt all that ſhall purſue us for the matter of religion, and for our conſcience ſake, which ought not, nor may not be ſubject to mortal creatures, further than by God's word man is able to prove that he hath power to command us. We ſignify moreover unto your majeſty, That if by rigour we be compelled to ſeek the extreme defence, that we will not only notify our innocency and petition to the king of France, to our miſtreſs, and to her huſband, but alſo to the princes and council of every Chriſtian realm, declaring unto them, That this cruel, unjuſt, and moſt tyrannical murder intended againſt towns and multitudes, was, and is the only cauſe of our revolt from our accuſtomed obedience; which in God's preſence we faithfully promiſe to our ſovereign miſtreſs, to her huſband, and unto your majeſty regent, provided that our conſciences may live in that peace and liberty which Chriſt Jeſus hath purchaſed to us by his blood, and that we may have his word truly preached, and holy ſacraments rightly miniſtered unto us, without which, we firmly purpoſe never to be ſubject to mortal man; for better, we think, to expoſe our bodies to a thouſand deaths, than to hazard our ſouls to perpetual damnation, by denying Chriſt Jeſus, and his manifeſt verity; which thing not only do they, who commit open idolatry, but alſo all ſuch as ſeeing their brethren purſued for the cauſe of religion, and having ſufficient means to comfort and aſſiſt them, do nevertheleſs withdraw from them their dutiful ſupport. We would not your majeſty ſhould be deceived by the falſe perſuaſions of thoſe cruel beaſts the churchmen, who affirm, That your majeſty needeth not greatly to regard the loſs of us that profeſs Chriſt Jeſus in this realm. If (as God forbid) ye give ear to their peſtilent counſel, and ſo uſe againſt us this extremity pretended, it is to be feared, that neither ye, neither yet your poſterity, ſhall at any time after this, find that obedience and faithful ſervice within this realm, which at all times ye have found in us. We declare our judgments freely, as true and faithful ſubjects. God move your princely heart favourably to interpret our faithful meaning: further, advertiſing your majeſty, that the ſelf-ſame thing, together with all things that we have done, or yet intend to do, we will notify by our letters to the king of France: aſking of you, in the name of the eternal God, and as your majeſty tenders the peace and quietneſs of this realm, That ye invade us not with any violence, till we receive anſwer from our miſtreſs, and her huſband, and from their adviſed council there: and thus we commit your majeſty to the protection of the Omnipotent. From St. Johnſton, the 22d of May 1559.

Sic ſubſcribitur,

Your majeſty's obedient ſubjects in all things not repugnant to God,

The faithful Congregation of Chriſt Jeſus in Scotland.

To the ſame purpoſe we wrote to monſieur d'Oſel in French, requiring of him, That by his wiſdom he would mitigate the queen's rage, and the rage of the prieſts; otherwiſe, that flame, which then began to burn, would ſo kindle, that when ſome men would, it could not be ſlackened:

adding further, That he declared himſelf no faithful ſervant unto his maſter the king of France, if, for the pleaſure of the prieſts, he would perſecute us, and ſo compel us to take the ſword of juſt defence. In like manner we wrote to captain Serre la Bourſe, and to all the other captains, and French ſoldiers in general, admoniſhing them, that their vocation was not to fight againſt us natural Scotſmen; neither yet that they had any ſuch commandment of their maſter. We beſought them therefore, not to provoke us to enmity againſt them, and to conſider, that they had found us favourable in their moſt extreme neceſſities. We declared further unto them, That if they entered in hoſtility, and bloody war againſt us, that the ſame ſhould remain longer than their own lives, *viz.* even in all poſterity to come, ſo long as natural Scotſmen ſhould have power to revenge ſuch cruelty, and moſt horrible ingratitude.

Theſe letters were cauſed to be ſpread abroad in great abundance, to the end, that ſome might come to the knowledge of men. The queen regent's letter was laid upon her cuſhion in the chapel-royal of Stirling, where ſhe was accuſtomed to ſit at maſs; ſhe looked upon it, and put it in the pocket of her gown. Monſieur d' Oſel and the captains received theirs, delivered even by their own ſoldiers (for ſome amongſt them were favourers of the truth), who, after the reading of them, began to pull their own beards; for that was the modeſt behaviour of monſieur d' Oſel, when the truth was told unto him, ſo that it repugned to his fancy. Theſe our letters were ſuppreſſed to the uttermoſt of their power, and yet they came to the knowledge of many. But the rage of the queen and prieſts could not be ſtaid, but forward they move againſt us, who then were but a very few and mean number of gentlemen in St. Johnſton. We perceiving the extremity to approach, did write to all brethren, to repair towards us for our relief, to the which we found all men ſo ready bent, that the work of God was evidently to be eſpied: the tenor whereof followeth. And becauſe that we would omit no diligence, to declare our innocency to all men, we formed a Letter to thoſe of the nobility, who then perſecuted us, as after followeth:

To the Nobility of Scotland, the Congregation of Chriſt Jeſus within the ſame, deſires the Spirit of righteous Judgment.

BECAUSE we are not ignorant, that ye the nobility of this realm, who now perſecute us, employing your whole ſtudy and force to maintain the kingdom of Satan, of ſuperſtition and idolatry, are yet nevertheleſs divided in opinion; we, the congregation of Chriſt Jeſus, by you unjuſtly perſecuted, have thought good, in one letter, to write unto you ſeverally. Ye are divided, we ſay, in opinion; for ſome of you think, that we, who have taken this enterpriſe to remove idolatry, and the monuments of the ſame, to erect the true preaching of Chriſt Jeſus, in the bounds committed to our charges, are heretics, ſeditious men, and troublers of this commonwealth, and therefore no puniſhment is ſufficient for us; and ſo blinded with this rage, and under pretence to ſerve the authority, ye proclaim war and deſtruction without all order of law againſt us. To you, we ſay, that neither your blind zeal, nor yet the colour of authority, ſhall excuſe you in God's preſence, who commandeth none to ſuffer death, till that he be openly convicted in judgment, to have offended againſt God, and againſt his law written, which no mortal creature is able to prove againſt us; for whatſoever we have done, the ſame we have done at God's commandment, who plainly commands idolatry, and all monuments of the ſame, to be deſtroyed and aboliſhed. Our earneſt and long requeſt hath been, and is, that in open aſſembly it may be diſputed, in preſence of indifferent auditors, whether that theſe abominations, named by the peſtilent Papiſts Religion, which they by fire and ſword defend, be the true religion of Jeſus Chriſt, or not? now, this humble requeſt denied unto us, our lives are ſought in moſt cruel manner; and the nobility (whoſe duty is to defend innocents, and to bridle the fury and rage of wicked men, were it of princes or emperors) do notwithſtanding follow their appetites, and arm yourſelves againſt us your brethren and natural countrymen; yea, againſt us that be innocent and juſt, as concerning all ſuch crimes as be laid to our charges; if ye think that we be criminal, becauſe that we diſſent from your opinion, conſider, we beſeech you, that the prophets under the law, the apoſtles of Chriſt Jeſus after his aſcenſion, his primitive church and holy martyrs, did diſagree from the whole world in their days. And will ye deny, but that their action was juſt, and that all thoſe that perſecuted them were murderers before God? may not the like be true this day? what aſſurance have ye this day of your religion, which the world that day had not of theirs? ye have a multitude that agree with you, and ſo had they; ye have antiquity of time, and that they lacked not; ye have councils,

laws, and men of reputation, that have eſtabliſhed all things, as ye ſuppoſe; but none of all theſe can make any religion acceptable unto God, which only dependeth upon his own will, revealed to man in his moſt ſacred word. It is not then a wonder that ye ſleep in ſo deadly a ſecurity in the matter of your own ſalvation, conſidering, that God giveth unto you ſo manifeſt tokens, that ye and your leaders are both declined from God: for if the tree ſhall be judged by the fruit (as Chriſt Jeſus affirmeth that it muſt needs be), then of neceſſity it is, that your prelates, and the whole rabble of their clergy be evil trees: for if adultery, pride, ambition, drunkenneſs, covetouſneſs, inceſt, unthankfulneſs, oppreſſion, murder, idolatry, and blaſphemy, be evil fruits, there can none of that generation, which claim to themſelves the title of churchmen, be judged to be good trees; for all theſe peſtilent and wicked fruits do they bring forth in greateſt abundance. And if they be evil trees (as ye yourſelves muſt be compelled to confeſs they are), adviſe prudently with what conſciences ye can maintain them, to occupy the room and place in the Lord's vineyard. Do ye not conſider, that in ſo doing ye labour to maintain the ſervants of ſin in their filthy corruption? and ſo conſequently, ye labour that the devil may reign, and ſtill abuſe this realm by all iniquity and tyranny, and that Chriſt Jeſus and his bleſſed goſpel be ſuppreſſed and extinguiſhed. The name and the cloak of the authority which ye pretend, will nothing excuſe you in God's preſence, but rather ſhall ye bear double condemnation; for that ye burden God, as that his good ordinances were the cauſe of your iniquity: all authority which God hath eſtabliſhed, is good and perfect, and is to be obeyed of all men, yea, under pain of damnation.

But do ye not underſtand, that there is a great difference betwixt the authority which is God's ordinance, and the perſons of thoſe which are placed in authority; the authority and God's ordinance can never do wrong; for it commandeth, that vice and wicked men be puniſhed, and virtue with virtuous and juſt men be maintained. But the corrupt perſon placed in this authority, may offend, and moſt commonly doth contrary to this authority; and is then the corruption of man to be followed, by reaſon that it is clothed with the name of authority? or ſhall they that obey the wicked commandment of thoſe that are placed in authority, be excuſable before God? Not ſo; not ſo; but the plagues and vengeances of God taken upon kings, their ſervants and ſubjects, do witneſs to us the plain contrary. Pharaoh was a king, and had his authority of God, who commanded his ſubjects to murder and torment the Iſraelites, and at laſt moſt cruelly to perſecute their lives: but was their obedience (blind rage it ſhould be called) excuſable before God? The univerſal plague doth plainly declare, that the wicked commander, and thoſe that obeyed, were alike guilty before God. And, if the example of Pharaoh ſhall be rejected, becauſe he was an Ethnic, then let us conſider the facts of Saul, he was a king anointed of God, appointed to reign over his people; he commanded to perſecute David, becauſe, as he alledged, David was a traitor, and uſurper of the crown: and likewiſe commanded Abimelech the high-prieſt, and his fellows, to be ſlain; but did God approve any part of this obedience? evident it is, that he did not. And think ye that God will approve in you, that which he did condemn in others? be not deceived, with God there is no ſuch partiality. If ye obey the unjuſt commandments of wicked rulers, ye ſhall ſuffer God's vengeance and juſt puniſhment with them; and therefore, as ye tender your own ſalvation, we moſt earneſtly require of you moderation, and that ye ſtay yourſelves, and the fury of others, from perſecuting of us, till our cauſe be tried in open and lawful judgment.

And now, to you who are perſuaded of the juſtice of our cauſe, who ſometimes have profeſſed Chriſt Jeſus with us, and who alſo have exhorted us to this enterpriſe, and yet have left us in our extreme neceſſity, at leaſt look out through your fingers in this our trouble, as that the matter appertained not unto you, we ſay, that unleſs (all fear and worldly reſpects ſet aſide) ye join yourſelves with us, that, as of God ye are reputed traitors, ſo ſhall ye be excommunicated from our ſociety, and from all participation with us in the adminiſtration of ſacraments: the glory of this victory which God ſhall give to his church, yea, even in the eyes of men, ſhall not appertain to you; but the fearful judgment which apprehended Ananias, and his wife Sapphira, ſhall apprehend you and your poſterity. Ye may perchance contemn and deſpiſe the excommunication of the church, now by God's mighty power erected amongſt us, as a thing of no force; but yet doubt we nothing, but that our church, and the true miniſters of the ſame, have the ſame power which our maſter Chriſt Jeſus granted to his apoſtles in theſe words, 'Whoſe ſins ye 'ſhall forgive, ſhall be forgiven, and whoſe ſins ye 'ſhall retain, ſhall be retained;' and that becauſe they preach, and we believe, the ſame doctrine which

is contained in his moſt bleſſed word; and therefore, except that ye will contemn Chriſt Jeſus, ye neither can deſpiſe our threatening, neither yet refuſe us, calling for your juſt defence. By your fainting, and by extracting of your ſupport, the enemies are encouraged, thinking that they ſhall find no reſiſtance: in which point, God willing, they ſhall be deceived; for if they were ten thouſand, and we but one thouſand, they ſhall not murder the leaſt of our brethren, but we, God aſſiſting us, ſhall firſt commit our lives into the hands of God for their defence; but this ſhall aggravate your condemnation, for ye declare yourſelves both traitors to the truth once profeſſed, and murderers of us and of our brethren, from whom ye withdraw your dutiful and promiſed ſupport, whom your only preſence, to man's judgment, might preſerve from this danger. For our enemies look not to the power of God, but to the force and ſtrength of man; when the number is mean to reſiſt them, then rage they as bloody wolves, but a part equal or able, to reſiſt them by appearance, doth bridle their fury. Examine your own conſciences, and weigh that ſentence of our maſter Chriſt Jeſus, ſaying, 'Whoſoever denieth me, or is aſhamed of 'me before men, I ſhall deny him before my Father.' Now is the day of his battle in this realm, if ye deny us, your brethren, ſuffering for his name's ſake, ye do alſo deny him, as himſelf doth witneſs, in theſe words, 'Whatſoever ye did to any of theſe 'little ones, that ye did to me; and what ye did 'not to one of theſe little ones, that ye did not to 'me.' If theſe ſentences be true, as concerning meat, drink, clothing, and ſuch things as appertain to the body, ſhall they not be likewiſe true in theſe things that appertain to the preſervation of the lives of thouſands, whoſe blood is now ſought, for profeſſion of Chriſt Jeſus? and thus ſhortly we leave you, who ſometimes have profeſſed Chriſt Jeſus with us, to the examination of your own conſciences.

And yet once again of you, who blinded by ſuperſtition, perſecute us, we require moderation, till our cauſe may be tried; which, if ye will not grant unto us for God's cauſe, yet we deſire you to have reſpect to the preſervation of your common country, which we can no ſooner betray into the hands of ſtrangers, than that one of us can deſtroy and murder another. Conſider our petitions, and call for the ſpirit of righteous judgment.

Theſe our letters being divulgate, ſome began to reaſon, whether in conſcience they might invade us, or not, conſidering that we offered due obedience to the authority, requiring nothing but liberty of conſcience, and our religion and fact to be tried by the word of God. Our letters came with convenient expedition to the hands of our brethren in Cunningham and Kyle, who aſſembled at the church of Craigie; where, after ſome contrarious reaſons, Alexander earl of Glencairn, in zeal burſt forth in theſe words, 'Let every man ſerve 'his conſcience, I will, by God's grace, ſee my 'brethren in St. Johnſton; yea, albeit never man 'ſhould accompany me, yet I will go, and if it were 'but with a pike upon my ſhoulder; for I had rather 'die with that company, than live after them.' Theſe words ſo encouraged the reſt, that all decreed to go forward; as that they did ſo ſtoutly, that when the lion-herald in his coat of arms, commanded all men under pain of treaſon to return to their houſes, by public ſound of trumpet in Glaſgow, never man obeyed that charge, but all went forward, as we ſhall after hear. When it was clearly underſtood, that the prelates and their adherents, ſuppreſſing our petitions ſo far as in them lay, did kindle the fury of all men againſt us, it was thought expedient to write unto them ſome declaration of our minds; which we did in this form following:

To the Generation of Antichriſt, the peſtilent Prelates, and their Shavelings within Scotland, the Congregation of Chriſt Jeſus within the ſame, ſaith,

To the end that ye ſhall not be abuſed, thinking to eſcape juſt puniſhment, after that ye, in your blind fury, have cauſed the blood of many to be ſhed, this we notify and declare unto you, That if ye proceed in this your malicious cruelty, ye ſhall be dealt withal, whereſoever ye ſhall be apprehended, as murderers and open enemies to God and unto mankind, and therefore betimes ceaſe from this blind rage; remove firſt from yourſelves your bands of bloody men of war, and reform yourſelves to a more quiet life, and hereafter mitigate ye the authority, which, without crime committed on our part, ye have inflamed againſt us; or elſe, be ye aſſured, That with the ſame meaſure that ye have meaſured againſt us, and yet intend to meaſure to others, it ſhall be meaſured unto you; that is, As ye by tyranny intend not only to deſtroy our bodies, but alſo by the ſame to hold our ſouls in bondage of the devil, ſubject to idolatry, ſo ſhall we with all force and power, which God ſhall grant unto us, execute juſt ven-

geance and puniſhment upon you; yea, we ſhall begin that ſame war which God commanded Iſrael to execute againſt the Canaanites; that is, contract of peace ſhall never be made till that ye deſiſt from your open idolatry and cruel perſecution of God's children. And this we ſignify unto you, in the name of the eternal God, and of his Son Chriſt Jeſus, whoſe verity we profeſs, and goſpel we have preached, and holy ſacraments rightly miniſtered, ſo long as God will aſſiſt us to gain-ſtand your idolatry. Take this for advertiſement, and be not deceived.

Notwithſtanding theſe our requeſts and advertiſements, monſieur d' Oſel and his Frenchmen, with the prieſts and their bands, marched forward againſt St. Johnſton, and approached within ten miles of the town: then repaired the brethren from all quarters for our relief. The gentlemen of Fife, Angus, Mearns, with the town of Dundee, were they that firſt hazarded to reſiſt the enemy; and for that purpoſe was choſen a place of ground, a mile and more diſtant from the town. In this mean time, the lord Ruthven, provoſt of the town of St. Johnſton, and a man whom many judged godly and ſtout, in that action (as in very deed he was, even unto his laſt breath) left the town, and departed firſt to his own place, and after to the queen, whoſe defection and revolt was a great diſcouragement to the hearts of many; and yet did God ſo comfort them, that within the ſpace of twelve hours after, the hearts of all men were ſet up again: for thoſe that were then aſſembled, had not ſo much hope of victory by their own ſtrength, as by the power of him whoſe verity they profeſſed, and began one to comfort another till the whole multitude was erected in a reaſonable hope. The day after that the lord Ruthven departed, which was the four-and-twentieth of May, came the earl of Argyle, lord James prior of St. Andrews, and the lord Semple, directed from the queen regent, to enquire the cauſe of that convocation of lieges there. To whom, when it was anſwered, That it was only to reſiſt the cruel tyranny deviſed againſt that poor town, and the inhabitants of the ſame; they aſked, if we minded not to hold that town againſt the authority, and againſt the regent? To the which queſtion anſwered the lairds of Dun and Petarro, with the congregation of Angus and Mearns, the maſter of Lindſay, the lairds of Lundie, Balvard, and other barons of Fife, That if the queen's majeſty would ſuffer the religion there begun to proceed, and not trouble their brethren and ſiſters that had profeſſed Chriſt Jeſus with them, that the town, they themſelves, and whatſoever to them pertained, ſhould be at the queen's commandment. Which anſwer underſtood, the earl of Argyle and the prior, who both were then Proteſtants, began to muſe, and ſaid plainly, That they were far otherwiſe informed by the queen, *viz.* 'That 'we meant no religion, but a plain rebellion.' To the which when we had anſwered ſimply, and as the truth was, *viz.* That we convened for no other purpoſe but only to aſſiſt our brethren, who then were moſt unjuſtly perſecuted, and therefore we deſired them faithfully to report our anſwer, and to be interceſſors to the queen regent, that ſuch cruelty ſhould not be uſed againſt us, conſidering, that we had offered in our former letters, as well to the queen's majeſty, as to the nobility, our matter to be tried in lawful judgment; they promiſed fidelity in that behalf, which alſo they kept. The day after, which was the five-and-twentieth of May, before that the ſaid lords departed, in the morning John Knox deſired to ſpeak with the ſame lords, which granted unto him, he was conveyed to their lodging by the laird of Balvard: and thus began;

The ORATION *of* JOHN KNOX *to the Lords.*

THE preſent troubles, honourable lords, ought to move the hearts, not only of the true ſervants of God, but alſo of all ſuch as bear any favour unto our country and natural countrymen, to deſcend within themſelves, and deeply to conſider, what ſhall be the end of this pretended tyranny. The rage of Satan ſeeketh the deſtruction of all thoſe that within this realm profeſs Chriſt Jeſus; and they that inflame the queen, and you the nobles againſt us, regard not who prevail, provided that they may abuſe the world, and live at their pleaſure, as heretofore they have done: yea, I fear that ſome ſeek nothing more than the effuſion of Scots blood, to the end that their poſſeſſions may be more patent to others: but becauſe that this is not the principal which I have to ſpeak, omitting the ſame to be conſidered, by the wiſdom of thoſe, to whom the care of the commonwealth appertaineth.

1. I moſt humbly require of you, my lords, in my name, to ſay to the queen regent, That we, whom ſhe in her blind rage doth perſecute, are God's ſervants, faithful and obedient ſubjects to the authority of this realm: that that religion, which ſhe pretendeth to maintain by fire and ſword, is not

the true religion of Chriſt Jeſus, but is expreſsly contrary to the ſame, a ſuperſtition deviſed by the brain of man, which I offer myſelf to prove againſt all that within Scotland will maintain the contrary, liberty of tongue being granted unto me, and God's written word being admitted for judge.

2. I further require your honours, in my name, to ſay unto the queen, That as oft before I have written, ſo now I ſay, That this her enterpriſe ſhall not proſperouſly ſucceed in the end; and albeit for a time ſhe trouble the ſaints of God, for ſhe fights not againſt man only, but againſt the eternal God, and his invincible verity, and therefore the end ſhall be her confuſion, unleſs betimes ſhe repent and deſiſt.

Theſe things I require of you, in the name of the eternal God, as from my mouth, to ſay unto her majeſty, adding that I have been, and am a more aſſured friend to her majeſty than they, that either flattering her, as ſervants to her corrupt appetites, or elſe inflame her againſt us, who ſeek nothing but God's glory to be advanced, vice to be ſuppreſſed, and verity to be maintained in this poor realm.

They all three did promiſe to report his words, ſo far as they could, which afterwards we underſtood they did; yea, the lord Semple himſelf, a man ſold unto ſin, enemy to God and all godlineſs, did yet make ſuch report, that the queen was ſomewhat offended, that any man ſhould uſe ſuch liberty in her preſence. She ſtill proceeded in her malice, for immediately thereafter ſhe ſent her lion-herald with letters, ſtraitly charging all men to avoid the town under the pain of treaſon. Which letters, after he had declared them to the chief men of the congregation, he publicly proclaimed the ſame upon Sunday the twenty-ſeventh of May. In this mean time came ſure knowledge to the queen, to duke Hamilton, and to monſieur d' Oſel, that the earl of Glencairn, the lords Ochiltree and Boyd, the young ſheriff of Air, the lairds of Craigie, Wallace, Seſnock, Carnel, Bar, Gargirth, and the whole congregation of Kyle and Cunningham, approached for our relief; and in very deed they came in ſuch diligence, and ſuch a number, that as the enemy had juſt cauſe to fear, ſo have all that profeſs Chriſt Jeſus juſt matter to praiſe God, for their fidelity and ſtout courage in that need; for by their preſence was the tyranny of the enemy bridled. Their diligence was ſuch, that albeit the paſſage by Stirling, and ſix miles above, was ſtopped (for there lay the queen with her bands, and cauſed the bridges to be cut upon the waters of Forth, Gudy, and Teith, above Stirling), yet made they ſuch expedition through deſert and mountain, that they prevented the enemy, and approached within ſix miles of our camp, which then lay without the town, awaiting upon the enemy, before that any aſſured knowledge came to us of their coming. Their number was judged to be twenty-five hundred men, whereof there were twelve hundred horſemen.

The queen underſtanding how the ſaid earl and lords, with their company, approached, cauſed to beſet all ways, that no advertiſement ſhould come to us; to the end, that we, deſpairing of ſupport, might condeſcend to ſuch appointment as ſhe required: and ſent firſt, to require that ſome diſcreet men of our number would come and ſpeak to duke Hamilton and monſieur d' Oſel (who then with their army lay at Auchterarder, ten miles from St. Johnſton), to the end, that ſome reaſonable appointment might be had. She had perſuaded the earl of Argyle, and all others, that we meant nothing but rebellion; and therefore had he promiſed unto her, that in caſe we would not ſtand content with a reaſonable appointment, he would declare himſelf open enemy unto us, notwithſtanding that he profeſſed the ſame religion with us. From us were ſent the laird of Dun, the laird of Inverquharty, and Thomas Scot of Abbotſhall, to hear what appointment the queen would offer. The duke and monſieur d' Oſel required, That the town ſhould be made patent, and that all things ſhould be referred to the queen's pleaſure. To the which they anſwered, That neither they had commiſſion ſo to promiſe, neither durſt they in conſcience ſo perſuade their brethren; but if the queen would promiſe, That no inhabitants of the town ſhould be troubled for any ſuch crimes as might be alledged againſt them, for the late mutation of religion and aboliſhment of idolatry, and for down-caſting the places of the ſame; if ſhe would ſuffer the religion begun to go forward, and leave the town at her departing free from the garriſons of French ſoldiers; that they would labour at the hands of their brethren, that the queen ſhould be obeyed in all things. Monſieur d' Oſel perceiving the danger to be great, if that a ſudden appointment ſhould not be made, and that they were not able to execute their tyranny againſt us, after that the congregation of Kyle (of whoſe coming we had no advertiſement) ſhould be joined with us, with good words diſmiſſed the ſaid lairds, to perſuade the brethren to quiet con-

cord. To the which we were all ſo well minded, that with one voice they cried, 'Curſed be they 'that ſeek effuſion of blood; let us poſſeſs Chriſt 'Jeſus, and the benefit of his goſpel, and none 'within Scotland ſhall be more obedient ſubjects 'than we ſhall be.'

With all expedition were ſent from Stirling again (after that the coming of the earl of Glencairn was known, for the enemy for fear quaked) the earl of Argyle and lord James aforeſaid; and in their company a crafty man, Mr. Gavin Hamilton, abbot of Kilwinning; who were ſent by the queen to finiſh the appointment aforeſaid: but before that they came, was the earl of Glencairn and his honourable company arrived in the town, and then began all men to praiſe God, for that he had ſo mercifully heard them in their moſt extreme neceſſity, and had ſent unto them ſuch relief as was able, without effuſion of blood, to ſtay the rage of the enemy. The earl of Argyle and lord James did earneſtly perſuade the agreement, to the which all men were willing: but ſome did ſmell the craft of the adverſary, *viz.* That they were minded to keep no point of the promiſe longer than they had obtained their intent. With the earl of Glencairn came our loving brother John Willock; John Knox was in the town before: theſe two went to the earl of Argyle and lord James, accuſing them of infidelity, in ſo far as they had defrauded their brethren of their dutiful ſupport and comfort in their greateſt neceſſity. They anſwered both, That their heart was conſtant with their brethren, and that they would defend that cauſe to the uttermoſt of their power; but becauſe they had promiſed to labour concord, and to aſſiſt the queen, in caſe we refuſed reaſonable offers, in conſcience and honour they could do no leſs than be faithful in their promiſe made; and therefore, they required that the brethren might be perſuaded to conſent to that reaſonable appointment, promiſing in God's preſence, That if the queen did break in any jot thereof, that they with their whole powers, would aſſiſt and concur with the brethren in all times to come. This promiſe made, the preachers appeaſed the multitude, and obtained in the end, that all men did conſent to the appointment foreſaid, which they obtained not without great labours; and no wonder, for many foreſaw the danger to follow, yea, the preachers themſelves, in open ſermon, did affirm plainly, That they were aſſuredly perſuaded, that the queen meant no truth. But to ſtop the mouth of the adverſary, who unjuſtly did burden us with rebellion, they moſt earneſtly required all men to approve the appointment, and ſo to ſuffer hypocriſy to diſcloſe itſelf. This appointment was concluded the twenty-eighth of May; and the day following, at two in the afternoon, departed the congregation from St. Johnſton, after that John Knox had in his ſermon exhorted all men to conſtancy, and unfeignedly to thank God, for that it had pleaſed his mercy to ſtay the rage of the enemy without effuſion of blood: alſo, that no brother ſhould be weary, nor faint, to ſupport ſuch as ſhould after be likewiſe perſecuted; for, ſaid he, I am aſſured, that no part of this promiſe made ſhall be longer kept, than till the queen and her Frenchmen have the upper-hand. Many of the enemies were at the ſame ſermon; for after that the appointment was made, they had free entry in the town to provide lodgings. Before the lords departed, was this bond made, whoſe tenor followeth, as it was written and ſubſcribed:

The Second Covenant at Perth.

At Perth, the laſt day of May, the year of God 1559, the congregations of the Weſt-country, with the congregations of Fife, Perth, Dundee, Angus, Mearns, and Montroſe, being convened in the town of Perth, in the name of Jeſus Chriſt, for ſetting forth of his glory, underſtanding nothing more neceſſary for the ſame, than to keep a conſtant amity, unity, and fellowſhip together, according as they are commanded by God, are confederate, and become bound and obliged in the preſence of God, to concur, and aſſiſt together, in doing all things required of God in his Scripture, that may be to his glory; and at their whole powers, to deſtroy and put away all things that doth diſhonour to his name, ſo that God may be truly and purely worſhipped: and in caſe that any trouble be intended againſt the ſaid congregation, or any part or member thereof, the whole congregation ſhall concur, aſſiſt, and convene together, to the defence of the ſame congregation or perſon troubled, and ſhall not ſpare labours, goods, ſubſtance, bodies, and lives, in maintaining the liberty of the whole congregation, and every member thereof, againſt whatſoever perſon ſhall intend the ſaid trouble, for cauſe of religion, or any other cauſe depending thereupon, or lay to their charge under pretence thereof, although it happen to be coloured with any other outward cauſe.

In witneſſing and teſtimony of the which, the whole congregation aforeſaid have ordained and

appointed the noblemen and perſons under-written, to ſubſcribe theſe preſents.

Sic ſubſcribitur,

ARCH. ARGYLE.
JAMES STUART.
GLENCAIRN.
ROBERT Lord BOYD.
LORD OCHILTRIE.
MATTHEW CAMPBELL of Teringland.

THE twenty-ninth of May entered the queen, the duke, monſieur d' Oſel, and the Frenchmen, who, in diſcharging their volley of hackbuts, did well mark the houſe of Patrick Murray, a man fervent in religion, and that boldly had ſuſtained all danger in that trouble, againſt whoſe ſtair they directed ſix or ſeven ſhot, even againſt the faces of thoſe that were there lying; all men eſcaped, except the ſon of the foreſaid Patrick, a boy of ten or twelve years of age, who being ſlain, was had to the queen's preſence; but ſhe underſtanding whoſe ſon he was, ſaid in mockage, 'It is a pity 'it chanced on the ſon, and not on the father; but 'ſeeing that ſo it is chanced, we cannot be againſt 'fortune.' This was her happy entry in St. Johnſton, and the great zeal ſhe beareth to juſtice. The ſwarm of Papiſts that entered with her, began ſtraight to make proviſion for their maſs; and becauſe the altars were not ſo eaſy to be repaired again, they provided tables, whereof ſome before uſed to ſerve for drunkards, dicers, and carders, but they were holy enough for the prieſt and his pageant. The queen began to rage againſt all godly and honeſt men; their houſes were oppreſſed by the French; the lawful magiſtrates, as well provoſt as bailies, were unjuſtly, and without all order, depoſed from their authority. A wicked man, void of God's fear, and deſtitute of all virtue, the laird of Kinfawns, was by her intruſted provoſt of the town; whereat all honeſt men offended, left their own houſes, and with their wives and children ſought amongſt their brethren ſome reſting-place for a time. She took order, that four colours of the ſoldiers ſhould abide in the town, to maintain idolatry, and to reſiſt the Congregation. Honeſt and indifferent men, aſked why ſhe did ſo manifeſtly violate her promiſe? ſhe anſwered, 'That ſhe was bound to keep no promiſe to here-'tics:' and moreover, that ſhe promiſed only to leave the town free of French ſoldiers, which, ſaid ſhe, ſhe did, becauſe that theſe that therein were left were Scotſmen. But when it was reaſoned in her contrary, That all thoſe that took wages of France were counted French ſoldiers; ſhe anſwered, 'Princes muſt not be ſtraitly bound to 'keep their promiſes? myſelf, ſaid ſhe, would 'make little conſcience, to take from all that ſort 'their lives and inheritance, if I might do it with 'as honeſt an excuſe.' And then ſhe left the town in extreme bondage, after that her ungodly Frenchmen had moſt cruelly uſed the moſt part of thoſe that remained in the ſame. The earl of Argyle, and lord James foreſaid, perceiving in the queen nothing but mere tyranny and falſehood, mindful of their former promiſes made to their brethren, did ſecretly convey themſelves, and their companies off the town; and with them departed the lord Ruthven, of whom before mention is made, then the earl of Montieth, and the laird of Tullybardin, who, in God's preſence, did confederate and bind themſelves together, faithfully promiſing one to aſſiſt and defend another againſt all perſons that would purſue them for religion's ſake; and alſo, that they, with their whole force and power would defend the brethren perſecuted for the ſame cauſe. The queen highly offended at the ſudden departure of the perſons aforeſaid, ſent charges to them to return, under the higheſt pain of her diſpleaſure. But they anſwered, that with ſafe conſcience they could not be partakers of ſo manifeſt tyranny, as was by her committed, and of ſo great iniquity as they perceived deviſed by her, and her ungodly council the prelates. This anſwer was given to her the firſt day of June, and immediately the earl of Argyle and lord James repaired toward St. Andrews: and in their journey, gave advertiſement by writing to the laird of Dun, to the laird of Petarro, to the provoſt of Dundee, and others, profeſſors in Angus, to viſit them in St. Andrews the fourth of June, for reformation to be made there; which day they kept, and brought in their company John Knox, who, the firſt day after his coming to Fife, did preach in Crail, the next day in Anſtruther, minding the third day, which was the Sunday, to preach in St. Andrews. The biſhop hearing of reformation to be made in his cathedral-church, thought time to ſtir, or elſe never; and therefore aſſembled his colleagues, and confederate fellows, beſides his other friends, and came to the town upon the Saturday at night, accompanied with an hundred ſpears, of mind to have ſtopped John Knox from preaching. The two lords and gentlemen aforeſaid, were only accompanied with their quiet houſeholds, and therefore was the ſudden coming of the biſhop the more fearful; for

then was the queen and her Frenchmen departed from St. Johnſton, and were lying in Falkland, within twelve miles of St. Andrews; and the town at that time had not given profeſſion of Chriſt, and therefore could not the lords be aſſured of their friendſhip.

Conſultation being had, many were of mind, that the preaching ſhould be delayed for that day, and eſpecially, that John Knox ſhould not preach; for that did the biſhop affirm that he would not ſuffer, conſidering, that by his commandment the picture of the ſaid John was before burnt. He willed therefore an honeſt gentleman, Robert Colvil of Cliefs, to ſay to the lords, That in caſe John Knox preſented himſelf to the preaching-place, in his town and principal church, he ſhould make him be ſaluted with a dozen of culverins, whereof the moſt part ſhould light upon his noſe. After long deliberation had, the ſaid John was called, that his own judgment might be had: when many perſuaſions were made that he ſhould delay for that time, and great terrors given in caſe he ſhould enterpriſe ſuch a thing, as it were in contempt of the biſhop; he anſwered, 'God is witneſs, that 'I never preached Chriſt Jeſus in contempt of any 'man, neither mind I at any time to preſent my-'ſelf to that place, having either reſpect to my 'own private commodity, either yet to the worldly 'hurt of any creature: but to delay to preach to-'morrow (unleſs the body be violently with-hold-'en), I cannot in conſcience; for in this town and 'church began God firſt to call me to the dignity 'of a preacher, from the which I was reft by the 'tyranny of France, and procurement of the bi-'ſhops, as ye well enough know; how long I con-'tinued priſoner, what torment I ſuſtained in the 'galleys, and what were the ſobs of my heart, is 'now no time to recite. This only I cannot con-'ceal, which more than one hath heard me ſay, 'when my body was abſent from Scotland, that 'my aſſured hope was, in open audience, to preach 'in St. Andrews, before I departed this life; and 'therefore, ſaid he, my lords, ſeeing that God, 'above the expectation of many, hath brought 'my body to the ſame place where firſt I was call-'ed to the office of a preacher, and from the which 'moſt unjuſtly I was removed, I beſeech your ho-'nours, not to ſtop me from preſenting myſelf un-'to my brethren: and as for the fear of danger that 'may come to me, let no man be ſolicitous, for 'my life is in the cuſtody of him whoſe glory I 'ſeek: and therefore I cannot ſo fear their boaſt 'nor tyranny, that I will ceaſe from doing my duty, 'when of his mercy he offereth the occaſion. I 'deſire the hand and weapon of no man to defend 'me, only do I crave audience, which, if it be 'denied here unto me at this time, I muſt ſeek fur-'ther where I may have it.' At theſe words the lords were fully content that he ſhould occupy the place, which he did upon Sunday the tenth of June, and did treat of 'The ejection of the buyers and the 'ſellers forth of the temple of Jeruſalem,' as it is written in the evangeliſts Matthew and John; and ſo he applied the corruption that was then, to the corruption that is in Papiſtry; and Chriſt's fact, to the duty of thoſe to whom God giveth power and zeal thereto; that as well the magiſtrates, the provoſt and bailies, as the commonalty for the moſt part within the town, did agree to remove all monuments of idolatry, which alſo they did with expedition.

The biſhop advertiſed hereof, departed that ſame day to the queen, who lay with her Frenchmen, as is ſaid, in Falkland. The hot fury of the biſhop did ſo kindle her choler (and yet the love was very cold betwixt them), that without farther delay concluſion was taken, to invade St. Andrews, and the two young lords aforeſaid, who then were very ſlenderly accompanied. Poſts were ſent from the queen with all diligence to Cupar, diſtant only ſix miles from St. Andrews, to prepare lodgings and victuals for the queen and her Frenchmen. Lodgings were aſſigned, and furriers were ſent before: which thing underſtood, council was given to the lords to march forward, and to prevent them before they came to Cupar, which they did, giving advertiſement to all brethren with all poſſible expedition to repair towards them, which they alſo did, with ſuch diligence, that in their aſſembly the wonderous work of God might have been eſpied: for when at night the lords came to Cupar, they were not an hundred horſe, and ſome few footmen whom the lord James brought from the coaſt-ſide; and yet before the next day at noon (which was Tueſday the thirteenth of June) their number paſſed three thouſand men, which by God's providence came unto the lords; from Lothian, the lairds of Ormiſton, Calder, Hatton, Reſtalrig, and Colſton; who albeit they underſtood, at their departing from their own houſes, no ſuch trouble, yet were they by their good counſel very comfortable that day: the lord Ruthven came from St. Johnſton with ſome horſemen with him; the earl of Rothes, ſheriff of Fife, came with an honeſt company. The towns of Dundee and St. Andrews declared themſelves both ſtout and faithful.

Cupar, becauſe it ſtood in greateſt danger, was aſſiſted with their whole force. Finally, God did ſo multiply our number, that it appeared as men had rained from the clouds.

The enemy underſtanding nothing of our force, aſſured themſelves of victory. Who had been in Falkland the night before, might have ſeen embracing and kiſſing betwixt the queen, the duke, and the biſhop. But Mr. Gavin Hamilton, gaper for the biſhopric of St. Andrews, above all others was lovingly embraced by the queen; for he made his ſolemn vow, That he would fight, and that he would never return till he had brought theſe traitors to her majeſty, either alive or dead. And thus before midnight did they ſend forward their ordnance; themſelves did follow before three in the morning. The lords hereof advertiſed, aſſembled their company early in the morning upon Cuparmuir; where, by the advice of Mr. James Haliburton, provoſt of Dundee, was choſen a place of ground convenient for our defence; for it was ſo choſen, that upon all ſides our ordnance might have beaten the enemy, and yet we have ſtood in ſafety, if we had been purſued, till we had come to hand-ſtrokes. The lord Ruthven took the charge of the horſemen, and ordered them ſo, that the enemy was never permitted to eſpy our number; the day was dark, which helped thereto. The enemy, as before is ſaid, thinking to have found no reſiſtance, after that they had twice or thrice made ſhew unto us, as that they would retire, marched forward with great expedition, and approached within a mile, before that ever their horſemen ſtaid; and yet they kept betwixt us and them a water for their ſtrength. It appeared to us, that either they marched for Cupar or St. Andrews, and therefore our horſemen in their troop, and a part of the footmen, with the ordnance, marched ſomewhat always before them for ſafety of the town.

The lords, with the gentlemen of Fife, and ſo many of Angus and Mearns as were preſent, kept themſelves cloſe in a knot, near to the number of a thouſand ſpears. The towns of Dundee and St. Andrews were arrayed in another battle, who came not to the ſight of the enemy, till that after twelve of the clock the miſt began to vaniſh, and then paſſed ſome of their horſemen to a mountain, from the height whereof they might diſcern our number; which perceived by them, their horſemen and footmen ſtaid incontinent: poſts ran to the duke and monſieur d' Oſel, to declare our number, and what order we kept: and then were mediators ſent to make appointment; but they were not ſuffered to approach near to the lords, neither yet to the view of our camp, which put them in great fear. Anſwer was given unto them, That as we had offended no man, ſo would we ſeek appointment of no man; but if any would ſeek our lives (as we were informed they did), they ſhould find us, if they pleaſed to make diligence. This anſwer received, were ſent again the lord Lindſay, and laird of Wauchton, who earneſtly requeſted us to concord, and that we would not be the occaſion that innocent blood ſhould be ſhed. We anſwered, That neither had we quarrel againſt any man, neither yet ſought we any man's blood, only we were convened for defence of our own lives unjuſtly ſought by others. We added further, That if they could find the mean, that we and our brethren might be free from the tyranny deviſed againſt us, that they ſhould reaſonably deſire nothing which ſhould be denied for our part. This anſwer received, the duke and monſieur d' Oſel, having commiſſion of the queen regent, required, That aſſurance might be taken for eight days; to the end, that indifferent men in the mean time might commune upon ſome final agreement of thoſe things, which were then in controverſy. Hereto did we fully conſent, albeit that in number and force we were far ſuperior; and, for teſtification hereof, we ſent unto them our handwrits, and we likewiſe received theirs, with promiſe, That within two or three days, ſome diſcreet men ſhould be ſent to us to St. Andrews, with further knowledge of the queen's mind. The tenor of the Aſſurance was this.

The Aſſurance.

We James duke of Chattelherauld, earl of Arran, lord Hamilton, and my lord d' Oſel, lieutenant for the king in theſe parts, for ourſelves, our aſſiſters, and partakers, being preſently with us in company, by the tenor hereof, promiſe faithfully in honour to my lords Archibald earl of Argyle, and James, commendator of the priory of St. Andrews, to their aſſiſtants and partakers, being preſently with them in company, That we, and our company aforeſaid, ſhall retire incontinent to Falkland, and ſhall with diligence tranſport the Frenchmen, and our other folk now preſently with us; and that no Frenchmen, or other ſoldiers of ours, ſhall remain within the bounds of Fife, but ſo many as, before the raiſing of the laſt army, lay in Dyſart, Kirkcaldy, and Kinghorn, and the ſame to lie in the ſame places only, if we ſhall think good;

and this to have effect for the ſpace of eight days following the date hereof excluſive: that in the mean time certain noblemen, by the advice of the queen and the reſt of the council, may convene to talk of ſuch things as may make good order and quietneſs amongſt the queen's lieges. And further, We, nor none of our aſſiſters being preſent with us, ſhall invade, trouble, or diſquiet the ſaid lords nor their aſſiſters, during the ſaid ſpace: and this we bind and oblige us, upon our loyal fidelity and honour, to obſerve and keep in every point above-written, without fraud or guile. In witneſs whereof, we have ſubſcribed theſe preſents with our own hands. At Garlebank, the thirteenth day of June, 1559.

Subſcribed,

JAMES HAMILTON.
MENEITS D' OSEL.

And this received, we departed firſt, becauſe we were thereto requeſted by the duke; and ſo we returned to Cupar, lauding and praiſing God, for his mercy ſhewed: and thereafter every man departed to his dwelling-place. The lords, and a great part of the gentlemen, paſſed to St. Andrews, who there abode certain days, ſtill looking for thoſe that were promiſed to come from the queen for appointment to be made: but we perceiving her craft and deceit (for under that aſſurance, ſhe meant nothing elſe but to convey herſelf, her ordnance, and Frenchmen, over the water of Forth), took conſultation what ſhould be done for delivering St. Johnſton from theſe ungodly ſoldiers, and how our brethren, exiled from their own houſes, might be reſtored again. It was concluded, That the brethren of Fife, Angus, Mearns, and Strathern, ſhould convene at St. Johnſton the four-and-twentieth day of June for that purpoſe; and in the mean time were theſe Letters written by the earl of Argyle and lord James to the queen then regent.

Letters to the Queen Regent.

MADAM,

AFTER our hearty commendations of ſervice, this ſhall be to ſhew your majeſty, That upon the thirteenth day of June, we were informed by them that were communers betwixt the duke, monſieur d' Oſel, and us, That we ſhould have ſpoken irreverently of your majeſty, which we beſeech your majeſty, for the true ſervice that we have made, and are ready to make at all times to your majeſty, that of your goodneſs, you will let us know the ſayers thereof, and we ſhall do the duty of true ſubjects, to defend our own innocency: as we take God to witneſs of the good zeal and love we bear towards you, to ſerve you with true hearts, and all that we have, as well lands as goods; deſiring no other thing for our ſervice, but the liberty of our conſcience to ſerve our Lord God, as we ſhall anſwer to him, which your majeſty ought and ſhould give us unrequired. Moreover, pleaſe your majeſty, That the duke and the noblemen being in Stirling for the time, by your majeſty's advice, ſolicited us to preſs the Congregation aſſembled at the town of Perth, to commune of concord, where we did our exact diligence, and brought it to paſs, as your majeſty knows. And there is a point, that we plainly ſee is not obſerved to us, which is, That no ſoldier ſhould remain in the town after your majeſty's departing. And ſuppoſe it may be inferred, that it was ſpoken of French ſoldiers only, yet we took it otherwiſe, like as we do yet, That Scotſmen, or any other nation, taking wages of the king of France, are reputed and holden French ſoldiers. Therefore, ſeeing we of good will and mind brought that matter to your majeſty's contentment, it will pleaſe your majeſty of your goodneſs to remove the ſoldiers and their captains, with others that have gotten charge of the town, that the ſame may be guided and ruled freely, as it was before, by the bailies and council, conform to their infeftments given to them, by the ancient and moſt excellent kings of this realm, to elect and chuſe their officers at Michaelmas, and they to endure for the ſpace of one year, conform to the old rite and cuſtom of this realm; which being done by your majeſty, we truſt the better ſucceſs ſhall follow thereupon to your majeſty's content, as the bearer will declare at more length to your majeſty; whom God preſerve.

To St. Johnſton, with the gentlemen before expreſſed, did convene the earl of Monteith, the laird of Glenurquhar, and divers others, who before had not preſented themſelves for defence of their brethren. When the whole multitude was convened, a trumpet was ſent by the lords, commanding the captains and their bands to avoid the town, and to leave it to the ancient liberty and juſt inhabitants of the ſame: alſo, commanding the laird of Kinfawns, put in provoſt by the queen, with the captains aforeſaid, to open the gates of the town, and make the ſame patent to all our ſo-

vereign's lieges, to the effect, that as well true religion, now once begun therein, may be maintained, and idolatry utterly fuppreſſed; as alſo, the ſaid town might enjoy and bruik their ancient laws and liberties, unoppreſſed by men of war, according to their old privileges, granted to them by the ancient princes of this realm, and conform to the proviſion contained in the contract of marriage, made by the nobility and parliament of this realm, with the king of France; bearing namely, That our old laws and liberties ſhould not be altered; adding thereto, If they fooliſhly reſiſted, and therein happened to commit murder, that they ſhould be treated as murderers. To the which they anſwered proudly, That they would keep and defend that town, according to their promiſe made to the queen regent. This anſwer received, preparation was made for the ſiege and aſſault: for, amongſt all, it was concluded that the town ſhould be ſet at liberty, to what danger ſoever their bodies ſhould be expoſed. While preparation was making, came the earl of Huntly, the lord Erſkine, Mr. John Ballenden juſtice-clerk, requiring that the purſuit of the town ſhould be delayed. To ſpeak to them, were appointed the earl of Argyle, lord James, and lord Ruthven, who perceiving in them nothing but a drift of time, without any aſſurance that the former wrongs ſhould be redreſſed, gave unto them a ſhort and plain anſwer, That they would not delay their purpoſe an hour; and therefore willed them to certify the captains in the town, that if by pride and fooliſhneſs they would keep the town, and in ſo doing ſlay any of their brethren, that they ſhould every one die as murderers. The earl of Huntly, diſpleaſed at this anſwer, departed, and was highly offended that he could not dreſs ſuch an appointment, as ſhould have contented the queen and the prieſts. After their departing, the town was again ſummoned; but the captains ſuppoſing that no ſudden purſuit ſhould be made, and looking for relief to have been ſent from the queen, abode in their former opinion.

And ſo upon Saturday the twenty-fifth of June, at ten of the clock at night, the lord Ruthven, who beſieged the weſt quarter, commanded to ſhoot the firſt volley; which being done, the town of Dundee did the like, whoſe ordnance lay on the eaſt ſide of the bridge. The captains and ſoldiers within the town, perceiving that they were unable long to reſiſt, required aſſurance till twelve o'clock upon the morrow, promiſing, That if before that hour there came unto them no relief from the queen regent, that they would render the town, provided that they ſhould be ſuffered to depart the town with enſign diſplayed. We thirſting for the blood of no man, and ſeeking only the liberty of our brethren, condeſcended to their deſires, albeit that we might have executed againſt them judgment without mercy; for that they had refuſed our former favours, and had ſlain one of our brethren, and had hurt two in their reſiſtance; and yet we ſuffered them freely to depart without any further moleſtation. The town being delivered from their thraldom, upon Sunday the twenty-ſixth of June, thanks was given to God for this great benefit received, and conſultation was taken what was further to be done.

In this mean time, zealous men, conſidering how obſtinate, proud, and deſpiteful the biſhop of Murray had been before, how he had threatened the town by his ſoldiers and friends who lay in Scoon, thought good that ſome order ſhould be taken with him, and with that place, which lay near to the town's end. The lords wrote unto him (for he lay within two miles of St. Johnſton), That unleſs he would come and aſſiſt them, they neither could ſpare nor ſave his place. He anſwered by his writing, That he would come, and would do as they thought expedient: that he would aſſiſt them with his force, and would conſent with them againſt the reſt of the clergy in parliament. But becauſe this anſwer was ſlow in coming, the town of Dundee, partly offended for the ſlaughter of their man, and eſpecially bearing no good favour to the ſaid biſhop, for that he was, and is chief enemy to Chriſt Jeſus, and that by his counſel alone was Walter Mile our brother put to death, they marched forward: to ſtay them was firſt ſent the provoſt of Dundee, and his brother Alexander Haliburton captain, who little prevailing, was ſent unto them John Knox; but before his coming, they were entered to the pulling down of the idols and dortoir. And albeit the ſaid Mr. James Haliburton, Alexander his brother, and the ſaid John, did what in them lay to have ſtaid the fury of the multitude, yet were they not able to put order univerſally; and therefore they ſent for the lords, earl of Argyle and lord James, who coming with all diligence, laboured to have ſaved the place and the church. But becauſe the multitude had found buried in the church a great number of hid goods, of purpoſe to have preſerved them to a better day, as the Papiſts ſpeak, the towns of Dundee and St. Johnſton could not be

ſatisfied, till that the whole reparation and ornaments of the church, as they term it, were deſtroyed; and yet did the lords ſo travel, that they ſaved the biſhop's palace, with the church and place for that night: for the two lords did not depart, till they brought with them the whole number of thoſe that moſt ſought the biſhop's diſpleaſure. The biſhop, greatly offended that any thing ſhould have been enterpriſed in reformation of his place, aſked of the lords his bond and handwriting, which not two hours before he had ſent unto them; which delivered to his meſſenger Sir Adam Brown, advertiſement was given, That if any farther diſpleaſure chanced unto him, they would that he ſhould not blame them. The biſhop's ſervants that ſame night began to fortify the place again, and began to do violence to ſome that were carrying away ſuch baggage as they could come by. The biſhop's girnal was kept the firſt night by the labours of John Knox, who by exhortation removed ſuch as violently would make interruption. The ſame night departed from St. Johnſton the earl of Argyle, and lord James, as after ſhall be declared.

The morrow following, ſome of the poor in hope of ſpoil, and ſome of Dundee to conſider what was done, paſſed up to the ſaid abbey of Scoon; whereat the biſhop's ſervants offended, began to threaten and ſpeak proudly; and, as it was conſtantly affirmed, one of the biſhop's ſons thruſt through with a rapier one of Dundee, becauſe he was looking in at the girnal-door. This report noiſed abroad, the town of Dundee was more enraged than before; who putting themſelves in armour, ſent word to the inhabitants of St. Johnſton, that unleſs they would ſupport them to avenge that injury, they ſhould never after that day concur with them in any action. The multitude eaſily inflamed, gave the alarm, and ſo was that abbey and palace appointed to ſackage, in doing whereof they took no long deliberation, but committed the whole to the fire: whereat no ſmall number of us were ſo offended, that patiently we could not ſpeak to any that were of Dundee or St. Johnſton. A poor aged matron, ſeeing the flame of fire to paſs up ſo mightily, and perceiving that many were thereat offended, in plain and ſober manner of ſpeaking, ſaid, 'Now I ſee 'and underſtand that God's judgments are juſt, and 'that no man is able to ſave where he will puniſh; 'ſince my remembrance, this place hath been no-'thing elſe but a den of whoremongers: it is in-'credible to believe how many wives have been 'adulterate, and virgins deflowered, by the filthy 'beaſts which have been foſtered in this den; but 'eſpecially by that wicked man who is called the 'biſhop. If all men knew as much as I, they 'would praiſe God, and no man would be offend-'ed.' This woman dwelt in the town nigh to the abbey. At whoſe words were many pacified, affirming with her, that it was God's juſt judgment. And aſſuredly, if the labours or travel of any man could have ſaved that place, it had not been at that time deſtroyed; for men of greateſt eſtimation laboured with all diligence for the ſafety of it.

While theſe things were done at St. Johnſton, the queen fearing what ſhould follow, determined to ſend certain bands of French ſoldiers to Stirling, of purpoſe to ſtop the paſſage to us that then were upon the north ſide of Forth. Which underſtood, the earl of Argyle and lord James departed ſecretly in the night, and with great expedition preventing the French, they took the town (before whoſe coming the raſcal multitude put hands on the thieves, I ſhould ſay friars places, and utterly deſtroyed them); whereat the queen and her faction not a little afraid, with all diligence departed from Edinburgh to Dunbar: and ſo we with reaſonable diligence marched forward to Edinburgh, for reformation to be made there, where we arrived the 29th of June. The provoſt for that time, the lord Seton, a man without God, without honeſty, and oftentimes without reaſon, had before greatly troubled and moleſted the brethren; for he had taken upon him the protection and defence of the black and gray friars; and for that purpoſe did not only lie himſelf in one of the colleges every night, but alſo conſtrained the moſt honeſt of the town to watch thoſe monſters, to their great grief and trouble. But hearing of our ſudden coming, he abandoned his charge, and left the ſpoil to the poor, who had made havock of all ſuch things as were moveable in thoſe places before our coming, and left nothing but bare walls, yea, not ſo much as door or window; whereby we were the leſs troubled in putting order to ſuch places. After that we had deliberated certain days what was beſt to be done, and what order was to be taken for ſuppreſſing all monuments of idolatry within that town, and the places next adjacent, determination was taken to ſend ſome meſſage to the queen then regent: for ſhe had reported (as her accuſtomed manner was, by advice of her council, ever to forge lies), that we ſought nothing but her life, and a plain revolt from the lawful obedience due to our

ſovereign's authority; as by the tenor of theſe Letters may be ſeen:

FRANCIS and MARY, by the grace of God, king and queen of Scots, dauphin and dauphineſs of Viennois: to our loved lion king of arms, &c. Our ſheriffs in that part, conjunctly and ſeverally, ſpecially conſtitute, greeting, Foraſmuch as our deareſt mother Mary, queen dowager, regent of our realm, and the lords of our ſecret council, perceiving the ſeditious tumult raiſed by one part of our lieges, naming themſelves, The Congregation; who, under pretence of religion, have put themſelves in arms: and that our mother, for ſatisfying of every man's conſcience, and pacifying of the ſaid troubles, had offered unto them to appoint a parliament to be holden in January next to come (this was a manifeſt lie, for this was neither offered, nor by her once thought upon, till we required it), or ſooner, if they had pleaſed, for eſtabliſhing of an univerſal order in matters of religion, by our advice, and eſtates of our realm; and, in the mean time, to ſuffer every man to live at liberty of conſcience without trouble, unto the time that the ſaid order were taken, by advice of our foreſaid eſtates: and, at laſt, becauſe it appeareth much to ſtand upon our burgh of Edinburgh, offered in like manner to let the inhabitants thereof chuſe what manner of religion they would ſet up and uſe for that time, ſo that no man might alledge that he was forced to do againſt his conſcience; which offer the queen, our ſaid deareſt mother, was at all times, and yet is ready to fulfil: nevertheleſs, the ſaid Congregation being of mind to receive no reaſonable offers, hath ſince by open deed declared, that it is no religion, nor any thing thereto pertaining, that they ſeek, but only the ſubverſion of our authority, and uſurpation of our crown: in manifeſt witneſſing whereof, they daily receive Engliſhmen with meſſages unto them, and ſend ſuch like into England; and laſt of all, have violently intermeddled with, taken, and yet with-hold the irons of our coining-houſe, which is one of the chief points that concerneth our crown: and ſuch like have intromitted with our palace of Holy-rood-houſe. Our will is therefore, &c. that ye paſs to the market-croſs of our ſaid burgh of Edinburgh, or any other place within the ſame, and there, by open proclamation, in our name and authority, command and charge all and ſundry perſons of the ſaid Congregation, or yet being preſently within our ſaid burgh, other than the inhabitants thereof, that they, within ſix hours next after our ſaid charge, depart forth of the ſame, under the pain of treaſon. And alſo, that ye command all and ſundry perſons to leave their company, and to adhere to our authority; with certification, that ſuch as do the contrary, ſhall be reputed and holden as manifeſt traitors to our crown.

Theſe letters did not a little grieve us, who moſt unjuſtly were accuſed: for never a ſentence of the narrative is true, except, that we ſtaid the irons, and that for juſt cauſe; *viz.* becauſe that daily there was ſuch number of hard heads printed, that the baſeneſs thereof made all things exceeding dear; and therefore we were counſelled by the wiſeſt, to ſtay the irons till further order might be taken. The queen regent, with all poſſible diligence, poſted for her faction: Mr. James Balfour was not idle in the mean time. The lords, to purge themſelves of theſe odious crimes, wrote to her a Letter, in form as after followeth:

PLEASE your majeſty to be advertiſed, that it is come to our knowledge, that your majeſty hath ſet forth by your letters openly proclaimed, That we, called by name, The Congregation, under pretence and colour of religion, convene together to no other purpoſe but to uſurp our ſovereign's authority, and to invade your perſon, repreſenting theirs at this preſent. Which things appear to have proceeded of ſiniſter information made to your majeſty by our enemies, conſidering that we never minded ſuch thing, but only our mind and purpoſe was, and is, to promote and ſet forth the glory of God, maintain and defend the true preachers of his word, and, according to the ſame, aboliſh and put away idolatry and falſe abuſes which may not ſtand with the ſaid word of God; beſeeching your majeſty to bear patiently therewith, and interpoſe your authority to the furtherance of the ſame, as is the duty of every Chriſtian prince, and good magiſtrate: for as to the obedience of our ſovereign's authority in all civil and politic matters, we are, and ſhall be as obedient as any other of your majeſty's ſubjects within the realm; and that our convention is for no other purpoſe, but to ſave our preachers and their auditors from the injury and violence of our enemies; which ſhould be more amply declared by ſome of us in your majeſty's preſence, if ye were not accompanied with ſuch as have purſued our lives, and ſought our blood. Thus we pray Almighty God to have your highneſs in his eternal tuition. At Edinburgh, the 2d of July 1559.

And, for further purgation hereof, it was thought neceſſary that we ſhould ſimply expoſe, as well to her majeſty as to the whole people, what were our requeſts and juſt petitions; and, for that purpoſe, after that ſafe conduct was purchaſed and granted, we directed unto her two grave men of our council, *viz.* the lairds of Petarro and Cunninghamhead, to whom we gave commiſſion and power, firſt to expoſe our whole purpoſe and intent, which was no other than before at all times we had required; *viz. firſt*, That we might enjoy the liberty of conſcience. *Secondly*, That Chriſt Jeſus might be truly preached, and his holy ſacraments rightly miniſtered unto us. *Thirdly*, That unable miniſters might be removed from eccleſiaſtical adminiſtration; and that our preachers might be relaxed from the horn, and permitted to execute their charges without moleſtation, until ſuch time as, either by a general council lawfully convened, or by a parliament within the realm, the controverſies in religion were decided. And for declaration that her majeſty was hereto willing, that the bands of Frenchmen, who then were a burden intolerable to the country, and to us ſo fearful, that we durſt not in peaceable and quiet manner haunt the places where they did lie, ſhould be ſent to France their native country: which things granted, her majeſty ſhould have experience of our accuſtomed obedience. To theſe heads ſhe did anſwer at the firſt ſo pleaſantly, that ſhe put both our commiſſioners in full hope that all ſhould be granted; and for that purpoſe ſhe deſired to ſpeak with ſome of greater authority, promiſing, that if they would aſſure her of their dutiful obedience, that ſhe would deny nothing of that which was required. For ſatisfaction of her mind, we ſent again the earl of Glencairn, the lord Ruthven, the lord Ochiltrie, and the ſaid laird of Petarro, with the ſame commiſſion as before. But then ſhe began to handle the matter more craftily, complaining, that ſhe was not ſought in a gentle manner; and that they in whom ſhe had put moſt ſingular confidence, had left her in her greateſt need; and ſuch other things pertaining nothing to the commiſſion, propoſed ſhe to ſpend and put off the time. They anſwered, That by unjuſt tyranny deviſed againſt them and their brethren (as her majeſty did well know), they were compelled to ſeek the extreme remedy; and therefore, that her majeſty ought not to wonder though godly men left the company where they neither found fidelity nor truth.

In the end of this communing, which was the twelfth day of July 1559, ſhe deſired to have talked privately with the earl of Argyle and lord James, prior of St. Andrews: for elſe, as ſhe alledged, ſhe could not but ſuſpect, that they pretended to ſome other higher purpoſe than religion: ſhe and her crafty council had abuſed duke Hamilton, perſuading him and his friends, that the ſaid earl and lord James had conſpired, firſt to deprive our ſovereign, her daughter, of her authority; and thereafter, the duke, and his ſucceſſors, of their pretended title to the crown of Scotland. By theſe invented lies ſhe inflamed the hearts of many againſt us, inſomuch that ſome of our number began to murmur: which perceived, as well the preachers in their public ſermons, as we ourſelves by our public proclamation, gave purgation and ſatisfaction to the people, plainly and ſimply declaring what was our purpoſe; taking God to witneſs, that no ſuch crimes ever entered into our hearts, as moſt unjuſtly were laid to our charge. The council, after conſultation, thought it not expedient that the ſaid earl and lord James ſhould talk with the queen in any ſort; for her former practices put all men in ſuſpicion, that ſome deceit lurked under ſuch coloured communing. She had before ſaid, That if ſhe could by any means ſunder theſe two from the reſt, ſhe was aſſured ſhortly to come to her whole purpoſe. And one of her chief council in thoſe days (and we fear but too inward with her yet) ſaid, That ere Michaelmas-day theſe two ſhould loſe their heads; and therefore, all men feared to commit two ſuch young plants to her mercy and fidelity. It was therefore finally denied, that they ſhould talk with the queen, or any appertaining to her, but in places void of all ſuſpicion, where they ſhould be equal in number with thoſe that ſhould talk with them.

The queen perceiving that her craft could not prevail, was content that duke Hamilton, and the earl of Huntly, with others by her appointed, ſhould convene at Preſton, to commune with the ſaid earl and lord James, and ſuch others as the lords of the Congregation would appoint, to the number of an hundred on each ſide; of the which number, eight perſons only ſhould meet for conference. The principals for their party were, the duke, the earl Huntly, the lords Erſkine and Somervel, Mr. Gavin Hamilton, and the juſtice-clerk: from us were directed the earls of Argyle and Glencairn, the lords Ruthven and lord James, Boyd and Ochiltrie, the lairds Dun and Petarro; who convening at Preſton, ſpake the whole day without any certain concluſion; for this was the

practice of the queen and of her faction, by drift of time to weary our company, who for the moſt part had been upon the fields from the tenth day of May; that we being diſperſed, ſhe might come to her purpoſe: in which ſhe was not altogether deceived; for our commons were compelled to ſcatter for lack of expences, and our gentlemen, partly conſtrained by lack of furniſhing, and partly hoping for ſome final appointment after ſo many communings, returned for the moſt part to their dwelling-places, for repoſing of themſelves.

The queen in all thoſe conventions ſeemed that ſhe would give liberty to religion, provided, 'That whereſoever ſhe was, our preachers ſhould 'ceaſe, and the maſs ſhould be maintained.' We, perceiving her malicious craft, anſwered, 'That as 'we would compel her majeſty to no religion, ſo 'could we not in conſcience, for the pleaſure of 'any earthly creature, put ſilence to God's true 'meſſengers; neither could we ſuffer that the 'right adminiſtration of Chriſt's true ſacraments 'ſhould give place to manifeſt idolatry, for in ſo 'doing we ſhould declare ourſelves enemies to God, 'to Chriſt Jeſus his Son, to his eternal verity, 'and to the liberty and eſtabliſhment of his church 'within this realm; for your requeſt being grant-'ed, there can no church within the ſame be ſo 'eſtabliſhed, but at your pleaſure, and by your reſi-'dence and remaining there, ye might overthrow 'the ſame.' This our laſt anſwer we ſent unto her with the lord Ruthven and the laird of Petarro, requiring of her majeſty, in plain words, to ſignify unto us what hope we might have of her favour towards the up-ſetting of religion? We alſo required, That ſhe would remove her Frenchmen, who were a fear to us, and a burden moſt grievous to our country; and that ſhe would promiſe to us, on the word of a princeſs, that ſhe would procure no man to be ſent in: and then ſhould we not only ſupport to the uttermoſt of our powers to furniſh ſhips and victuals for their tranſporting, but alſo upon our honours ſhould we take her body into our protection; and ſhould promiſe, in the preſence of God and the whole realm, to ſerve our ſovereign her daughter, and her majeſty regent, as faithfully and as obediently as ever did we kings in Scotland. That, moreover, we ſhould cauſe our preachers give reaſon of their doctrine, in her audience, to any that pleaſed to impugn any thing that they did or taught: finally, that we ſhould ſubmit ourſelves to a lawful parliament, provided that the biſhops, as the party accuſed, and our plain enemies, ſhould be removed from judgment.

To no point would ſhe anſwer directly, but in all things ſhe was ſo general and ambiguous, that her craft appeared to all men: ſhe had gotten aſſured knowledge that our company was ſcattered (for her Frenchmen were daily amongſt us, without moleſtation or hurt done unto them), and therefore ſhe began to diſcloſe her mind, and ſaid, The Congregation hath reigned theſe two months paſt, I myſelf would reign now other two. The malice of her heart being plainly perceived, deliberation was had what was to be done: it was concluded, That the lords, barons, and gentlemen, with their chief domeſtics, ſhould remain at Edinburgh that whole winter, for eſtabliſhing of the church there: and becauſe it was found, that by the corrupting of our money the queen made to herſelf immoderate gains, for maintaining of her ſoldiers, to the deſtruction of the whole commonwealth; it was thought neceſſary, that the printing-irons, and all things pertaining thereto, ſhould be ſtaid, for fear that ſhe ſhould privily cauſe tranſport them to Dunbar.

In this mean time came aſſured word, firſt, that the king of France was hurt, and after, that he was dead: which albeit it ought to have put her in mind of her own eſtate and wicked enterpriſes; for he, that ſame time, in the fulneſs of his glory, as ſhe herſelf uſed to ſpeak, had determined moſt cruel perſecutions againſt the ſaints of God in France, even as ſhe herſelf was here perſecuting in Scotland; and yet he ſo periſhed in his pride, that all men might ſee that God's juſt vengeance did ſtrike him, even when his iniquity was come to full ripeneſs: albeit we ſay, that this wonderous work of God, in his ſudden death, ought to have daunted her fury, and given unto her admonition, that the ſame God would not ſuffer her obſtinate malice againſt his truth long to be unpuniſhed; yet could her obdurate heart nothing be moved to repentance: for hearing of the ſtaying of the printing-irons, ſhe raged more outrageouſly than before; and ſending for all ſuch as were of her faction, expoſed her grievous complaint, aggravating the ſame with many lies, *viz.* That we had declared that which before ſhe ſuſpected; for what could we mean elſe but the uſurpation of the crown, when we durſt put hands to the coining-houſe, which was a portion of the patrimony of the crown. She further alledged, That we had ſpoiled the coining-houſe of great ſums of money.

To the which we anſwered, both by our letters ſent to her and her council, and by public proclamation to the people, That we, without uſurpa-

tion of any ſuch things juſtly appertaining to the crown of Scotland, did ſtay the printing-irons, in conſideration that the commonwealth was greatly hurt by corrupting of our money. And becauſe we were born counſellors of this realm, ſworn to procure the profit of the ſame, we could do no leſs of duty and of conſcience, than to ſtay that for a time, which we ſaw ſo abuſed, that unleſs remedy were found, ſhould turn to the utter detriment of the whole body of this realm. And as to her falſe accuſation of ſpoil, we did remit us to the conſcience of Mr. Robert Richardſon, maſter of the coining-houſe, who from our hands received ſilver, gold, and metal, as well coined as uncoined; ſo that with us there did not remain the value of a halfpenny, or farthing. This our declaration and purgation notwithſtanding, ſhe, partly by her craft and policy, and partly by the labours of the biſhops of St. Andrews and Glaſgow, procured the whole number that were with her, to conſent to purſue us with all cruelty and expedition, before that we could have our company (which then was diſperſed for new furniſhing) aſſembled again.

The certainty hereof coming to our knowledge the Saturday at night, being the 25th of July, we did what in us lay to give advertiſement to our brethren; but impoſſible it was that the Weſt, Angus, Mearns, Strathern, or Fife, in any number could come to us; for the enemy marched from Dunbar upon the Sunday, and approached within two miles of us before ſun-riſing on Monday; for they verily ſuppoſed to have found no reſiſtance, being aſſured, that the lords only, with certain gentlemen, remained with their private houſes. Calling upon God for counſel in that ſtrait, we ſought what was the next defence: we might have left the town, and might have retired ourſelves without any danger; but then we ſhould have abandoned our brethren of Edinburgh, and ſuffered the miniſtry thereof to have decayed; which to our hearts was ſo dolorous, that we thought better to hazard the extremity than ſo to do: for then the moſt part of the town appeared rather to favour us, than the queen's faction, and did offer unto us the uttermoſt of their ſupport, which for the moſt part they did faithfully keep. The ſame did the town of Leith, but they kept not the like fidelity; for when we were upon the field, marching forward for their ſupport (for the French marched nigh to them), they rendered themſelves without further reſiſtance; and this they did, as is ſuppoſed, by the treaſon of ſome within themſelves, and by perſuaſion of the laird of Reſtalrig, who before declared himſelf to be one of us; and notwithſtanding that ſame day rendered himſelf undeſired to monſieur d' Oſel. Their unprovided and ſudden defection aſtoniſhed many, and yet we retired quietly to the ſide of Craigingate, which place we took for reſiſting the enemy.

In the mean time divers mediators paſſed betwixt us, amongſt whom the lord Ruthven for our part was principal. Alexander Erſkine did much travel to ſtay us and our ſoldiers, that we ſhould not join with them of Leith, till that they, as is ſaid, had rendered themſelves to the French. The ſaid Alexander did oft promiſe that the French would ſtay, provided that we would not join with thoſe of Leith; but after that they were rendered, we heard nothing of him but threatening and uncomfortable words. Before it was eight of the clock in the morning, God had given unto us both courage, and a reaſonable number, to withſtand their fury. The town of Edinburgh, ſo many as had ſubjected themſelves to diſcipline, and divers others beſides them, behaved themſelves both faithfully and ſtoutly. The gentlemen of Lothian, eſpecially Calder, Hatton, and Ormiſton, were very comfortable, as well for their counſel as for their whole aſſiſtance. Some gentlemen of Fife prevented the Frenchmen, others were ſtopped, by reaſon that the French had poſſeſſed Leith; always the enemy took ſuch a fear, that they determined not to invade us where we ſtood; but took purpoſe to have paſſed to Edinburgh by the other ſide of the Water of Leith, and that becauſe they had the caſtle to their friend, which was to us unknown; for we ſuppoſed the lord Erſkine, captain of the ſame, either to have been our friend, or at leaſt to have been indifferent: but when we had determined to fight, he ſent word to the earl of Argyle, to lord James' ſiſter's ſon, and to the other noblemen, That he would declare himſelf both enemy to them, and to the town, and would ſhoot at both, if they made any reſiſtance to the Frenchmen to enter into the town. This his treaſonable defiance ſent us by the laird of Riccarton, did abate the courage of many, for we could not fight, nor ſtop the enemy, but under the mercy of the caſtle and whole ordnance thereof. Hereupon was conſultation taken, and in concluſion, it was found leſs damage to take an appointment, albeit the conditions were not ſuch as we deſired, than to hazard battle betwixt two ſuch enemies. After long talking, certain heads

were drawn by us, which we desired to be granted.

I. That no member of the Congregation should be troubled in life, lands, goods, or possessions, by the queen, her authority, nor any other justice within the realm, for any thing done in the late innovation, till a parliament (which should begin the tenth of January) had decreed things in controversy.

II. That idolatry should not be erected, where it was at that day suppressed.

III. That the preachers and ministers should not be troubled in their ministry where they are already established, neither yet stopped to preach wheresoever they should chance to come.

IV. That no bands of men of war should be laid in garrison within the town of Edinburgh.

V. That the Frenchmen should be sent away at a reasonable day, and that none other should be brought into the country, without consent of the whole nobility and parliament.

But these our articles were altered, and another form disposed, as followeth:

At the Links of Leith, the twenty-fourth of July 1559, *it is appointed in Manner following:*

In the first place, the Congregation and their company, others than the inhabitants of the said town, shall remove themselves forth of the said town, the morrow at ten o'clock before noon, the twenty-fifth of July, and leave the same void and rid of them and their said company, conform to the queen's majesty's pleasure and desire.

Item, The said Congregation shall cause the irons of the coining-house, taken away by them, be rendered and delivered to Mr. Robert Richardson; and likewise the queen's majesty's palace of Holyrood-house to be left, and rendered again to Mr. John Balfour, or any other, having her majesty's sufficient power in the same matter, as it was resolved, and that betwixt the making of these articles, and the morrow at ten of the clock.—— For observing and keeping of these two articles above-written, the lord Ruthven, and the laird of Petarro, have entered themselves pledges.

Item, The said lords of the Congregation, and all the members thereof, shall remain obedient subjects to our lord and lady's authority, and to the queen regent in their place; and shall obey all laws and laudable customs of this realm, as they were used before the moving of this tumult and controversy, excepting the cause of religion, which shall be hereafter specified.

Item, The Congregation, nor any of them, shall not trouble or molest a churchman by way of deed, nor yet shall make them any impediment in the peaceable bruiking, enjoying, and up-taking of their rents, profits, and duties of their benefices; but that they may freely use and dispose upon the same, according to the laws and customs of this realm, to the tenth of January next to come.

Item, The said Congregation, nor none of them, shall use in nowise from thenceforth any force or violence in casting down of churches, religious places, or apparel thereof; but the same shall stand harmless of them until the tenth of January.

Item, The town of Edinburgh shall, without compulsion, use and chuse what religion, and manner thereof, they please to the said day, so that every man may have freedom to his own conscience to the day aforesaid.

Item, The queen shall not interpose her authority to molest or trouble the preachers of the Congregation, nor their ministry (to them that please to use the same), nor no other of the said Congregation, in their bodies, lands, goods, or possessions, pensions, or whatsoever other kind of goods they possess; nor yet suffer the clergy, or any other, either spiritual or temporal jurisdiction, to trouble them in any manner of sort, privately or openly, for the cause of religion, or any other action depending thereupon, to the said tenth day of January within written; and that every man in particular live in the mean time according to his own conscience.

Item, That no men of war, French or Scots, be laid in daily garrison within the town of Edinburgh, but to repair thereto to do their lawful business, and thereafter to retire them to their garrisons.

This alteration in words and order was made without knowledge and consent of those, whose counsel we had used in all such causes before; for some of them perceiving we began to faint, and that we would appoint with unequal conditions, said, 'God hath wonderously assisted us in our 'greatest dangers; he hath stricken fear in the 'hearts of our enemies, when they supposed themselves most assured of victory; our case is not 'yet so desperate, that we need to grant to things 'unreasonable and ungodly; which, if we do, it 'is to be feared, that things shall not so prosperously succeed as they have done heretofore.'

When all things were communed and agreed upon by mid perſons, the duke and the earl of Huntly, who that day were againſt us, deſired to ſpeak with the earls of Argyle and Glencairn, the lord James, and others of our party; who obeying their requeſts, met with them at the Quarrel-holes, betwixt Leith and Edinburgh, who in concluſion promiſed to our lords, That if the queen brake to us any one jot of the appointment then made, that they ſhould declare themſelves plain enemies to her, and friends to us. As much promiſed the duke that he would do, in caſe that ſhe would not remove her Frenchmen at a reaſonable day; for the oppreſſion which they did was manifeſt to all men. This appointment made and ſubſcribed by the duke, monſieur d' Oſel, and the earl of Huntly, the twenty-fifth of July, we returned to the town of Edinburgh, where we remained till the next day at noon; when, after ſermon, dinner, and proclamation made at the market-croſs, in form as followeth, we departed.

Form of the Proclamation.

FORASMUCH as it hath pleaſed God, that appointment is made betwixt the queen regent, and us the lords Proteſtants of this realm; We have thought good to ſignify unto you the chief heads of the appointment, which be theſe:

Firſt, That no member of the Congregation ſhall be troubled in life, lands, goods, or poſſeſſions, by the queen, by her authority, nor by any other juſtice within this realm, for any thing done in this late innovation, till that a parliament hath decided things that are in controverſy.

Secondly, That idolatry ſhall not be erected where it is now at this day ſuppreſſed.

Thirdly, That the preachers and miniſters ſhall not be troubled in the miniſtration where they are already eſtabliſhed, neither yet ſtopped to preach whereſoever they ſhall happen to travel within this realm.

Fourthly, That no bands of men of war ſhall be laid in garriſon within the town of Edinburgh.

The chief heads of appointment concerning the liberty of religion, and conſervation of our brethren, we thought good to notify unto you by this proclamation, that in caſe wrong or injury be done by any one of the contrary faction to any member of our body, complaint may be made unto us, to whom we promiſe, as we will anſwer to our God, our faithful ſupport to the uttermoſt of our powers.

At this proclamation made with ſound of trumpet, were offended all the Papiſts; for, *firſt*, they alledged, It was done in contempt of authority. *Secondly*, That we had proclaimed more than was contained in the appointment. And, *laſtly*, That we, in our proclamation, had made no mention of any thing promiſed unto them. To ſuch murmurs we anſwered, That no juſt authority could think itſelf contemned, becauſe that the truth was by us made manifeſt unto all, who otherwiſe might have pretended ignorance. *Secondly*, That we had proclaimed nothing which was not finally agreed upon, in word and promiſe, betwixt us and thoſe with whom the appointment was made, whatſoever the ſcribes had after written, who in very deed had altered both in words and ſentences our articles, as they were firſt conceived; and yet, if their own writings were diligently examined, the ſelf-ſame thing ſhall be found in ſubſtance. And, *laſtly*, To proclaim any thing in their favours, we thought it not neceſſary, knowing, that in that behalf they themſelves would be diligent enough; and in this we were nothing deceived: for within fifteen days after, there was not a ſhaveling in Scotland, to whom tenths, or any other rents pertaineth, but he had that article of the appointment by heart, 'That the churchmen ſhould be anſwered of tenths, 'rents, and all other duties; and that no man 'ſhould trouble or moleſt them.'

We departing from Edinburgh the twenty-ſixth of July, came firſt to Linlithgow, and after to Stirling, where, after conſultation, the Bond of defence, and maintenance of religion, and for mutual defence every one of the other, was ſubſcribed of all that were there preſent.

Tenor of the Bond.

WE foreſeeing the craft and ſleight of our adverſaries, who try all manner of ways to circumvent us, and by privy means intend to aſſail every one of us particularly, by fair heights and promiſes, there-through to ſeparate one of us from another, to our utter ruin and deſtruction: for remedy thereof, we faithfully and truly bind us in preſence of God, and as we tender the maintenance of true religion, That none of us ſhall, in time coming, paſs to the queen dowager, to talk or commune with her, for any letter or meſſage ſent by her unto us, or yet to be ſent, without conſent of the reſt, or common conſultation thereupon; and how ſoon that either meſſage or writing ſhould come from her unto us, with all diligence we ſhall

notify the ſame one to another, ſo that nothing ſhall proceed therein without common conſent of us all.

At Stirling, the 1ſt of
Auguſt 1559.

This bond ſubſcribed, and we, foreſeeing that the queen and biſhops meant nothing but deceit, thought good to ſeek aid and ſupport of all Chriſtian princes againſt her tyranny, in caſe we ſhould be more ſharply purſued. And becauſe that England was of the ſame religion, and lay next unto us, it was judged expedient firſt to prove them; which we did, by one or two meſſengers, as hereafter, in its own place, ſhall be more amply declared. After we had abode certain days in Stirling, the earl of Argyle departed to Glaſgow; and becauſe he was to depart to his own country (with whom alſo paſſed the lord James), to pacify ſome trouble, which by the craft of the queen was raiſed in his abſence, he required the earl of Glencairn, lord Boyd, lord Ochiltrie, and others of Kyle, to meet there, for ſome order to be taken, that the brethren ſhould not be oppreſſed; which with one conſent they did, and appointed the tenth of September for the next convention at Stirling.

While theſe things were doing at Glaſgow, letters and a ſervant came from the earl of Arran, to the duke his father, ſignifying unto him, that by the providence of God he had eſcaped the French king's hands, who moſt treaſonably and moſt cruelly had ſought his life, or at the leaſt to have committed him to perpetual priſon: for the ſame time the ſaid French king, ſeeing he could not have the earl himſelf, cauſed put his younger brother, a child of ſuch age as could not offend, in ſtrait priſon, where he yet remained, *viz.* in the month of October, the year of our Lord 1559; which things were done by the power and craft of the queen dowager, at the time that the duke and his friends were moſt ready to ſet forth her cauſe. Theſe letters received, and the eſtate of his two ſons known, of whom one was eſcaped, and the other caſt in vile priſon, the duke deſired communing with the ſaid earl of Argyle, who, partly againſt the will of ſome that loved him, rode unto the duke from Glaſgow to Hamilton, where, abiding a night, he declared his judgment to the duke, and to his friends, eſpecially to Mr. Gavin Hamilton. The duke required him and the lord James to write their friendly and comfortable letters to his ſon, which they moſt willingly did, and thereafter addreſſed them to their journey: but the very day of their departing, came one Boutancourt (from the queen regent with letters, as was alledged), from the king and queen of France, to the lord James, which he delivered with a braging countenance, and many threatening words. The tenor of his Letter was thus:

The King's Letter to the Lord James.

MY COUSIN,

I HAVE greatly marvelled, when I underſtood the troubles that are happened in theſe parts. And yet I more marvel, that ye, in whom I had whole confidence, and who hath the honour to be ſo near the queen my wife, and hath received from the late king my father, from the queen my wife, and from me, ſuch graces and favours, that ye ſhould be ſo forgetful, as to make yourſelf the head, and one of the principal beginners and nouriſhers of the tumults and ſeditions that are ſeen there; the which, becauſe it is ſo ſtrange to me, and ſo far againſt the profeſſion that at all times ye have made, I cannot well believe it: but if it be ſo, I cannot think but ye have been enticed and led thereto by ſome perſons that have ſeduced you, and cauſed you to commit ſuch a fault, as I am aſſured you repent of already, which will be a great pleaſure to me, to the effect I may loſe a part of the occaſion I have to be diſcontent with you, as I will you to underſtand I am. Seeing you have ſo far deceived the hope I had of you, and your affection toward God, and the welfare of our ſervice, unto the which, ye know, ye are as much, and more obliged than any other of the lords there: for this cauſe, deſiring that the matters may be duly amended, and knowing what ye can therein, I thought good on this manner to write unto you, and pray you to take heed, to return to the good way, from which ye have declined, and cauſe me know the ſame by the effects, That you have another intention than this, which the follies by-paſt maketh me now to believe, doing all that ever ye can to reduce all things to their firſt eſtate, and put the ſame to the right and good obedience that you know to be due unto God, and unto me. Otherwiſe, ye may be well aſſured, that I will put to my hand, and that in good earneſt, that you, and all they who have done, and do as ye do, ſhall feel (through your own fault) that which ye have deſerved and merited. Even as I have given charge to this gentleman, preſent bearer, to make you know more largely of my part; for which

cauſe I pray you credit him even as ye would do myſelf. Praying God, my couſin, to have you in his holy and worthy protection.

Written at Paris, the 17th day of July 1559.

The ſame meſſenger brought alſo letters from the queen our ſovereign, more ſharp and threatening than the former; for her concluſion was, *Vous en ſentires la pointture a Jamais.*

His credit was, That the king would ſpend the crown of France, if that he were not revenged upon ſuch ſeditious perſons; that he would never have ſuſpected ſuch diſobedience, and ſuch defection from his own ſiſter, in him. To the which the ſaid lord James anſwered, firſt by word, and then by writing, as followeth:

The Lord James' Letter to the King.

SIR,

My moſt humble duty remembered: your majeſty's letter I received from Paris the 17th of July laſt, importing in effect, That your majeſty doth marvel, that I, being forgetful of the graces and favours ſhewed me by the king of bleſſed memory, your majeſty's father, and the queen my ſovereign, ſhould declare myſelf head, and one of the principal beginners of theſe alledged tumults and ſeditions in theſe parts, deceiving thereby your majeſty's expectation in all times had of me; with aſſurance, That, if I did not declare, by contrary effects, my repentance, I, with the reſt that had put, or yet putteth hand to this work, ſhould receive that reward which we had deſerved and merited.

Sir, it grieves me very heavily that the crime of ingratitude ſhould be laid to my charge by your majeſty; and the rather, that I perceive the ſame to have proceeded of ſiniſter information of them (whoſe part it was not to have reported ſo, if true ſervice paſt had been regarded). And as touching the repentance, and declaration of the ſame by certain effects, that your majeſty deſires I ſhew, my conſcience perſuades me in theſe proceedings to have done nothing againſt God, nor the dutiful obedience towards your majeſty, and the queen my ſovereign; otherwiſe, it ſhould not have been to be repented, and alſo amended already, according to your majeſty's expectation of me: but your majeſty being truly informed and perſuaded, that the thing which we have done maketh for the advancement of God's glory, without any manner of derogation to your majeſty's due obedience, we doubt not but your majeſty ſhall be well contented with our proceedings, which being grounded upon the commandment of the eternal God, we dare not leave the ſame unaccompliſhed; only wiſhing and deſiring your majeſty did know the ſame, and the truth thereof, as we were perſuaded in our conſciences, and all them that are truly inſtructed in the eternal word of our God, upon whom we caſt our care from all dangers that may follow the accompliſhment of his eternal will, and to whom we commend your majeſty, beſeeching him to illuminate your heart with the goſpel of his eternal truth, to know your majeſty's duty towards your poor ſubjects, God's choſen people, and what you ought to crave juſtly of them again; for then we ſhould have no occaſion to fear your majeſty's wrath and indignation, nor your majeſty's ſuſpicion in our diſobedience. The ſame God have your majeſty in his eternal ſafe-guard.

At Dunbarton, the 12th of Auguſt 1559.

This anſwer directed to the queen our ſovereign, and Francis her huſband, the queen dowager received it, and was bold upon it, as ſhe might well enough; for it was ſuppoſed that the former letters were forged here at home in Scotland. The anſwer read by her, ſhe ſaid, That ſo proud an anſwer was never given to king, prince, nor princeſs. And yet indifferent men thought that he might have anſwered more ſharply, and not have tranſgreſſed modeſty nor truth: for where they burden him with the great benefits which of them he had received, if in plain words he had purged himſelf, affirming, that the greateſt benefit that ever he received of them, was to ſpend in their ſervice that which God by others had provided for him; no honeſt man would have accuſed him, and no man could have been able to have convicted him of a lie: 'But princes muſt be pardoned to ſpeak what 'they pleaſe.'

For the comfort of the brethren, and continuance of the church in Edinburgh, was left there our dear brother John Willock, who, for his faithful labours, and bold courage in that battle, deſerves immortal praiſe: for when it was found dangerous that John Knox, who before was elected miniſter to the church, ſhould continue there, the brethren requeſted the ſaid John Willock to abide with them, leſt that, for lack of miniſters, idolatry ſhould be erected up again: to the which he ſo gladly conſented, that it might evidently appear, that he preferred the comfort of his brethren,

and the continuance of the church there, to his own life. One part of the Frenchmen were appointed to lie in garriſon at Leith (that was the firſt benefit which they got for their confederacy with them), the other part were appointed to lie in the Canongate, the queen and her train abiding in the abbey. Our brother John Willock, the day after our departure, preached in St. Giles' church, and fervently exhorted the brethren to ſtand conſtant to the truth which they had profeſſed. At this, and ſome other ſermons, was the duke, and divers others of the queen's faction.

This liberty of preaching, and reſort of all people thereto, did highly offend the queen, and the other Papiſts. And firſt they began to give terrors to the duke, affirming, that he would be reputed as one of the Congregation, if he gave his preſence to the ſermons. Thereafter they began to require, that maſs might be ſet up again in St. Giles' church, and that the people ſhould be ſet at liberty to chuſe what religion they would; for that, ſaid they, was contained in the appointment, that the town of Edinburgh ſhould chuſe what religion they liſted. For obtaining hereof, were ſent to the town the duke, the earl of Huntly, and the lord Seton, to ſolicit all men to condeſcend to the queen's mind; wherein the two laſt did labour what they could; the duke not ſo, but as a beholder, of whom the brethren had good hope: and, after many perſuaſions and threatenings made by the ſaid earl and lord, the brethren ſtoutly and valiantly, in the Lord Jeſus, gain-ſaid their moſt unjuſt petitions; reaſoning, that as in conſcience they might not ſuffer idolatry to be erected, where Chriſt Jeſus was truly preached, ſo could not the queen nor they require any ſuch thing, unleſs ſhe and they would plainly violate their faith, and chief article of the appointment. For it is plainly appointed, 'That no member of the Congregation ſhall be 'moleſted in any thing that at the day of the ap-'pointment they peaceably poſſeſſed.' But ſo it was, that we the brethren and Proteſtants of the town of Edinburgh, with our miniſters, the day of the appointment, did peaceably enjoy St. Giles' church, appointed us for preaching of Chriſt's true goſpel, and right miniſtration of his holy ſacraments: therefore, without manifeſt violation of the appointment, you cannot remove us therefrom, until a parliament hath decided the controverſy.

This anſwer given, the whole brethren departed, and left the foreſaid earl, and lord Seton, then provoſt of Edinburgh, ſtill in the tolbooth, who, perceiving that they could not prevail in that manner, began to entreat that they would be quiet, and that they would ſo far condeſcend to the queen's pleaſure, as that they would chuſe them another within the town, or at the leaſt be content that maſs ſhould be ſaid, either after, or before their ſermon. To the which anſwer was given, That to give place to the devil (who was the chief inventor of the maſs), for the pleaſure of any creature, they could not. They were in poſſeſſion of that church, which they could not abandon; neither yet could they ſuffer idolatry to be erected in the ſame, unleſs by violence they ſhould be conſtrained ſo to do: and then they were determined to ſeek the next remedy. Which anſwer received, the earl of Huntly did lovingly entreat them to quietneſs, faithfully promiſing, that in no ſort ſhould they be moleſted, ſo that they would be quiet, and make no farther uproar. To the which they were moſt willing; for they ſought only to ſerve God, as he had commanded, and to keep their poſſeſſion, according to the appointment: which, by God's grace, they did, till the month of November, notwithſtanding the great boaſting of the enemy. For they did not only convene to the preaching, daily ſupplications, and adminiſtration of baptiſm, but alſo the Lord's table was miniſtered, even in the eyes of the very enemy, to the great comfort of many afflicted conſciences: and as God did ſtrongly work with his true miniſters, and with his troubled church, ſo did not the devil ceaſe to inflame the malice of the queen, and of the Papiſts with her: for that, after her coming to the abbey of Holyrood-houſe, ſhe cauſed maſs to be ſaid firſt in her own chapel, and after in the abbey, where the altars before were caſt down.

She diſcharged the common prayers, and forbad to give any portion to ſuch as were the principal young men who read them. Her malice extended in like manner to Cambuſkenneth; for there ſhe diſcharged the portions of as many of the canons as had forſaken Papiſtry: ſhe gave commandment and inhibition, that the abbot of Lindores ſhould not be anſwered of any part of his living in the North; becauſe he had ſubmitted himſelf to the Congregation, and had put ſome reformation to his place. By her conſent and procurement was the preacher's chair broken in the church of Leith, and idolatry was erected in the ſame, where it was before ſuppreſſed. Her French captains, with their ſoldiers, in great companies, in time of preaching and prayers, reſorted to St. Giles' church in Edinburgh, and did take their common walks therein, with ſuch loud talking, as no perfect audience

could be had. And although the miniſter was there-through oftentimes compelled to cry out on them, praying to God to rid them of ſuch locuſts, they nevertheleſs continued ſtill in their wicked purpoſe, deviſed and ordained by the queen, to have drawn our brethren of Edinburgh and them into trouble: ſo that ſhe might have had any coloured occaſion to have broken the league with them: yet, by God's grace, they behaved themſelves ſo, that ſhe could find no fault in them, albeit in all theſe things before named, and in every one of them, ſhe is juſtly accounted to have gainſaid the ſaid appointment.

We paſs over the oppreſſing of our brethren in particular, which had been ſufficient to have proved the appointment to have been plainly violated. For the lord Seton, without any occaſion offered unto him, brake a chace upon Alexander Whitelaw, as he came from Preſton, accompanied with Mr. William Knox, towards Edinburgh; and ceaſed not to purſue him, till he came to the town of Ormiſton: and this he did, ſuppoſing that the ſaid Alexander had been John Knox. In all this mean time, and till that more Frenchmen arrived, they are not able to prove that we broke the appointment in any jot, except that a horned cap was taken off a proud prieſt's head, and cut in four quarters, becauſe he ſaid, He would wear it in deſpite of the Congregation. In this mean time, the queen, then regent, knowing aſſuredly what force was ſhortly to come unto her, ceaſed not, by all means poſſible, to cloak the in-coming of the French, and to inflame the hearts of our countrymen againſt us. And for that purpoſe ſhe firſt wrote unto duke Hamilton, in form as followeth:

The Queen Regent's falſe, flattering Letter to Duke Hamilton.

MY LORD AND COUSIN,

AFTER hearty commendations, we are informed, that the lords of the Weſt-country Congregation intend to make a convention and aſſembly of your kin and friends upon Govan-moor, beſide Glaſgow, on Monday come eight days, the 28th day of Auguſt inſtant, for ſome high purpoſe againſt us; which we can ſcarcely believe, conſidering they have no occaſion on our part ſo to do. And albeit we know the appointment was made againſt, and without our advice, yet we accepted the ſame at your deſire; and have ſince made no cauſe, whereby they might be moved to come in the contrary thereof. Likeas, we are yet minded to keep firm and ſtable all things promiſed by you in our behalf. We think, on the other part, it is your duty to require them, that they violate their part thereof in nowiſe. And, in caſe they mean any evil towards us, and ſo will break their promiſe, we believe ye will at the uttermoſt of your power convene with us, and compel them to do that thing which they ought; if they will not, praying you to have yourſelf, your kin and friends, in readineſs to come to us, as ye ſhall be advertiſed by proclamation, in caſe the Congregation aſſemble themſelves for any purpoſe againſt us, or the tenor of the ſaid appointment: aſſuring you, without they gather, and give firſt occaſion, we ſhall not put you to any pains in that behalf. And that you advertiſe us by writ what we may truſt to herein by this bearer, who will ſhew you the fervent mind we bear to have good concord with the ſaid Congregation, what offers we have made them, and how deſirous we are to draw them to the obedience of our ſovereign's authority, to whom you ſhall give credit: and God keep you.

At Edinburgh, the 10th of Auguſt 1559.

The like letter ſhe wrote to every lord, baron, and gentleman, of this tenor:

The Queen Regent's Letter to the Barons, &c.

TRUSTY FRIEND,

AFTER hearty commendations, we doubt not but you have heard of the appointment made beſide Leith, betwixt the duke, the earl of Huntly, and monſieur d'Oſel, on the one part; and the lords of the Congregation, on the other part: which appointment we have approved in all points, albeit it was taken without our advice, and are minded to obſerve and keep all the contents thereof for our part. Nevertheleſs, as we are informed, the lords of the Congregation intend ſhortly to convene all ſuch perſons as will aſſiſt them, for enterpriſing of ſome high purpoſe againſt us, our authority, and tenor of the ſaid appointment; which we cannot believe, ſeeing they neither have, nor ſhall have, any occaſion given thereto on our part: but in caſe, againſt all reaſon, they ſhould mean any ſuch thing, we have thought it good to give warning to our ſpecial friends, of the advertiſement we have gotten; and, amongſt the reſt, to you, whom we eſteem of that number, praying you to have yourſelf, your kin and folks, in readineſs to come

to us. And ſo forth, as in the other letter above ſent to the duke, word by word.

After that, by theſe letters, and by the deceitful ſurmiſing of her ſolicitors, ſhe had ſomewhat ſtirred up the hearts of the people againſt us, then ſhe began openly to complain, That we were of mind to invade her perſon: that we would keep no part of the appointment; and therefore ſhe was compelled to crave aſſiſtance of all men, againſt our unjuſt purſuit. And this practice ſhe uſed, as before is ſaid, to abuſe the ſimplicity of the people, that they ſhould not ſuddenly eſpy for what purpoſe ſhe brought in her new bands of men of war, who did arrive about the midſt of Auguſt, to the number of a thouſand men: the reſt were appointed to come after with monſieur de la Broſſe, and with the biſhop of Amiens, who arrived the 19th day of September following, as if they had been ambaſſadors: but what was their negociation, the effect did declare, and they themſelves could not long conceal; for by both tongue and pen they uttered, That they were ſent for the extermination of all thoſe that would not profeſs the Papiſtical religion in all points. The queen's practice and craft could not blind the eyes of all men; neither yet could her ſubtilty hide her own ſhame, but that many did eſpy her deceit; and ſome ſpared not to ſpeak their judgments liberally, who, foreſeeing the danger, gave advertiſement, requiring, that proviſion might be found, before that the evil ſhould exceed our wiſdom and ſtrength to put fit remedy to it; for prudent men foreſaw, that ſhe pretended a plain conqueſt; but, to the end that the people ſhould not ſuddenly ſtir, ſhe would not bring in her full force at once, as before is ſaid), but by continual traffic purpoſed to augment her army, ſo that in the end we ſhould not be able to reſiſt: but the greateſt part of the nobility, and many of the people, were ſo enchanted by her treaſonable ſolicitors, that they would not hear nor credit the truth plainly ſpoken. The French then, after the arriving of their new men, began to brag: then began they to divide the lands and lordſhips, according to their own fancies; for one was ſtyled Monſieur de Argyle, another Monſieur le Prior, the third Monſieur de Ruthven: yea, they were aſſured in their own opinion, to poſſeſs whatſoever they liſted; ſo that ſome aſked for the rentals and revenues of divers mens lands, to the end that they might chuſe the beſt; and yet in this mean time ſhe was not aſhamed to ſet out a proclamation in this form:

A Proclamation ſet forth by the Queen Regent, to blind the vulgar People.

FORASMUCH as we underſtand, that certain ſeditious perſons have of malice invented and blown abroad divers rumours and evil reports, intending thereby to ſtir up the hearts of the people; and ſo to ſtop all manner of reconciliations betwixt us and our ſubjects, being of the number of the Congregation; and conſequently, to kindle and nouriſh a continual ſtrife and diviſion within this realm, to the manifeſt ſubverſion of the whole ſtate thereof: and, amongſt other purpoſes, have maliciouſly deviſed for that effect, and have perſuaded too many, that we have violated the appointment lately taken, in ſo far as any more Frenchmen ſince came in: and that we do mind to draw in great forces of men of war forth of France, to ſuppreſs the liberty of this realm, oppreſs the inhabitants thereof, and make up ſtrangers with their lands and goods: which reports are all (God knoweth) moſt vain, feigned, and untrue: for it is of truth, that nothing hath been done on our part, ſince the ſaid appointment, whereby it may be alledged, that any part thereof is contravened; nor yet was at that time any thing moved or concluded to ſtop the ſending in of Frenchmen, as may clearly appear by inſpection of the ſaid appointment, which the bearer hereof hath preſent to ſhew. Whatſoever number of men of war be arrived, we have ſuch regard to our honour, and quietneſs of this realm, that in caſe in the room of every Frenchman that is in Scotland, there were an hundred at our command, yet ſhould not for that any jot that is promiſed be broken, or any alteration made by our provocation; but the ſaid proclamation truly and ſurely ſhould be obſerved in every point, if the ſaid Congregation will in like manner faithfully keep their part thereof: nor yet mean we to trouble any man in the peaceable poſſeſſion of their goods and rooms; nor yet to enrich the crown, and far leſs any ſtrangers with your ſubſtance: for our deareſt ſon and daughter, the king and queen, are, by God's providence, placed in the room, where all men of judgment may well conſider, they have no need of any man's goods; and for ourſelf, we ſeek nothing but dutiful obedience unto them, ſuch as good ſubjects ought to give to their ſovereign, without diminution of your liberties and privileges, or alteration of your laws; therefore we have thought good, to notify unto you our good mind foreſaid, and de-

ſire you not to give ear nor credit to ſuch vain imaginations, whereof, before God, no part entered into our conceit; nor ſuffer yourſelves to be thereby led from your due obedience, aſſuring you, ye ſhall ever find with us truth in promiſe, and a motherly love towards all you behaving yourſelves as our obedient ſubjects. But of one thing we give you warning, That whereas ſome preachers of the Congregation, in their public ſermons, ſpeak irreverently and ſlanderouſly, as well of princes in general, as of ourſelf in particular, and of the obedience of higher powers, inducing the people, by that part of their doctrine, to defection from their duty; which pertaineth nothing to religion, but rather ſedition and tumult, things quite contrary to religion: therefore we deſire you to take order in your towns and bounds, that when the preachers repair thither, they uſe themſelves more modeſtly in theſe behalfs, and in their preaching not to meddle ſo much with civil policy and public government; nor yet name us, or other princes, but with reverence, otherwiſe it will not be ſuffered. And ſeeing you have preſently the declaration of our intention, we deſire likewiſe to know, what ſhall be your part to us, that we may underſtand what to truſt for at your hands, whereof we deſire a plain declaration in writing, with this bearer, without delay.

At Edinburgh, the 28th of
Auguſt 1559.

This proclamation ſhe ſent by her meſſengers through all the country, and had her ſolicitors in all parts, who painfully travelled to bring men to her opinion; amongſt whom theſe were the principal, Sir John Ballantine juſtice-clerk, Mr. James Balfour official of Lothian, Mr. Thomas and Mr. William Scot, ſons to the laird of Balwerie, Sir Robert Carnagie, and Mr Gavin Hamilton, who, for fainting of the brethrens hearts, and drawing many to the queen's faction againſt their native country, have declared themſelves enemies to God, and traitors to the commonwealth: but above all others, Mr. James Balfour, official for the time, ought to be abhorred: for he, of an old profeſſor, is become a new denyer of Chriſt Jeſus, and a manifeſt blaſphemer of his eternal verity, againſt his knowledge and conſcience, ſeeking to betray his brethren and native country into the hands of a cruel and unfaithful nation. The anſwer to this former proclamation was made in form as followeth:

To the Nobility, Burgeſſes, and Commonalty, of this Realm of Scotland, the Lords, Barons, and others, Brethren of the Congregation, wiſheth Increaſe of all Wiſdom, with Advancement of the Glory of GOD, and of the Commonwealth.

THE love of our native country craveth, the defence of our honours requireth, and the ſincerity of our conſciences compelleth us, dear brethren, to anſwer in ſome part to the laſt writs and proclamations ſet forth by the queen regent, no leſs to make us and our cauſe odious, than to abuſe your ſimplicity, and to work your final deſtruction, conſpired of old, and now already put to work. And, firſt, where ſhe alledgeth, That certain ſeditious perſons, have of malice invented and blown abroad divers rumours, tending thereby, as ſhe alledgeth, to ſtir up the hearts of the people to ſedition, by reaſon that the Frenchmen are crept in of late in our country. True it is, dear brethren, that all ſuch as bear natural love to their country, to you their brethren inhabitants thereof, to our houſes, wives, children, the hope of our poſterity; and to be ſhort, to our commonwealth, and to the ancient laws and liberties thereof, cannot but in heart lament, and with mouth and tears complain, the moſt crafty aſſaults deviſed and practiſed, to the utter ruin of all theſe things forenamed. This is ſo manifeſtly gone to work, that even in our eyes, our dear brethren, true members of our commonwealth, are moſt cruelly oppreſſed by ſtrangers; in ſo far as ſome are baniſhed their own houſes, ſome robbed and ſpoiled of their ſubſtance, purchaſed by their juſt labours in the ſweat of their brows; ſome cruelly murdered at the pleaſure of theſe inhuman ſoldiers; and altogether have their lives in ſuch fear and dread, as if the enemy were in the midſt of them; ſo that nothing can ſeem pleaſant unto them, which they poſſeſs in the bowels of their native country: ſo near judgeth every man (and not without juſt cauſe) the practice uſed upon their brethren, to approach next unto them, their wives, children, houſes, and ſubſtances, which altogether are caſt at the feet of ſtrangers, men of war, to be by them thus abuſed at their unbridled luſt's deſire. Now, if it be ſedition, dear brethren, to complain, lament, and pour forth before God the ſorrows and ſobs of our dolorous hearts, crying to him for redreſs of thoſe enormities (which elſewhere is not to be found), which altogether do proceed of the unlawful holding of ſtrange ſoldiers over the heads of our brethren: if thus to com-

plain be ſedition, then indeed, dear brethren, can none of us be purged of that crime; for as in very heart we condemn ſuch inhuman cruelty, with the wicked and crafty pretence thereof, ſo can we not, nor dare we, neither by mouths ſpeaking, nor yet by keeping ſilence, juſtify the ſame. Neither do we here aggravate the breaking of the appointment made at Leith (which always hath manifeſtly been done); but herein we remember what oath we have made to our commonwealth, and how the duty we owe to the ſame compelleth us to cry out, That the queen, by wicked and ungodly counſel, goeth moſt craftily about utterly to oppreſs the ſame, and the ancient laws and liberties thereof, as well againſt the king of France's promiſe, as her own duty, in reſpect of the high promotions that ſhe hath received thereby; which juſtly ſhould have cauſed her to have been indeed, that which ſhe would be called (and is nothing leſs in verity), *viz.* a careful mother over this commonwealth.

But what motherly care ſhe hath uſed towards you, ye cannot be ignorant of. Have ye not been, even from the firſt entry of her reign, ever ſmitten and oppreſſed, with unaccuſtomed and more exorbitant taxations than ever were uſed within this realm? Yea, and how far was it ſought here to have been brought in upon you and your poſterity, under colour to have been laid up in ſtore for the wars? The inquiſition taken of all your goods, moveable and immoveable, by way of teſtament; the ſeeking of the whole coal and ſalt of this realm, to have been laid up in ſtore and in girnal, and ſhe alone to have been merchant thereof, doth teach you by experience ſome of her motherly care. Again, what favour to our commonwealth doth ſhe at this inſtant bear, when even now preſently, and of a long time bygone, by the miniſtry of ſome (who better deſerve the gallows than ever did Cochran), ſhe doth ſo corrupt the good money, and hath brought it to ſuch baſeneſs, and ſuch a deal of ſtrife, that all men that have their eyes open may perceive an extreme beggary to be brought there-through upon the whole realm; ſo that the whole exchange and traffic to be had with foreign nations (a thing moſt neceſſary in all commonwealths) ſhall thereby be utterly extinguiſhed; and all the gain received thereby, is, That ſhe therewith entertaineth ſtrangers upon our heads: for, brethren, you know, that her money hath ſerved for no other purpoſe in our commonwealth this long time bygone. And the impunity of thoſe wicked miniſters (whom lately we ſpoke of) hath brought the matter to ſuch a licentious enormity, and plain contempt of the common-weal, that now they ſpare not plainly to break down, and convert the good and weighty money, coined in our ſovereign's leſſer age, into this their corrupted ſkruif and baggage of *hard-heads* and *non-ſunts:* moſt like as ſhe and they had conſpired to deſtroy all the whole good coin of this realm, and conſequently that part of the common-weal. Beſides all this, their clipped and ronged *ſols*, which had no paſſage theſe three years paſt in the realm of France, are commanded to have courſe in this realm, to gratify thereby her new-come ſoldiers: and all theſe things together, are done without the advice or conſent of the nobility and council of this realm; and manifeſtly there-through againſt our ancient laws and liberties.

Thirdly, Her laſt and moſt weighty proceeding more fully declareth the motherly care her majeſty beareth to our commonwealth and us, when, in time of peace, without any occaſion of foreign wars, thouſands of ſtrangers are laid here and there upon the necks of our poor members of this commonwealth; their idle bellies fed upon the poor ſubſtance of the commonalty, conqueſt by their juſt labours in the painful ſweat of their brows: which to be true, Dunbar, North-Berwick, Tranent, Preſtonpans, Muſſelburgh, Leith, Canongate, Kinghorn, Kirkcaldy, Dyſart, with the impoveriſhed ſouls that this day dwell therein, can teſtify: whoſe oppreſſion, as doubtleſs it is entered in before the juſtice-ſeat of God, ſo ought it juſtly to move our hearts to have pity and compaſſion upon theſe our poor brethren, and at our powers to provide remedy for the ſame. And albeit her ſtrangers had been garniſhed with money (as you know well they were not), yet can their here lying be nowiſe but moſt hurtful to our commonwealth; ſeeing that the fertility of this realm had never been ſo plentiful, that it was able of any continuance to ſuſtain itſelf and inhabitants thereof, without ſupport of foreign countries; far leſs able, beſides the ſame, to ſuſtain thouſands of ſtrangers, wherewith it is burdened, to the dearthing of all victuals, as the murmur and complaint of Edinburgh this day doth teſtify. But to what effect the commonwealth is thus burdened, the end doth declare: for ſhortly were they brought to the field againſt our ſovereign's true lieges, even us your brethren, who, God knoweth, ſought nothing elſe but peace of conſcience, under protection of our ſovereign, and reformation of theſe enormities; for no other cauſe, but that we would not renounce the goſpel of Jeſus

Chriſt, and ſubdue our necks under the tyranny of that wicked man of ſin, the Roman Antichriſt, and his foreſworn ſhavelings, who at that time moſt tyrannically oppreſſed our ſouls with hunger of God's true word, and robbed us of our goods and ſubſtances, to waſte the ſame upon their foul luſts and ſtinking harlots.

But, O dear brethren! this was not the chief pretence and final ſcope of her proceedings (as theſe days do well declare); for had not God given in our hearts to withſtand that oppreſſion, with weapons of moſt juſt defence, thou, O St. Johnſton and Dundee! had been in no better ſtate than your ſiſter of Leith is this day. For though we in very deed, God is witneſs, meant then nothing but, in the ſimplicity of our hearts, the maintenance of true religion, and ſafety of our brethren, profeſſors of the ſame; yet lay there another ſerpent lurking in the breaſt of our adverſaries, as this day, praiſe to God, is plainly opened to all that liſt to behold, *viz.* 'To bring 'you and us both under the perpetual ſervi-'tude of ſtrangers.' For we being appointed, as ye know, touching religion to be reaſoned with all in the council, at the day affixed, and no occaſion made to break the ſame on our ſide, as is well known, yet came there forth writings and complaints, That this day and that day we were prepared to invade the queen's perſon (when in very truth there was never ſuch thing thought, as the very deed hath declared); but becauſe ſhe was before reſolved to bring in Frenchmen to both our deſtructions, that you ſhould not ſtir therewith, ſhe made you to underſtand, that thoſe bands came only for ſafety of her own perſon. O craft, brethren! O ſubtilty! but behold the end! They are come (yet not ſo many, no not the ſixth part that ſhe deſired and looked for); and how? not only with weapons, to defend her perſon, but with wives and children to plant in your native rooms, as they have already done in the town of Leith, the principal port and ſtaple of this realm, the girnal and furniture of the council, and ſeat of juſtice. And here will they dwell, till they may reinforce themſelves with greater number of their fellow-ſoldiers to ſubdue then the reſt, if God withſtand not.

And yet her majeſty feared or ſhamed not to write, If there were an hundred Frenchmen for every one of them that is in Scotland, yet they ſhould harm no man. Tell thou now, Leith, if that be true; if this be not a crafty entry to a manifeſt conqueſt forethought of old, judge you, dear brethren: thus to fortify our towns, and even the principal port of our realm, and to lay ſo ſtrong garriſons of ſtrangers therein, not only without any conſent of the nobility and council of this realm, but alſo expreſsly againſt their mind (as our writ ſent to her majeſty beareth record), if this be not to oppreſs the ancient laws and liberties of our realm, let all wiſe men ſay to it. And further, to take the barn-yards new-gathered, the girnals repleniſhed, and to ſit down therein, and by force to put the juſt poſſeſſors and ancient inhabitants therefrom, with their wives, children, and ſervants, to ſhift for themſelves in begging, if they have no other means, they being true Scotſmen, members of our commonwealth, and our dear brethren and ſiſters, born, foſtered, and brought up in the bowels of our common and native country: if this be not the manifeſt declaration of their old pretence and mind towards the whole Scottiſh nation, let your own conſcience, brethren, be judge herein. Was all Leith of the Congregation? No, I think not; yet were all alike ſerved.

Let this motherly care then be tried by the fruits thereof: *firſt*, By the great and exorbitant taxations uſed upon you, and yet ten times greater preſſed at, as ye know. *Secondly*, The utter depravation of our coin, to purchaſe thereby money to entertain ſtrangers, French ſoldiers, upon you, and to make them ſtrong holds, leſt you ſhould ſometime expel them out of your native rooms. *Thirdly*, By the daily reinforcing of the ſaid French ſoldiers in ſtrength and number, with wives and children, planting in your brethrens houſes and poſſeſſions. Indeed her majeſty is, and hath been, at all times careful to procure by her craft of fair words, of fair promiſes, and ſometimes of bribes, to allure your ſimplicity to that point, to join yourſelves to her ſoldiers, to daunt and oppreſs us, that you the remnant (we being cut off) may be an eaſy prey to her ſleights; which God, of his infinite goodneſs, hath now diſcovered to the eyes of all them that liſt to behold: but credit the works, dear brethren, if ye will not credit us, and lay the example of foreign nations, yea, even of our brethren, before your eyes, and procure not your own ruin willingly. If you tender true religion, you ſee how her majeſty beareth herſelf plain enemy thereto, and maintaineth the tyranny of theſe idle bellies the biſhops, againſt God's church. If religion be not perſuaded unto you, yet caſt you not away the care you ought to have over your commonwealth, which you ſee manifeſtly and violently ruined before your eyes: if

this will not move you, remember your dear wives, children, and poſterity, your ancient heritages and houſes; and think well, theſe ſtrangers will regard no more your right thereunto, than they have done your brethren of Leith, whenever occaſion ſhall ſerve.

But if you purpoſe (as we doubt not but that all thoſe that either have wit or manhood will declare and prove indeed) to bruik your ancient rooms and heritages, conquered moſt valiantly, and defended by your moſt noble progenitors, againſt all ſtrangers, invaders of the ſame, as the French pretend plainly this day; if ye will not be ſlaves unto them, and to have your lives, your wives, your children, your ſubſtance, and whatſoever is dear unto you caſt at their feet, to be uſed and abuſed at the pleaſure of ſtrange ſoldiers, as you ſee your brethrens at this day before your eyes: if you will not have experience ſome day hereof in your own perſons (as we ſuppoſe the leaſt of you all would not gladly have, but rather would chuſe with honour to die in defence of his own native room, than live and ſerve ſo ſhameful a ſervitude), then brethren, let us join our forces, and both with wit and manhood reſiſt their beginnings, or elſe our liberty hereafter ſhall be dearer bought. Let us ſurely be perſuaded, when our neighbour's houſes are on fire, that we dwell not without danger. Let no man withdraw himſelf herefrom; and if any will be ſo unhappy and miſchievous, as we ſuppoſe none to be, let us all together repute, hold, and uſe him, as he is indeed, for an enemy to us, to himſelf, and to his commonwealth. 'The eternal and omnipotent God, 'the true and only revenger of the oppreſſed, be 'our comfort and protector againſt the fury and 'rage of the tyrants of this world; and eſpecially 'from the inſatiable covetouſneſs of the genera-'tion of the Guiſes.' Amen.

Beſides this our public Letter, ſome Men anſwered certain Heads of the Queen's ſaid Proclamation on this Manner:

If it be ſedition to ſpeak the truth in all ſobriety, and to complain when they are wounded, or to call for help againſt unjuſt tyranny, before that their throats are cut, then can we not deny but we are criminal, and guilty of tumult and ſedition: for we have ſaid, That our commonwealth is oppreſſed, that we and our brethren are hurt by the tyranny of ſtrangers, and that we fear bondage and ſlavery, ſeeing that multitudes of cruel murderers are daily brought into our country without our counſel, knowledge, and conſent. We diſpute not ſo much whether the bringing in of more Frenchmen be violating of the appointment (which the queen and her faction cannot deny to be manifeſtly broken by them in more caſes than one), as that we would know, if that the heaping of ſtrangers upon ſtrangers, above us, without our counſel or conſent, be a thing that may ſtand with the liberty of our realm, and with the profit of our commonwealth. It is not unknown to all men of judgment, that the fruits of our country in the moſt common years, are no more than ſufficient to nouriſh the born inhabitants of the ſame: but now, ſeeing we have been vexed with wars, taken upon us at the pleaſure of France, by the which the moſt fruitful portion of our country in corn hath been waſted, what man is ſo blind, but that he may ſee, that ſuch bands of ungodly and idle ſoldiers can be nothing elſe but an occaſion to famiſh our poor brethren? And in this point we refuſe not (which is the chief) the judgment of all natural Scotſmen.

The queen regent alledged, That although there were an hundred Frenchmen for one that is in Scotland, yet ſhe is not minded to trouble any juſt poſſeſſion. Whereto we anſwer, That we diſpute not what ſhe intended (which nevertheleſs by probable conjectures it is to be ſuſpected), but always we affirm, that ſuch a multitude of Frenchmen is a burden, not only unprofitable, but alſo intolerable to this poor realm, eſpecially being treated as they are by her and monſieur d'Oſel: for if their wages be paid out of France, then they are both (the queen, we ſay, and monſieur d'Oſel) traitors to the king and council; for the poor commons of this realm have ſuſtained them with the ſweat of their brows, ſince the contracting of the peace, and ſomewhat before.

What motherly affection ſhe hath declared to this realm, and to the inhabitants of the ſame, her works have evidently declared, even ſince the firſt hour that ſhe hath borne authority. And albeit men will not this day ſee what danger hangs over our heads, yet fear we that, ere it be long, experience ſhall teach ſome, that we have not feared without cauſe. The cruel murder and oppreſſion uſed by thoſe whom now ſhe ſoſtereth, is to us a ſufficient argument what is to be looked for when her number is ſo multiplied, that our force ſhall not be able to withſtand their tyranny.

Where ſhe complaineth of our preachers, affirming, that irreverently they ſpeak of princes in ge-

neral, and of her in particular, inducing the people thereby to defection from their duty, &c. and therefore that such a thing cannot be suffered. Because this occasion is laid against God's true ministers, we cannot but witness what course and order of doctrine they have kept, and yet keep in that point.

'In public prayers they recommend to God 'all princes in general, and the magistrates of this 'our native realm in particular. In open audience they declare the authority of princes and 'magistrates to be of God; and therefore they 'affirm, That they ought to be honoured, feared, 'and obeyed, even for conscience sake; provided 'that they command or require nothing expressly 'repugning to God's commandment and plain 'will, revealed in his holy word. Moreover, they 'affirm, That if wicked persons, abusing the authority established by God, move princes to command things manifestly wicked, that such as can 'and do bridle those inordinate appetites of misled 'princes, cannot be accused as resisters of the 'authority, which is God's good ordinance. To 'bridle the rage and fury of misled princes in free 'kingdoms and realms, they affirm it appertaineth to the nobility, sworn and born counsellors 'of the same; and also to the barons and people, 'whose votes and consent are to be required in all 'great and weighty matters of the commonwealth; 'which if they do not, they declare themselves 'criminal with their misled princes, and so subject 'to the same vengeance of God which they deserve, for that they pollute the seat of justice, 'and do, as it were, make God author of iniquity. 'They proclaim and cry, That the same God who 'plagued Pharaoh, repulsed Sennacherib, struck 'Herod with worms, and made the bellies of dogs 'the grave and sepulchre of the spiteful Jezebel, 'will not spare misled princes, who authorize the 'murderers of Christ's members in this our time. 'On this manner they speak of princes in general, 'and of your majesty in particular.

'This only we have heard one of our preachers 'say, rebuking the vain excuses of such as flatter 'themselves by reason of authority, Many now-a-'days, said he, will have no other religion nor 'faith, than the queen and authority had: But 'is it not possible that the queen is so far blinded, 'that she will have no religion, nor no other faith, 'than may content the cardinal of Lorrain? And 'may it not likewise be true, that the cardinal is 'so corrupt, that he will admit no religion which 'doth not establish the pope in his kingdom? But 'plain it is, That the pope is lieutenant to Satan, 'and enemy to Christ Jesus, and to his perfect religion. Let men therefore consider what danger 'they stand in, if their salvation shall depend upon the queen's faith and religion. Further, we 'never heard any of our preachers speak of the 'queen regent, neither publicly nor privately.

'Where her majesty declareth, It will not be 'suffered that our preachers meddle with policy, 'or speak of her, or of other princes, but with 'reverence; we answer, That, as we will justify 'and defend nothing in our preachers, which we 'find not God to have justified and allowed in his 'messengers before them, so we dare not forbid 'them openly to reprehend that which the Spirit 'of God, speaking in the prophets and apostles, 'hath reprehended before them. Elias did personally reprove Ahab and Jezebel of idolatry, of 'avarice, of murder, and such like; Esaias the 'prophet called the magistrates of Jerusalem in his 'time, companions to thieves, princes of Sodom, 'bribe-takers, and murderers; he complained that 'their silver was turned into dross, that their wine 'was mingled with water, and that justice was 'bought and sold: Jeremiah saith, That the bones 'of king Jehoiakim should wither with the sun: 'Christ Jesus called Herod a fox; and Paul calleth 'the high-priest a painted wall, and prayeth unto 'God that he should strike him, because, that against justice he commanded him to be smitten. 'Now, if the like, and greater corruptions be 'in the world this day, who dare enterprise to 'put to silence the Spirit of God, which will not 'be subject to the appetites of misled princes.'

We have said before, that the tenth of September was appointed for a convention to be holden at Stirling, to the which repaired the most part of the lords of the Congregation: at that same time arrived the earl of Arran, who, after he had saluted his father, came with the earl of Argyle and lord James to Stirling, to the said convention; in which divers godly men complained of the tyranny used against their brethren; and especially, that more Frenchmen were brought in to oppress their country. After the consultation of certain days, the principal lords, with my lord Arran, and the earl of Argyle, passed to Hamilton for consultation to be taken with the duke. And in this mean time came assured word, that the Frenchmen had begun to fortify Leith: which thing, as it did more evidently discover the queen's craft, so did it deeply grieve the hearts of all the nobility there,

who, with one conſent, agreed to write unto the queen, in form as followeth:

At Hamilton, the 29th day of September 1559.

MADAM,

WE are credibly informed, that your army of Frenchmen ſhould inſtantly begin to plant in Leith, and to fortify the ſame, of mind to expel the ancient inhabitants thereof, our brethren of the Congregation; whereof we marvel not a little, that your majeſty ſhould ſo manifeſtly break the appointment made at Leith, without any provocation given by us and our brethren: and ſeeing the ſame is done without any manner of conſent of the nobility and council of this realm, we eſteem the ſame not only oppreſſion of our poor brethren, and indwellers of the ſaid town, but alſo very prejudicial to the commonwealth, and plain contrary to our ancient laws and liberties: we therefore deſire your majeſty to cauſe the ſame work enterpriſed to be ſtaid, and not to attempt ſo raſhly and ſo manifeſtly againſt your majeſty's promiſe, againſt the commonwealth, the ancient laws and liberties thereof (which things, beſides the glory of God, are moſt dear and tender to us, and only our pretence); otherwiſe aſſuring your majeſty, we will complain to the whole nobility and commonalty of this realm, and moſt earneſtly ſeek for redreſs thereof. And thus recommending our humble ſervice unto your highneſs, whom we commit to the eternal protection of God, expecting earneſtly your anſwer. At Hamilton, the day and year aforeſaid. By your majeſty's humble and obedient ſervitors.

This letter was ſubſcribed with the hands of the duke, the earls of Arran, Argyle, Glencairn, and Montieth; by the lords Ruthven, Ochiltrie, Boyd, and by divers other barons and gentlemen. To this requeſt ſhe would not anſwer by writ, but with a letter of credit ſhe ſent Sir Robert Carnegie, and Mr. David Borthwick, two whom, amongſt many others, ſhe abuſed, and by whom ſhe corrupted the hearts of the ſimple: they travelled with the duke, to bring him again to the queen's faction: la Broſſe and the biſhop of Amiens were ſhortly before arrived, and, as it was reported, were directed as ambaſſadors, but they kept cloſe their whole commiſſion; they only made large promiſes to them that would be theirs, and leave the Congregation. The queen did grievouſly complain, that we had intelligence with England; and the concluſion of their commiſſion was, to ſolicit the duke to put all in the queen's will, and then ſhe would be gracious enough. It was anſwered, That no honeſt men durſt commit themſelves to the mercy of ſuch throat-cutters as ſhe had about her; whom if ſhe would remove, and join to her a council of natural Scotſmen, permitting the religion to have free paſſage, then ſhould none in Scotland be more willing to ſerve her majeſty than ſhould the lords and brethren of the Congregation be. At the ſame time the duke and the lords wrote to my lord Erſkine, captain of the caſtle of Edinburgh, in form as followeth:

Letter to the Lord Erſkine.

MY LORD AND COUSIN,

AFTER our hearty commendations, this preſent is to advertiſe you, that we are credibly informed that the army of Frenchmen now in this realm, without any advice of the council or nobility, are fortifying, or elſe ſhortly intend to fortify the town of Leith, and expel the ancient inhabitants thereof; whereby they proclaim to all, that will open their ears to hear, or eyes to ſee, what is their pretence. And ſeeing the faithfulneſs of your anceſtors, and eſpecially of your father, of honourable memory, who was ſo recommended and dear to the eſtates and counſellors of this realm, through affection they perceived in him towards the commonwealth thereof, that they doubted not to give in his keeping the key, as it were, of the council, of the juſtice, and policy of this realm, the caſtles of Edinburgh and Stirling, we cannot but believe ye will rather augment the honourable favour of your houſe by ſtedfaſt favour and loyalty to our commonwealth, than through the ſubtile perſuaſions of ſome (which care not what after ſhall come to you and your houſe, at the preſent would abuſe you to the performance of their wicked enterpriſes and pretences againſt our commonwealth) utterly deſtroy the ſame. And herefore, ſeeing we have written to the queen to deſiſt from that enterpriſe, otherwiſe that we will complain to the nobility and commonalty of the realm, and ſeek redreſs thereof; we likewiſe beſeech you, as our tender friend, brother, and member of the ſame commonwealth with us, that in nowiſe you meddle with, or aſſent to that ungodly enterpriſe againſt the commonwealth; and likewiſe, that ye would ſave your body, and the jewels of this country committed to your and your predeceſſor's loyalty and fidelity towards your native country and commonwealth, if ye think to be reputed hereafter

one of the ſame; and that ye would rather be brother to us than to ſtrangers; for we do gather by the effects, the ſecrets of mens hearts, otherwiſe unſearchable unto us. This we write, not that we are in doubt of you, but rather to warn you of the danger, in caſe ye ſuffer yourſelf to be enchanted with fair promiſes and crafty counſellors; for let no man flatter himſelf, we deſire all men to know, that though he were our father (ſeeing God hath opened our eyes to ſee his will), if he be enemy to the commonwealth, which is now aſſailed, and we with it, and all true members thereof, he ſhall be known and holden, as he is indeed, enemy to us, to our lives, our houſes, babes, heritages, and whatſoever is contained within the ſame: for as the ſhip periſhing, what can be ſafe that is within? ſo the commonwealth being betrayed, what particular member can live in quietneſs? And therefore, in ſo far as the ſaid caſtles are committed to your credit, we deſire you to ſhew your faithfulneſs and ſtoutneſs, as ye tender us, and whatſoever appertaineth unto us: and ſeeing we are aſſured ye will be aſſailed both with craft and force, as now by warning we help you againſt the firſt, ſo againſt the laſt ye ſhall not miſs in all poſſible haſte to have our aſſiſtance; only ſhew yourſelf a man, ſave your perſon by wiſdom, ſtrengthen yourſelf againſt force; and the Almighty God aſſiſt you in both, that one aid the other, and open the eyes of your underſtanding, to ſee and perceive the craft of Satan and his ſuppoſts. At Hamilton, the twenty-ninth day of September 1559. By your Brethren.

The duke and lords underſtanding that the fortifications of Leith proceeded, appointed their whole forces to convene at Stirling, the fifteenth day of October, that from thence they might march forward to Edinburgh, for redreſs of the great enormities which the French did to the whole country, which by them was ſo oppreſſed, that the life of all honeſt men was bitter unto them. In this mean time the lords directed their letters to divers parts of the country, making mention what danger did hang over all men, if the French ſhould be ſuffered to plant in this country at their pleaſure, They made mention farther, how humbly they had beſought the queen regent, That ſhe would ſend away to France her Frenchmen, who were a burden unprofitable and grievous to this commonwealth; and how that ſhe notwithſtanding did daily augment their number, bringing wives and children, a declaration of a plain conqueſt.

The queen regent perceiving that her craft began to be eſpied, by all means poſſible travelled to blind the people; and firſt, ſhe ſent forth her peſtilent poſts forenamed, in all parts of the country, to perſuade all men, that ſhe offered all things reaſonable to the Congregation; and that they refuſing all reaſon, pretended no religion, but a plain revolt from authority. She tempted every man, in particular, as well thoſe that were of the Congregation, as thoſe that were neutral. She aſſaulted every man, as ſhe thought moſt eaſily he might have been overcome. To the lord Ruthven ſhe ſent the juſtice-clerk, and his wife, who is daughter to the wife of the ſaid lord; what was their commiſſion and credit, is no further known, than the ſaid lord hath confeſſed, which is, That a large promiſe of profit was given, if he would leave the Congregation, and be the queen's. To lord James, prior of St. Andrews, was ſent Mr. John Spence of Condie, with a letter and credit as followeth:

The Memorial of Mr. John Spence of Condie, the thirtieth of September 1559.

1. Ye ſhall ſay, That the queen's great favour towards you moveth her to this.

2. That ſhe now knoweth, that the occaſion of your departing from her, was the favour of the word, and of the religion, with the which, albeit ſhe was offended, yet knowing your heart, and the hearts of the other lords, firmly fixed thereupon, ſhe will bear with you in that behalf; and at your own ſights ſhe will ſet forward that cauſe at her power, as may ſtand with God's word, the common policy of this realm, and the prince's honour. [Note, good reader, what venom lurked here; for plain it is, that the policy which ſhe pretended, and the prince's honour, will never ſuffer Chriſt Jeſus to reign in this realm.]

3. To ſpeak of the occaſion of aſſembling of theſe men of war, and fortifying of Leith, you muſt know, That it was given to the queen to underſtand by ſome about her, that it is not the advancement of the word and religion which is ſought at this time, but rather a pretence to overthrow or alter the authority of your ſiſter, of the which ſhe believeth ſtill that ye are not participant; and conſidering the tenderneſs betwixt you and your ſiſter, ſhe truſted more in you, in that behalf, than in any living.——But before the earl of Arran arrived, and that the duke departed from her faction, ſhe ceaſed not continually to cry, That the prior ſought to make himſelf king; and ſo not only to

deprive his ſiſter, to make himſelf king; but alſo to defraud the duke and his houſe of their pretenſion. But foreſeeing a ſtorm, ſhe began to ſeek a new wind.

She further willeth him, to offer the ſending away of the men of war, if the former ſuſpicion could be removed: ſhe lamented the trouble that appeared to follow, if the matter ſhould long ſtand in debate; ſhe promiſed her faithful labours for reconciliation, and required the ſame of him. Requiring further, faith, honour, and kindneſs towards his ſiſter, and to advertiſe for his part, what he deſired; with promiſe, That he might obtain what he pleaſed to deſire.

To this Letter and Credit the ſaid Lord James anſwered as followeth:

MADAM,

I RECEIVED your highneſs's writ, and have heard the credit of the bearer; and finding the buſineſs of ſuch importance, that dangerous it were to give haſty anſwer: and alſo, your demands are ſuch, that with my honour I cannot anſwer them privately by myſelf; I have thought good to delay the ſame, till that I may have the judgment of the whole council. For this point I will not conceal from your majeſty, That amongſt us there is a ſolemn oath, that none of us ſhall traffic with your majeſty ſecretly, neither yet that any of us ſhall treat or deal for himſelf particularly; which oath, for my part, I purpoſe to keep unviolated to the end; but when the reſt of the noblemen ſhall convene, I ſhall leave nothing that lieth in my power undone, that may make for the quietneſs of this poor realm, provided, that the glory of Chriſt Jeſus be not hindered by our concord: and if your majeſty ſhall be found ſo tractable, as now ye offer, I doubt not to obtain of the reſt of my brethren ſuch favourr towards your ſervice, as your majeſty ſhall have juſt occaſion to ſtand content: for I take God to record, that in this action, I have neither ſought, neither yet ſeek, any other thing than to increaſe God's glory, and the liberty of this poor realm to be maintained. Further, I have ſhewed unto your meſſenger what things have miſliked me in your proceedings, even from ſuch a heart as I wiſh to God you knew fully, and all men elſe; and this, with hearty commendation of ſervice to your majeſty, I heartily commit your highneſs to the eternal protection of the Omnipotent. At St. Andrews, the firſt of October 1559.

Sic ſubſcribitur,

Your majeſty's humble and obedient ſervitor,

JAMES STUART.

This anſwer received, ſhe raged, as hypocriſy uſeth when it is pricked, and perceiving that ſhe could not work what ſhe would at the hands of men particularly, ſhe ſet forth a proclamation, univerſally to be proclaimed, in the tenor as followeth:

The Queen's Proclamation.

FORSOMUCH as it is underſtood by the queen, that the duke of Chattelarault hath lately directed his miſſives into all parts of this realm, making mention, that the Frenchmen late arrived, with their wives and children, are begun to plant in Leith, to the ruin of the commonwealth; which he and his partakers will not paſs over with patient beholding, deſiring to know what will be every man's part: and that the fortification of Leith, is a purpoſe deviſed in France; and that therefore monſieur de la Broſſe, and the biſhop of Amiens, are come to this country: a thing ſo vain and untrue, that the contrary thereof is known to all men of free judgment. Therefore the queen, willing that the occaſions whereby her majeſty was moved ſo to do be made patent, and what have been her proceedings ſince the appointment laſt made on the Links beſide Leith, to the effect that the truth of all things being made manifeſt, every man may underſtand how unjuſtly that a deſire to ſuppreſs the liberty of this realm is laid to her charge; we have thought expedient to make this diſcourſe following: *Firſt*, Although after the ſaid appointment, divers of the ſaid Congregation, and that not of the meaneſt ſort, have violently broken the points thereof, and made ſundry occaſions of new trouble, the ſame was in a part winked at, and overlooked, in hope that they in time would remember their duty, and abſtain from ſuch evil behaviour; which converſion her majeſty ever ſought, rather than any puniſhment, with ſuch care and ſolicitude by all means; and in the mean time nothing was provided for her own ſecurity. But at laſt, by their frequent meſſages to and from England, their intelligence then was perceived; yet her majeſty truſted the queen of England (let them ſeek as they pleaſe) will do the

office of a Chriſtian princeſs, in time of a ſworn peace; through which, force was to her majeſty, ſeeing ſo great defections of great perſonages, 'to have recourſe to the law of nature.' And like as a ſmall bird, being purſued, will provide ſome neſt; ſo her majeſty could do no leſs in caſe of purſuit, but provide ſome ſure retract for herſelf and her company; and to that effect choſe the town of Leith as a place convenient therefore, becauſe it was her deareſt daughter's property, and no other perſon could claim title or intereſt thereto, and alſo, becauſe in former times it had been fortified. About the ſame time that the ſeeking ſupport of England was made manifeſt, arrived the earl of Arran, and joined himſelf to the Congregation, upon further promiſe than the pretended quarrel, or religion, that was to be ſet up by them in authority; and ſo to pervert the whole obedience. And as ſome of the Congregation at the ſame time had put into their hands, and taken the caſtle of Brochtie, and put forth the keepers thereof; immediately came from the ſaid duke to her majeſty, unlooked for, a writ, beſide many others, complaining of the fortification of the ſaid town of Leith, in hurt of the ancient inhabitants thereof, brethren of the ſaid Congregation, whereof he then profeſſed himſelf a member. And albeit that the bearer of the ſaid writ was an unmeet meſſenger in a matter of ſuch conſequence, yet her majeſty directed to him two perſons of good credit and reputation, with anſwer; offering, if he would cauſe amends to be made for that which was committed againſt the laws of the realm, to do further than could be craved of reaſon: and to that effect, to draw ſome conference, which by his fault, and his colleagues, took no end; nevertheleſs they continually ſince continue in their doings, uſurping the authority, commanding and charging free burghs to chuſe provoſts and officers of their naming, and to aſſiſt them in the purpoſe they would be at; and that they will not ſuffer proviſion to be brought for ſuſtaining of her majeſty's houſes. A great part have ſo plainly ſet aſide all reverence and humanity, whereby every man may know, that it is no matter of religion, but a plain uſurpation of the authority: and no doubt but ſimple men, of good zeal in former times, therewith falſly have been deceived. But as to the queen's part (God, who knoweth the ſecrets of all hearts, well knoweth, and the world ſhall ſee by experience), that the fortification of Leith was deviſed for no other purpoſe, but for recourſe to her highneſs and her company, in caſe they were purſued. Wherefore, as good ſubjects, that have the fear of God in their hearts, will not ſuffer themſelves, by ſuch vain perſuaſions, to be led away from their due obedience, but will aſſiſt in defence of their ſovereign's quarrel, againſt all ſuch as ſhall purſue the ſame wrongfully; therefore her majeſty ordaineth the officers of arms to paſs to the market-croſſes of all the head burghs of this realm, and there, by open proclamation, command and charge all and ſundry the lieges thereof, that none of them take in hand to put themſelves in arms, nor take part with the ſaid duke or his aſſiſtaries, under the pain of treaſon.

Theſe letters being divulgate, the hearts of many were ſtirred; for they judged the narration of the queen regent to have been true: others underſtood the ſame to be utterly falſe. But becauſe the lords deſired that all men ſhould judge in their cauſe, they ſet out the Declaration ſubſequent:

The Declaration of the Lords againſt the former Proclamation.

We are compelled unwillingly to anſwer the grievous accuſations moſt unjuſtly laid to our charges by the queen regent, and her perverſe council, who ceaſe not by all craft and malice to make us odious to our deareſt brethren, natural Scotſmen; as, That we pretended no other thing, but the ſubverſion and overthrow of all juſt authority; when God knoweth we ſought nothing but that ſuch authority, as God approveth by his word, be eſtabliſhed, honoured, and obeyed, amongſt us. True it is, that we have complained (and continually muſt complain, till God ſends redreſs), That our common country is oppreſſed with ſtrangers; that this inbringing of ſoldiers, with their wives and children, and planting of men of war in our free towns, appeareth to us a ready way to conqueſt. And we moſt earneſtly require all indifferent perſons to be judge betwixt us and the queen regent in this cauſe, *viz.* Whether our complaint be juſt or not? For what other purpoſe ſhould ſhe thus multiply ſtrangers upon us, but only in reſpect of conqueſt? which is a thing of late deviſed by her and her avaricious houſe. We are not ignorant, that ſix years ago, the queſtion was demanded of a man of honeſt reputation, 'What number of men was able to daunt 'Scotland, and to bring it to the full obedience 'of France?' She alledged, That to ſay that the fortification of Leith was of purpoſe deviſed in France, and that for that purpoſe were monſieur de la Broſſe and the biſhop of Amiens ſent to this

country, is a thing ſo vain and untrue, that the contrary thereof is notorious to all men of free judgment. But evident it is, whatſoever ſhe alledged, that ſince their arrival, Leith was begun to be fortified.

She alledged, That ſhe, ſeeing the defection of great perſonages, was compelled to have recourſe to the law of nature, and, like a ſmall bird purſued, to provide for ſome ſure retract to herſelf and her company. But why doth ſhe not anſwer for what purpoſe did ſhe bring in her new bands of men of war? Was there any defection eſpied before their arrival? Was not the Congregation under appointment with her? which, whatſoever ſhe alledged, ſhe is not able to prove that we have violated in any chief point, before that her new throat-cutters arrived; yea, before that they began to fortify Leith, a place, ſaith ſhe, moſt convenient for her purpoſe; as indeed it is, for the receiving of ſtrangers at her pleaſure? for if ſhe had feared the purſuit of her body, ſhe had Inchcolm, Dunbar, and Blackneſs, forts and ſtrengths already made: yet all theſe could not ſo well ſerve her turn as Leith; becauſe it was her daughter's property, and none other could have title unto it, and becauſe it had been fortified oft before. That all men may know the juſt title her daughter and ſhe had to the town of Leith, we ſhall in few words declare:

It is not unknown to the moſt part of this realm, that there hath been an old hatred and contention betwixt Edinburgh and Leith; Edinburgh continually ſeeking conſtantly to poſſeſs the liberty of Leith, which, by donation of ancient kings, they have long enjoyed; and Leith, on the contrary, aſpiring to a liberty and freedom in prejudice of Edinburgh. The queen regent, a woman that could make her profit at all hands, was not ignorant how to compaſs her own buſineſs; and therefore ſecretly ſhe gave advertiſement to ſome of Leith, that ſhe would make their town free, if that ſhe might do it with any colour of juſtice. By which promiſes the principal men of them did travel with the laird of Reſtalrig, a man neither prudent nor fortunate, to whom the ſuperiority of Leith appertained, that he ſhould ſell his whole title and right to our ſovereign for a certain ſum of money, which the inhabitants of Leith paid, with a large taxation more to the queen regent, in hope to be made free, in deſpite and defraud of Edinburgh: which right and ſuperiority when ſhe had gotten, and when the money was paid, the firſt-fruits of their liberty they now eat with bitterneſs is, That ſtrangers ſhall poſſeſs their town; this is the juſt title which her daughter and ſhe might claim to that town. And whereas ſhe alledged, That it was fortified before; we aſk, If that was done without the conſent of the nobility and eſtates of the realm? as now ſhe and her crafty counſellors do, in deſpite and high contempt of us the lawful and born counſellors of this realm.

How far we have ſought ſupport of England, or of any other prince, and how juſt cauſe we had, and have ſo to do, we ſhall ſhortly make manifeſt unto the world, to the praiſe of God's holy name, and to the confuſion of all theſe that ſlander us for ſo doing: for this we fear not to confeſs, That as in this our enterpriſe againſt the devil, idolatry, and the maintainers of the ſame, we chiefly and only ſeek God's glory to be notified unto man, ſin to be puniſhed, and virtue to be maintained; ſo where power faileth in ourſelves, we will ſeek it whereſoever God ſhall offer the ſame: and yet, in ſo doing, we are aſſured neither to offend God, neither yet to do any thing repugnant to our duties. We heartily praiſe God, who moved the heart of the earl of Arran to join himſelf with us his perſecuted brethren. But how malicious a lie it is, That we have promiſed to ſet him up in authority, the iſſue ſhall declare: God we take to record, that no ſuch thing hath entered into our hearts; neither yet hath the ſaid earl, neither any to him appertaining, moved us unto any ſuch matter: which if they ſhould do, yet are we not ſo ſlender in judgment, that inconſiderately we would promiſe that, which after we would repent. We ſpeak and write to the praiſe of God's glory; the leaſt of us knoweth better what obedience is due to a lawful authority, than ſhe and her council doth practiſe the office of ſuch as worthily may ſit upon the ſeat of juſtice: for we offer, and we perform, all obedience which God hath commanded; and we deny neither toll, tribute, nor fear, to her nor her officers: we only bridle her blind rage, in the which ſhe would erect and maintain idolatry, and would murder our brethren, who refuſe the ſame: but ſhe doth utterly abuſe the authority eſtabliſhed by God, ſhe profaneth the throne of his majeſty on earth, making the ſeat of juſtice, which ought to be the ſanctuary and refuge of all godly and virtuous perſons unjuſtly afflicted, to be a den and receptacle to thieves, murderers, idolaters, whoremongers, adulterers, and of blaſphemers of God and all godlineſs. It is more than evident what men they are, and long have been, whom ſhe by her power maintaineth and defendeth; and alſo what hath

been our converſation, ſince it hath pleaſed God to call us to his knowledge, whom now in her fury ſhe cruelly perſecuteth.

We deny not the taking of the houſe of Brochtie; and the cauſes being conſidered, we think that no natural Scotſman will be offended at our deed. When the aſſured knowledge came to us that the fortification of Leith was begun, every man began to enquire, What danger might enſue to the reſt of the realm, if the French ſhould plant in divers places; and what were the places that might annoy us. In concluſion it was found, that the taking of the ſaid houſe by Frenchmen, ſhould be deſtructive to Dundee, and hurtful to St. Johnſton, and to the whole country; and therefore it was thought expedient to prevent the danger, as that we did, for preſervation of our brethren and common country. It is not unknown what enemies thoſe two towns have, and how gladly would ſome have all good order and policy overthrown in them. The conjectures, that the Frenchmen were of mind ſhortly to have taken the ſame place, were not obſcure: but whatſoever they pretended, we cannot repent that we, as is ſaid, have prevented the danger; and would God that power had been in the ſame manner to have foreclоſed their enterpriſe at Leith: for what trouble this poor realm ſhall endure before that thoſe murderers and unjuſt poſſeſſors be removed from the ſame, the iſſue will declare.

If her accuſations againſt the duke, and that we refuſed conference, be truly and ſimply ſpoken, we will not refuſe the judgment of thoſe very men, whom ſhe alledgeth to be of ſuch reputation. They know that the duke did anſwer, That if the realm ſhould be ſet at liberty from the bondage of thoſe men of war, which preſently did oppreſs it, and was ſo fearful to him, and to his brethren, that they were compelled to abſent themſelves from the places, where ſhe and they made reſidence, that he, and the whole Congregation, ſhould come, and give all dutiful obedience to our ſovereign her daughter, and unto her, as regent for the time; but to enter into conference, ſo long as ſhe kept above him and his brethren that fearful ſcourge of cruel ſtrangers, he thought no wiſe man would counſel him. And this his anſwer we approve, adding further, 'That ſhe can make us no promiſe which 'ſhe can keep, nor we can credit, ſo long as ſhe is 'forced with the ſtrength, and ruled by the coun-'cil of France. We are not ignorant, that princes 'think it good policy to betray their ſubjects by 'breaking of promiſes, be they never ſo ſolemnly 'made.' We have not forgotten what counſel ſhe and monſieur d'Oſel gave to the duke, againſt thoſe that ſlew the cardinal, and kept the caſtle of St. Andrews, which was this, That what promiſe they liſt to require, ſhould be made unto them; but as ſoon as the caſtle was rendered, and things brought to ſuch paſs as was expedient, that he ſhould chop the heads from every one of them. To the which the duke anſwered, That he would never conſent to ſo treaſonable an act; but if he promiſed fidelity, that he would faithfully keep it. Monſieur d'Oſel ſaid in mockage to the queen in French, That is a good ſimple nature, but I know no other prince that would do ſo. If this was his judgment in ſo ſmall a matter, what have we to ſuſpect in this our cauſe? for the queſtion is not of the ſlaughter of one cardinal, but of the juſt aboliſhing of all tyranny, which that Roman Antichriſt hath uſurped above us, of the ſuppreſſing of idolatry, and of the reformation of the whole religion, by that vermin of ſhavelings utterly corrupted. Now, if the ſlaughter of a cardinal be a ſin irremiſſible, as they themſelves affirm; and if faith ought not to be kept to heretics, as their own law ſpeaketh, what promiſe can ſhe, that is ruled by the counſel and commandment of a cardinal, make to us that can be ſure?

Where ſhe accuſeth us, That we uſurp authority to command and charge free burghs, to chuſe provoſts and officers of our naming, &c. we will, that the whole boroughs of Scotland teſtify in that caſe, whether we have uſed any kind of violence, but lovingly exhorted ſuch as aſked our ſupport, to chuſe ſuch in office as had the fear of God before their eyes, loved equity and juſtice, and were not noted for avarice and bribing; but wonder it is, with what face ſhe can accuſe us of that, whereof we are innocent, and ſhe ſo openly criminal, that the whole realm knoweth her iniquity: in that caſe hath ſhe not compelled the town of Edinburgh to retain a man to be their provoſt, moſt unworthy of any authority in a well-ruled commonwealth? Hath ſhe not enforced them to take bailies of her appointment? and ſome of them ſo meet for their office in this troubleſome time, as 'a ſouter is to 'fail a ſhip in a ſtormy day.' She complaineth, that we will not ſuffer proviſion to be made for her houſe. In very deed we unfeignedly repent, that before this we took not better order, that theſe murderers and oppreſſors, whom ſhe pretendeth to nouriſh for our deſtruction, had not been diſappointed of their great proviſion of victuals, which ſhe and they have gathered, to the great

hurt of the whole country; but as God ſhall aſſiſt us in times coming, we ſhall uſe diligence ſomewhat to fruſtrate their deviliſh purpoſe. What both ſhe and we pretend, we doubt not but God (who cannot ſuffer the abuſe of his own name long to be unpuniſhed) ſhall one day declare, and unto him we fear not to commit our cauſe. Neither yet fear we, in this preſent day, to ſay, that againſt us ſhe maketh a malicious lie, where that ſhe ſaith, That it is not religion that we go about, but a plain uſurpation of authority. God forbid that ſuch impiety ſhould enter in our hearts, that we ſhould make his holy religion a cloak and coverture of our iniquity: from the beginning of this controverſy, it is evidently known what have been our requeſts; which if the reſt of the nobility and commonalty of Scotland will cauſe to be performed unto us, if then in us appear any ſign of rebellion, let us be reputed and puniſhed as traitors: but while ſtrangers are brought in to ſuppreſs us, our commonwealth and poſterity; while idolatry is maintained, and the true religion of Chriſt Jeſus deſpiſed; while idle bellies and bloody tyrants, the biſhops, are maintained, and Chriſt's true meſſengers perſecuted; while, finally, virtue is contemned, and vice extolled; while that we, a great part of the nobility and commonalty of this realm, are moſt unjuſtly perſecuted, What godly man can be offended, that we ſhall ſeek reformation of theſe enormities (yea, even by force of arms, ſeeing that otherwiſe it is denied unto us)? we are aſſured that neither God, neither nature, neither any juſt law, forbiddeth us. God hath made us counſellors by birth of this realm, nature bindeth us to love our own country, and juſt laws command us to ſupport our brethren unjuſtly purſued; yea, the oath that we have made to be true to this commonwealth, compelled us to hazard whatſoever God hath given us, before that we ſee the miſerable ruin of the ſame.

If any think it is not religion which now we ſeek, we anſwer, That it is nothing elſe but the zeal of the true religion which moveth us to this enterpriſe: for as the enemy doth craftily foreſee, that idolatry cannot univerſally be maintained, unleſs that we be utterly ſuppreſſed; ſo do we conſider, that the true religion (the purity whereof we openly require) cannot univerſally be erected, unleſs ſtrangers be removed, and this poor realm purged of thoſe peſtilences, which before have infected it: and therefore, in the name of the eternal God, and of his Son Chriſt Jeſus, whoſe cauſe we ſuſtain, we require all our brethren, natural Scotſmen, prudently to conſider our requeſts, and with judgment to diſcern betwixt us and the queen regent, with her faction, and not to ſuffer themſelves to be abuſed by her craft and deceit, that to liſt their weapons againſt their brethren, who ſeek nothing but God's glory, or yet to extract from us their juſt and dutiful ſupport, ſeeing that we hazard our lives for preſervation of them and us, and of us and our poſterity to come; aſſuring ſuch as ſhall declare themſelves favourers of her faction, and enemies unto us, that we ſhall repute them, whenſoever God ſhall put the ſword of juſtice in our hands, worthy of ſuch puniſhment as is due for ſuch as ſtudy to betray their countries into the hands of ſtrangers.

This our anſwer was formed, and divulgate in ſome places, but not univerſally, by reaſon of our day appointed to meet at Stirling, as before is declared. In this mean time the queen's poſts ran with all poſſible expedition, to draw men to her devotion; and, in very deed, ſhe found more favourers of her iniquity than we ſuſpected: for a man that of long time had been one of our number in profeſſion, offered, as himſelf did confeſs, his ſervice to the queen, to travel betwixt her majeſty and the Congregation for concord; ſhe refuſed not his offer, but knowing his ſimplicity, ſhe was glad to employ him for her advantage: the man is Mr. Robert Lockhart, a man of whom many have had, and ſtill have good opinion, as touching his religion; but to enter in the managing of ſuch affairs, not ſo fit as godly and wiſe men would require. He travelleth not the leſs earneſtly in the queen regent's affairs, and could not be perſuaded but that ſhe meant ſincerely, and that ſhe would promote the religion to the uttermoſt of her power. He promiſed in her name, That ſhe would put away her Frenchmen, and would be ruled by the counſel of natural Scotſmen. When it was reaſoned to the contrary, That if ſhe were ſo minded to do, ſhe could have found mediators a great deal more fit for that purpoſe; he feared not to affirm, That he knew more of her mind than all the French or Scots that were in Scotland; yea, more than her own brethren that were in France. He travelled with the earl of Glencairn, the lords of Ochiltrie and Boyd, with the laird of Dun, and with the preachers, to whom he had certain ſecret letters, which he would not deliver, unleſs that they would make a faithful promiſe, That they ſhould never reveal the thing contained in the ſame. To the which it was anſwered, That in nowiſe they could make ſuch a promiſe, by reaſon that

they were ſworn one to another, and altogether in one body, That they ſhould have no ſecret intelligence, nor deal with the queen regent, but that they ſhould communicate with the great council whatſoever ſhe propoſed unto them: ſo they did anſwer unto her, as by this anſwer written by John Knox to the queen regent may be underſtood, the tenor whereof followeth:

To the Queen Regent.

MADAM,

My duty humbly premiſed, your majeſty's ſervant, Mr. Robert Lockhart, moſt inſtantly hath required me, and others to whom your majeſty's letters, as he alledged, were directed, to receive the ſame in a ſecret manner, and to give him anſwer accordingly: but becauſe ſome of the number that he required, were, and are of the great council of this realm, and therefore are ſolemnly ſworn to have nothing to do in a ſecret manner, neither with your majeſty, nor with any that cometh from you, or from your council, and ſo they could not receive your majeſty's letters with ſuch conditions, as the ſaid Mr. Robert required; therefore thought he good to take back to your majeſty again the ſaid letters cloſe. And yet becauſe, as he reporteth, he hath made to your majeſty ſome promiſe in my name, at his requeſt, I am content to teſtify by my letter and ſubſcription, the ſum of that which I did communicate with him. In Dundee, after many words betwixt him and me, I ſaid, That albeit divers ſiniſter reports had been made of me, yet did I never declare any evident token of hatred or enmity againſt your majeſty: for if it be the office of a true friend, to give true and faithful counſel to them whom he ſeeth run to deſtruction for lack of the ſame, I could not be proved enemy to your majeſty, but rather a friend unfeigned. For what counſel I had given to your majeſty, my writings, as well my letter and addition to the ſame, now printed, as divers others which I wrote from St. Johnſton, may teſtify. I further added, That ſuch an enemy was I unto you, that my tongue did both perſuade, and obtain, that your authority and government ſhould be obeyed of us in all things lawful, till you declared yourſelf open enemy to this commonwealth, as now, alas! ye have done. This I willed him moreover to ſay to your majeſty, That if ye, following the counſel of flattering men, having no God but this world and their belly, did proceed in your malice againſt the religion of Chriſt Jeſus, and true miniſters, that ye ſhould do nothing elſe but accelerate and haſten God's plague and vengeance upon yourſelf, and thoſe that follow you; and that ye (if ye did not change your purpoſe haſtily) ſhould bring yourſelf in ſuch extreme danger, that when ye would ſeek remedy, it ſhould not be ſo eaſy to be found as it had been before. This is the effect and ſum of all that I ſaid at that time, and willed him, if he pleaſed, to communicate the ſame to your majeſty; and the ſame yet again I notify unto your majeſty by this my letter, written and ſubſcribed at Edinburgh, the 26th day of October 1559.

Sic ſubſcribitur,

Your majeſty's, to command in all godlineſs,

JOHN KNOX.

Poſtſcriptum. God move your heart yet in time to conſider, That ye fight not againſt men, but againſt the eternal God, and againſt his Son Jeſus Chriſt, the only Prince of the kings of the earth.

At which anſwer, the ſaid Mr. Robert was ſo offended, that he would not deliver his letters, ſaying, That we were ungodly and injurious to the queen regent, if we ſuſpected any craft in her. To the which it was anſwered by one of the preachers, That time ſhould declare whether he or they were deceived: if ſhe ſhould not declare herſelf enemy to the true religion which they profeſſed, if ever ſhe had the upper-hand, then they would be content to confeſs, that they had ſuſpected her ſincerity without juſt cauſe; but if ſhe ſhould declare her malice no leſs in times coming than ſhe had done before, they required that he ſhould be more moderate than to condemn them whoſe conſcience he knoweth not. And this was the end of his travel for that time, after that he had troubled the conſciences of many godly and quiet perſons; for he and others, who were her hired poſts, ceaſed not to blow in the ears of all men, that the queen was heavily dealt with, that ſhe required nothing but obedience to her daughter, that ſhe was content that the true religion ſhould go forward, and that all abuſes ſhould be aboliſhed; and by this means they brought a grudge and diviſion among ourſelves: for many (and our brethren of Lothian eſpecially) began to murmur, that we ſought another thing than religion, and ſo ceaſed to aſſiſt us certain days, after that we were come to Edinburgh; which we did according to the former diet the 16th day of Octo-

ber. This grudge and trouble among ourſelves was not raiſed by the aforeſaid Mr. Robert only, but by thoſe peſtilents whom before we have expreſſed, and Mr. James Balfour eſpecially, whoſe venomous tongues againſt God and his true religion, as they deſerve puniſhment of men, ſo ſhall they not eſcape God's vengeance, unleſs that ſpeedily they repent.

After our coming to Edinburgh, the day forenamed, we aſſembled in council, and determined to give new advertiſement to the queen regent of our convention, and in ſuch ſort; and ſo, with common conſent, we ſent unto her our requeſt, as followeth:

The ſecond Admonition to the Queen Regent.

MADAM,

YOUR majeſty may call to mind, how, at our laſt convention at Hamilton, we required your highneſs, in moſt humble manner, to deſiſt from the fortifying of the town of Leith, then enterpriſed and begun, which appeared to us, and yet doth, an entry to a conqueſt and overthrow of our liberties, and altogether againſt the laws and cuſtoms of this realm, ſeeing it was begun, and yet continueth, without any advice and conſent of the nobility and council of this realm. Wherefore now, as oft before, according unto our duty to our commonwealth, we moſt humbly require your majeſty to cauſe your ſtrangers and ſoldiers whatſoever, to depart the ſaid town of Leith, and make the ſame patent, not only to the inhabitants, but alſo to all Scotſmen, our ſovereign lady's lieges; aſſuring your highneſs, that if refuſing the ſame, ye declare thereby your evil mind towards the commonwealth, and liberty of this realm, we will, as before, move and declare the cauſes unto the whole nobility and commonalty of this realm; and, according to the oath which we have ſworn, for the maintenance of the commonwealth, in all manner of things to us poſſible, we will provide remedy therefore. Requiring moſt humbly your majeſty's anſwer in haſte with the bearer; becauſe in our eyes the act continually proceeds, declaring, your determination of conqueſt, which is preſumed of all men, and not without cauſe. And thus, after our commendation of ſervice, we pray Almighty God to have your majeſty in his eternal tuition.

Theſe our letters received, our meſſenger was threatened, and with-holden a whole day: thereafter he was diſmiſſed, without any other anſwer, but that ſhe would ſend an anſwer, when ſhe thought expedient. In this mean time, becauſe the rumour ceaſed not, that the duke uſurped the authority, he was compelled with the ſound of trumpet, at the market-croſs of Edinburgh, to make his purgation as followeth, the 19th of October:

The Purgation of the Duke.

FORASMUCH as the duke of Chattelarault, underſtanding the falſe report made by theſe about the queen regent againſt him, that he and his ſon the lord Arran ſhould pretend uſurpation of the crown and authority of this realm, when in very deed he, nor his ſaid ſon, never once hath made any ſhew of any ſuch thing; but only in ſimplicity of heart, moved partly by the violent purſuit againſt religion, and true profeſſors thereof; partly by compaſſion of the commonwealth, and poor commonalty of this realm, oppreſſed with ſtrangers; he joined himſelf to the reſt of the nobility, with all hazard, to ſupport the common cauſe of the one and of the other; and hath thought expedient to purge himſelf and his ſaid ſon in preſence of you all, as he had done in preſence of the council, of that ſaid crime of old, even by ſummons laid to his charge, the ſecond year of the reign of our ſovereign lady; which accuſation hath continued ever againſt him, as guilty of that crime: he therefore now openly and plainly proteſteth, That neither he, nor his ſaid ſon, ſues nor ſeeks any pre-eminence, either to the crown or authority, but as far as his puiſſance may extend, is ready, and ever ſhall be, and his ſon alſo, to concur with the reſt of the nobility his brethren, and all others, whoſe hearts are touched to maintain the common cauſes of religion and liberty of their native country, plainly invaded by the ſaid regent and her ſaid ſoldiers, who only do forge ſuch vain reports, to withdraw the hearts of true Scotſmen from the ſuccour they owe of bounden duty to their commonwealth oppreſſed. Wherefore, exhorting all men that will maintain the true religion of God, or withſtand this oppreſſion or plain conqueſt enterpriſed by ſtrangers upon our native Scotſmen, not to credit ſuch falſe and untrue reports; but rather concur with us and the reſt of the nobility, to ſet our country at liberty, expelling ſtrangers therefrom; which doing, ye ſhall ſhew yourſelves obedient to the ordinance of God, which was eſtabliſhed for maintenance of the commonwealth, and true members of the ſame.

The 21ſt of October, came from the queen regent Mr. Robert Foreman, lion king of arms, who brought unto us a writing, in this tenor and credit:

AFTER commendations, we have received your letter, of Edinburgh, the 19th of this inſtant, which appeareth to us, rather to have come from a prince to his ſubjects, than from ſubjects to them that bear authority: for anſwer whereof, we have preſently directed unto you this bearer, lion herald king of arms, ſufficiently inſtructed with our mind, to whom ye ſhall give credit. At Leith, October 21ſt 1559.

Sic ſubſcribitur,

MARY R.

His Credit is this:

THAT the queen wonders how any durſt preſume to command her in that realm, which needeth not to be conqueſt by any force, conſidering that it was already conqueſt by marriage: that Frenchmen could not juſtly be called ſtrangers, ſeeing that they were naturalized; and therefore, that ſhe would neither make that town patent, neither yet ſend any man away, but as ſhe thought expedient: ſhe accuſed the duke of violating his promiſe: ſhe made long proteſtation of her love towards the commonwealth of Scotland; and in the end commanded, that, under the pain of treaſon, all aſſiſtaries to the duke, and unto us, ſhould depart from the town of Edinburgh.

This anſwer received, credit heard, pre-conceived malice ſufficiently eſpied, conſultation was taken, what was expedient to be done; and for the firſt it was concluded, That the herald ſhould be ſtaid, till further determination ſhould be taken.

The whole nobility, barons, and burgeſſes, then preſent, were commanded to convene in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, the ſame twenty-firſt day of October, for deliberation of theſe matters; where the whole cauſe being expoſed by the lord Ruthven, the queſtion was propounded, 'Whether ſhe that ſo contemptuouſly refuſed the moſt humble requeſt of the born counſellors of the realm, being alſo but a regent, whoſe pretences threatened the bondage of the whole commonwealth, ought to be ſuffered ſo tyrannically to domineer over them?' And becauſe that this queſtion had not been before diſputed in open aſſembly, it was thought expedient that the judgment of the preachers ſhould be required; who being called, and inſtructed in the caſe, John Willock, who before had ſuſtained the burden of the church in Edinburgh, being commanded to ſpeak, made diſcourſe as followeth:

Affirming, *firſt*, That albeit magiſtrates are God's ordinance, having of him power and authority, yet is not their power ſo largely extended, but that it is bounded and limited by God in his word.

And, *ſecondarily*, That as ſubjects are commanded to obey their magiſtrates, ſo are the magiſtrates commanded to give ſome duty to their ſubjects; ſo that God by his word hath preſcribed the office of the one and of the other.

Thirdly, That albeit God hath appointed magiſtrates his lieutenants on earth, and hath honoured them with his own title, calling them Gods, that yet he did never ſo firmly eſtabliſh any, but at his pleaſure he, ſeeing juſt cauſe, might deprive them.

Fourthly, That in depoſing of princes, and thoſe that have been in authority, God did not always uſe his immediate power; but ſometimes he uſeth ſecond means, which his wiſdom thought good, and juſtice approved: as by Aſa he removed Maachah, his own mother, from honour and authority, which before ſhe had uſed; by Jehu he deſtroyed Joram, and the whole poſterity of Ahab; and by divers others he hath depoſed from authority thoſe whom before he had eſtabliſhed by his own word. And hereupon concluded he, That ſince the queen regent denied her chief duty to the ſubjects of this realm, which was, to miniſter juſtice to them indifferently; to preſerve their liberties from invaſion of ſtrangers; and to ſuffer them to have God's word freely and openly preached amongſt them: ſeeing moreover, that the queen regent was an open and obſtinate idolatreſs, a vehement maintainer of all ſuperſtition and idolatry; as alſo, ſhe openly declares the country to be conqueſt, and no more free: and finally, that ſhe utterly deſpiſeth the counſel and requeſts of the nobility; he could ſee no reaſon, why they, the born counſellors, nobility, and barons of the realm, might not juſtly deprive her from all government and authority amongſt them.

Hereafter was the judgment of John Knox required, who approving the ſentence of his brother, added, *Firſt*, That the iniquity of the queen regent, and diſorder, ought in nowiſe to withdraw either our hearts, or the hearts of other ſubjects, from the obedience due unto our ſovereign,

Secondly, That if we depoſed the ſaid queen regent, rather of malice and private envy, than for the preſervation of the commonwealth, and for that her ſins appeared incurable, that we ſhould not eſcape God's juſt puniſhment, howſoever that ſhe hath deſerved rejection from honours.

And, *thirdly*, he required, That no ſuch ſentence ſhould be pronounced againſt her; but that upon known and open repentance, and upon her converſion to the commonwealth, and ſubmiſſion to the nobility, place ſhould be granted unto her of regreſs to the ſame honours, from the which for juſt cauſes ſhe juſtly might be deprived.

The voice of every man particularly by himſelf required, and every man commanded to ſpeak, as he would anſwer to God, what his conſcience judged in that matter, there was none found amongſt the whole number, who did not by his tongue conſent to her deprivation. Thereafter was her proceſs committed to writing, and regiſtered, as followeth:

Articles againſt the Queen Regent.

AT Edinburgh, the twenty-firſt day of October 1559, The nobility, barons, and burgeſſes convened, to adviſe upon the affairs of the commonwealth, and to aid, ſupport, and ſuccour the ſame, perceiving and lamenting the enterpriſed deſtruction of their ſaid commonwealth, and overthrow of the liberties of their native country, by the means of the queen regent, and certain ſtrangers her privy counſellors, plain contrary to our ſovereign lord and lady's mind, and direct againſt the counſel of the nobility, to proceed by little and little, even unto the uttermoſt ruin; ſo that the urgent neceſſity of the commonwealth may no longer ſuffer delay, and earneſtly craveth our ſupport: ſeeing therefore that the ſaid queen regent (abuſing and over-paſſing our ſovereign lord and lady's commiſſion given and granted to her) hath in all her proceedings purſued the barons and burgeſſes within this realm, with weapons and armour of ſtrangers, without any proceſs and order of law, they being our ſovereign lord and lady's true lieges, and never called nor convicted of any crime, by any lawful judgment:

As, 1. at St. Johnſton, in the month of May, ſhe aſſembled her army againſt the town, and the inhabitants thereof, never called nor convicted of any crime, only becauſe they profeſſed the true worſhip of God, conform to his moſt ſacred word.

2. And likewiſe, in the month of June laſt, without any order or calling going before, invaded the perſons of ſundry noblemen and barons, with force of arms, convened at St. Andrews, only for cauſe of religion, as is notoriouſly known, they never being called nor convicted of any crime.

3. Again, laid garriſons the ſame month upon the inhabitants of the ſaid town, oppreſſing the liberties of the queen's true lieges; for fear of which garriſons, a great part of the inhabitants thereof fled from the town, and durſt not reſort again into their houſes and heritages, until they were reſtored by arms; they notwithſtanding never being called nor convicted of any crime.

4. Further, at that ſame time did thruſt in upon the heads of the inhabitants of the ſaid town, provoſt and bailies, againſt all order of election; as lately, in this month of September, ſhe hath done in the towns of Edinburgh, Jedburgh, and divers other places, in manifeſt oppreſſion of our liberties.

5. Declaring her evil mind towards the nobility, commonalty, and whole nation, ſhe hath brought in ſtrangers, and daily pretends to bring in greater force of the ſame, pretending a manifeſt conqueſt of our native rooms and country, as the deed itſelf declareth; in ſo far as ſhe, having brought in the ſaid ſtrangers, without any advice of council and nobility, and contrary to their expreſs mind ſent to her in writing, hath placed and planted her ſaid ſtrangers in one of the principal towns and parts of the realm, ſending continually for greater forces, willing thereby to ſuppreſs the commonweal and liberty of our native country, to make us and our poſterity ſlaves to ſtrangers for ever; which, as it is intolerable to commonwealths and free countries, ſo it is very prejudicial to our ſovereign lady and her heirs whatſoever, in caſe our ſovereign lady die without heirs of her perſon: and to perform theſe our wicked enterpriſes, conceived, as appeareth, of inveterate malice againſt our whole country and nation, cauſed, without any conſent or advice of the council and nobility, to coin lead money, ſo baſe, and of ſuch quantity, that the whole realm ſhall be impoveriſhed, and all traffic with foreign nations deſtroyed thereby.

6. Again, ſhe ſo placeth and maintaineth, againſt the pleaſure of the council of this realm, a ſtranger, in one of the greateſt offices of credit in this realm, that is, in keeping of the great ſeal thereof, wherein great perils may be ingendered to the commonwealth and liberty thereof.

7. Further, lately ſent the great ſeal forth of this realm by the ſaid ſtranger, againſt the advice of the ſaid council, to what effect God knoweth.

8. And hath alſo by this means altered the old law and cuſtom of this our realm, ever obſerved in the graces and pardons granted by our ſovereigns to all their lieges, being repentant of their offences committed againſt their majeſties or the lieges of the realm; and hath introduced a new captious ſtyle and form of the ſaid pardons and remiſſions, conform to the practices of France, tending thereby to draw the ſaid lieges of this realm, by proceſs of time, into a deceivable ſnare; and further ſhall creep in the whole ſubverſion and alteration of the remanent laws of this realm, contrary to the contents of the appointment of marriage.

9. And alſo, peace being accorded amongſt the princes, retaineth the great army of ſtrangers, after commandment ſent by the king of France to retire the ſame, making excuſe, that they were retained for the ſuppreſſing the attempts of the lieges of this realm; albeit the whole ſubjects thereof, of all eſtates, are, and ever have been ready, to give all dutiful obedience to their ſovereigns, and their lawful miniſters, proceeding by God's ordinance: and the ſame army of ſtrangers not being paid in wages, was laid by her upon the necks of the poor commonalty of our native country, who were compelled by force to defraud themſelves, their wives, and children, of that poor ſubſtance, which they might purchaſe with the ſweat of their brows, to ſatisfy their hunger and neceſſities, and quit the ſame, to ſuſtain the idle bellies of her ſtrangers; through the which, in all parts, roſe ſuch heavy lamentation and complaint of the commonalty, accuſing the council and nobility of their ſloth, that as the ſame oppreſſion, we doubt not, hath entered in before the juſtice-ſeat of God, ſo hath it moved our hearts with pity and compaſſion. And for redreſs of the ſame, with other great offences committed againſt the public-weal of this realm, we have convened here, as is ſaid: and as oftentimes before, have moſt humbly, and with all reverence, deſired and required the ſaid queen regent to redreſs the ſaid enormities; and eſpecially to remove her ſtrangers from the necks of the poor commonalty; and to deſiſt from enterpriſing of fortifications of ſtrength within this realm, againſt the expreſs will of the nobility and council of the ſame. Yet we being convened the more ſtrong, for fear of her ſtrangers, whom we ſaw preſume no other thing, but with arms to purſue our lives and poſſeſſions, beſought her to remove the fear of the ſame, and make the town patent to all our ſovereign lord and lady's lieges. The ſame in nowiſe would ſhe grant; but when ſome of our company, in peaceable manner, went to view the town, there was both great and ſmall munition ſhot forth at them. And ſeeing therefore, that neither acceſs was granted to us by her, nor yet ſhe would join herſelf to us, to conſult upon the affairs of our commonwealth, as we that are born counſellors to the ſame by ancient laws of the realm; but fearing leſt the judgment of the council would reform, as neceſſity required, the foreſaid enormities, ſhe refuſeth all manner of aſſiſtance with us, and by force and violence intendeth to ſuppreſs the liberties of our commonwealth, and of us the favourers of the ſame.

We therefore, ſo many of the nobility, barons, and provoſts of our boroughs, as are touched with the care of the commonwealth (unto the which we acknowledge ourſelves not only born, but alſo ſworn protectors and defenders, againſt all and whatſoever invaders of the ſame), and moved by the foreſaid notorious proceedings, and with the lamentable complaint of oppreſſion of our commonalty, our fellow-members of the ſame: perceiving further, that the preſent neceſſity of our commonwealth may ſuffer no delay, being convened, as is ſaid, preſently in Edinburgh, for ſupport of our commonwealth, and ripely conſulted and adviſed, taking the fear of God before our eyes, for the cauſes foreſaid, which are notorious, with one conſent and common vote, every man's judgment, in order, being required, in the name and authority of our ſovereign lord and lady, ſuſpend the ſaid commiſſion, granted by our ſaid ſovereign to the ſaid queen dowager, diſcharging her of all adminiſtration or authority ſhe hath, or may have thereby, unto the next parliament, to be ſet by our advice and conſent: and that becauſe the ſaid queen, by the foreſaid notorious faults, declareth herſelf enemy to our commonwealth, abuſing the power of the ſaid authority, to the deſtruction of the ſame. And likewiſe, we diſcharge all members of her ſaid authority from thenceforth; and that no coin be coined from thenceforth, without expreſs conſent of the ſaid council and nobility, conform to the laws of this realm, which we maintain; and ordain this to be notified and proclaimed by officers of arms, in all head-boroughs within the realm of Scotland. In witneſs of the which our common

conſent and free vote, we have ſubſcribed this preſent act of ſuſpenſion with our hands, day, year, and place foreſaid.

Sic ſubſcribitur,

By us the Nobility and Commons of the Proteſtants of the Church of Scotland.

After that this our Act of Suſpenſion was, by Sound of Trumpet, divulgate at the Market-croſs of Edinburgh, we diſmiſſed the Herald with this Anſwer:

MADAM,

WE received your anſwer, and heard the credit of the lion king of arms; whereby we gathered ſufficiently your perſeverance in evil mind towards us, the glory of God, our commonwealth, and liberty of our native country: for the ſafety of which, according to our duty, we have, in our ſovereign lord and lady's name, ſuſpended your commiſſion, and all adminiſtration of policy which you may pretend thereby; being moſt aſſuredly perſuaded, that your proceedings are directly contrary to our ſovereign lord and lady's will, which we ever eſteem to be for the welfare, and not for the hurt of this our commonwealth. And as you will not acknowledge us, our ſovereign lord and lady's true barons and lieges, for your ſubjects and council, no more will we acknowledge you for any regent, or lawful magiſtrate unto us; ſeeing, if any authority ye have by reaſon of our ſovereign's commiſſion granted unto you, the ſame, for moſt worthy reaſons, is worthily ſuſpended by us, in the name and authority of our ſovereign, whoſe council we are of, in the affairs of this our commonwealth. And foraſmuch as we are determined, with the hazard of our lives, to ſet that town at liberty, wherein you have moſt wrongfully planted your ſoldiers and ſtrangers, for the reverence we owe to your perſon, as mother to our ſovereign lady, we require your highneſs to tranſport your perſon therefrom; ſeeing we are conſtrained, for the neceſſity of the commonwealth, to follow the ſame by arms, being denied the liberty thereof, by ſundry requiſitions made oft before. Again, we deſire you cauſe depart with you out of the ſaid town any perſon having commiſſion in embaſſage, if any ſuch be, or in lieutenantſhip of our ſovereigns, together with all Frenchmen, ſoldiers, being within the ſame (whoſe blood we thirſt not, becauſe of the old amity and friendſhip betwixt the realm of France and us; which amity, by the occaſion of the marriage of our ſovereign lady to the king of that realm, ſhould rather increaſe than decreaſe). And this we pray your highneſs and them both to do, within the ſpace of twenty-four hours, for the reverence we owe to your perſons. And thus, recommending our humble ſervice to you, we commit your highneſs to the eternal protection of God. At Edinburgh, the 24th of October 1559.

Your Highneſs's humble Servitors.

The Day following we ſummoned the town of Leith, by the Sound of Trumpet, in Form as followeth:

I REQUIRE and charge, in the name of our ſovereign lord and lady, and of the council preſently in Edinburgh, that all Scots and Frenchmen, of whatſoever eſtate and degree they be, depart out of the town of Leith, within the ſpace of twelve hours, and make the ſame patent to all and ſundry our ſovereign lady's lieges: for ſeeing we have no ſuch hatred at either the one or the other, that we thirſt the blood of any of the two; for the one is our natural brother, born, nouriſhed, and brought up within the bowels of one common country; and with the other our nation hath continued long in amity and alliance, and hopeth that ſo ſhall do, ſo long as they uſe us as friends, and not ſtrive to make ſlaves of friends, which this ſtrengthening of our towns portendeth. And therefore moſt heartily deſire, the one and the other to deſiſt from fortifying or maintaining of this town, in our ſovereigns, and their ſaid council's name, requiring them to make the ſame free within the ſpace of twelve hours.

Defiance given, there was ſkirmiſhing, without great ſlaughter: preparation of ſcales and ladders was made for the aſſault, which was concluded by common conſent of the nobility and barons. The ſcales were appointed to be made in St. Giles's church; ſo that preaching was neglected, which did not a little grieve the preachers, and many godly with them. The preachers ſpared not openly to ſay, That they feared the ſucceſs of that enterpriſe ſhould not be proſperous, becauſe the beginning appeared to bring with it ſome contempt of God and of his word. Other places, ſaid they, had been more apt for ſuch preparations, than where the people convened to common prayers, and unto preaching. In very deed the audience was wonderfully troubled all that time, which (with other diſorder eſpied amongſt us) gave occaſion to our preachers to affirm, That God could not ſuffer ſuch contempt of his word, and abuſes of his grace,

long to be unpuniſhed. The queen had amongſt us her aſſured ſpies, who did not only ſignify unto her what was our eſtate, but alſo what was our counſel, purpoſes, and devices. Some of our own company were vehemently ſuſpected to be the very betrayers of all our ſecrets; for a boy of the official's of Lothian, Mr. James Balfour, was taken carrying a writ, which did open the moſt ſecret thing that was deviſed in the council; yea, thoſe very things which were thought to have been known but to very few. By ſuch domeſtic enemies were not only our purpoſes fruſtrated, but alſo our determinations were often overthrown and changed.

The duke's friends gave unto him ſuch terrors, that he was greatly troubled, and by his fear were troubled many others. The men of war (for the moſt part were men without God or honeſty) made a mutiny, becauſe they lacked a part of their wages. They had done the ſame in Linlithgow before, where they made a proclamation, That they would ſerve any man, to ſuppreſs the Congregation, and ſet up the maſs again. They made a fray upon my lord Argyle's Highlandmen, and ſlew one of the principal men of his chamber, who, notwithſtanding, behaved himſelf ſo moderately, and ſo ſtudious to pacify that tumult, that many wondered as well of his prudent counſel and ſtoutneſs, as of the great obedience of his company. The ungodly ſoldiers, in hatred of goodneſs and good men, continuing in their diſorder, mocked the laird of Tullibairn, and other noblemen, who exhorted them to quietneſs.

All theſe troubles were practiſed by the queen, and put in execution by the traitors among ourſelves; who albeit then lurked, and yet are not manifeſtly noted, yet we doubt not but God ſhall make them known, to their confuſion, and to the example of others. To pacify the men of war, a collection was deviſed: but becauſe ſome were poor, and ſome were niggards and avaricious, there could no ſufficient ſum be obtained. It was thought expedient that a coin-houſe ſhould be made; that every nobleman ſhould coin his ſilver-work and plate, to ſupply the preſent neceſſity: and therethrough David Forreſs, John Hart, and others, who before had charge of the coining-houſe, did promiſe their faithful labours. But when the matter came to the very point, the ſaid John Hart, and others of his faction, ſtole away, and took with them the inſtruments fit for that purpoſe. Whether this was done by the falſehood and feebleneſs of the ſaid John, or the practiſing of others, is yet uncertain. Reſted then no hope amongſt ourſelves, that any money could be furniſhed: and therefore it was concluded by a few of thoſe whom we judged moſt ſecret, that Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Crofts, then having charge at Berwick, ſhould be tried, if they would ſupport us with any reaſonable ſum in that urgent neceſſity: and for that purpoſe was the laird of Ormiſton directed unto them, in ſo ſecret manner as we could deviſe. But yet our council was diſcloſed to the queen, who appointed the earl Bothwell, as himſelf confeſſed, to wait upon the returning of the ſaid laird, as that he did with all diligence; and ſo being aſſuredly informed by what way he came, the ſaid earl Bothwel beſet his way; and, coming upon him unaware, did take him, after he was much wounded in the head; for neither could he get his led horſe, nor his ſteel bonnet: with him was taken the ſum of four thouſand crowns of the ſun, which the forenamed Sir Ralph and Sir James moſt lovingly had ſent for our ſupport. The report hereof coming to our ears, our ſorrow was doubled, not ſo much for the loſs of the money, as for the loſs of the gentleman, whom we ſuſpected to have been ſlain, or at the leaſt that he ſhould be delivered to the queen's hands.

And ſo upon the ſudden the earl of Arran, the lord James, the maſter of Maxwel, with the moſt part of the horſemen, took purpoſe to purſue the ſaid earl Bothwel, if they might apprehend him in Crichton, or Morhan, whitherto, as they were informed, he had retired himſelf after his treaſonable act. We call his act treaſonable, becauſe that three days before he had ſent his ſpecial ſervant, Mr. Michael Balfour, to us to Edinburgh, to purchaſe of the lords of the council licence to come and ſpeak with us; which we granted, after that he had promiſed, that in the mean time he ſhould neither hurt us, nor yet any to us appertaining, till that he ſhould write his anſwer again, whether that he would join with us or not. He gave us farther to underſtand, that he would diſcharge himſelf of the queen, and thereafter would aſſiſt us; and yet in this mean time he cruelly and traiterouſly hurt and ſpoiled the nobleman aforeſaid. Albeit that the departure and counſel of the earl of Arran and lord James, with their company aforeſaid, was very ſudden and ſecret, yet was the earl Bothwel, then being in Crichton, advertiſed, and ſo eſcaped with the money which he took with himſelf, as the captain of his houſe, John Somervel (who was taken without long purſuit), confeſſed and affirmed. Becauſe that the noblemen

that ſought redreſs, ſought rather his ſafety and reconciliation, than deſtruction and hatred, they committed his houſe to the cuſtody of a captain, *viz.* captain Forbes; to whom, and to all ſoldiers there left, was given a ſharp commandment, that all things found within the ſaid houſe of Crichton (which were put in inventory in preſence of the lords) ſhould be kept till that the earl Bothwel ſhould give anſwer, whether he would make reſtitution or not: time of advertiſement was granted unto him the whole day ſubſequent, till going down of the ſun.

In abſence of the ſaid lords and horſemen (we mean the ſame day that they departed, which was the laſt of October), the provoſt and town of Dundee, together with ſome ſoldiers, paſſed forth of the town of Edinburgh, and carried with them ſome great ordnance to ſhoot at Leith. The duke, the earl of Glencairn, and the reſt of the noblemen, were gone to the preaching, where they continued almoſt till noon. The French being adverti ſed by one named Clark, who after was apprehended, that our horſemen were abſent, and that the whole company were at dinner, iſſued, and with great expedition came to the place where our ordnance was laid. The town of Dundee, with a few others, reſiſted a while, as well with the ordnance as hackbuts; but being left by our ungodly and feeble ſoldiers, who fled without ſtroke offered or given, they were compelled to give back, and ſo to leave the ordnance to the enemies, who further purſued the fugitives, *viz.* to the midſt of the Canongate, and to the foot of Leith-wynd. Their cruelty began then to diſcover itſelf; for the maimed, the aged, the women, and children, found no greater favour in their fury, than did the ſtrong man who made reſiſtance. It was very apparent, that among ourſelves there was ſome treaſon: for when, upon the firſt alarm, all men made haſte for relief of their brethren, whom in very deed we might have ſaved, and at leaſt we might have ſaved the ordnance, and have kept the Canongate from danger (for we were once marched forward with bold courage); but then, we ſay, was a ſhout raiſed amongſt ourſelves (God will diſcloſe the traitors one day), affirming, that the whole French company were entered in at Leith-wynd, upon our backs. What clamour and diſorder did then ſuddenly ariſe, we liſt not to expreſs with multiplication of words; the horſemen, and ſome of thoſe that ought to have put order to others, over-rode their poor brethren at the entry of the Nether-bow. The cry of diſcomfiture aroſe in the town; the wicked and malignant blaſphemed. The feeble (amongſt whom the juſtice-clerk Sir John Ballenden was) fled without delay. With great difficulty could they be kept in at the Weſt-port. Mr. Gavin Hamilton cried with a loud voice, 'Drink now as ye have 'brewed.' The French perceiving, by the clamour of our fray, followed, as is ſaid, to the midſt of the Canongate, to no great number, being about twenty or thirty of their foot; for in the mean time the reſt retired themſelves with our ordnance. The earl of Argyle and his men were the firſt that ſtopped the flying of our men, and compelled the port to be opened after that it was ſhut. But in very deed lord Robert Stewart, abbot of Holyroodhouſe, was the firſt that iſſued forth; after him followed many upon the backs of the French. At laſt came the duke, and then was no man more buſy than was Mr. Gavin Hamilton aforeſaid.

The French burnt a bake-houſe, and took ſome ſpoil from the poor of the Canongate. They ſlew a Papiſt and a drunken prieſt, named Sir Thomas Sclater, an aged man, a woman giving ſuck, and her child, and of our ſoldiers to the number of ten: certain were taken, amongſt whom captain Mowat was one, and Mr. Charles Geddes, domeſtic to the maſter of Maxwel. The captain of the caſtle that day ſhot a ſhot at the French, declaring himſelf thereby a friend to us, and enemy to them, but he ſuddenly repented of well-doing. The queen, glad of the victory, ſat upon the rampart, to ſalute and welcome her victorious ſoldiers: one brought a kirtle, another a petticoat, the third a pot or pan; and of envy more than womanly laughter, ſhe aſked, 'Where bought ye your ware?' *Le penſe que vous l'aves achete ſans argent?* This was the great and motherly care which ſhe took for the trouble of the poor ſubjects of this realm. The earl Bothwel, lifted up in his own conceit, by reaſon of this our repulſe and diſcomfiture, utterly refuſed any reſtitution; and ſo, within two days after, was his houſe ſpoiled, in which were nothing of great importance, his evidences and certain clothing excepted.

From that day back the carriage of many was dejected; with great difficulty could men be retained in the town; yea, ſome of the greateſt eſtimation determined with themſelves to leave the enterpriſe: many fled away ſecretly, and thoſe that did abide, a very few excepted, appeared deſtitute of counſel and manhood. The maſter of Maxwel, a man ſtout and witty, foreſeeing the danger, deſired moſt gravely, either to take ſuch order, that they might remain to the terror of the enemy; or

elſe that they ſhould retire themſelves with their ordnance, and banners diſplayed in order: but the wits of men deing daſhed, no counſel could prevail. We continued from Wedneſday the laſt of October, till Monday the fifth of November, never two or three abiding firm in one opinion the ſpace of twenty-four hours. The peſtilent wits of the queen's practiſers did then exerciſe themſelves (God ſhall recompenſe their malicious craft into their own boſom, we doubt not); for they cauſed two godly and forward young men, the lairds of Fairniharſte and Ceſfurd, who once had gladly joined themſelves with us, to withdraw themſelves and their friends. The ſame they did to the earl of Morton, who promiſed to be ours, but did not plainly join. They enticed the captain of the caſtle to deny us ſupport, in caſe we were purſued. And finally, the counſel of ſome was no leſs peſtiferous againſt us, than was the counſel of Ahithophel againſt David, and his diſcomfited ſoldiers. 'Render, O Lord, to the wicked according to 'their malice.'

Upon Monday, the fifth of November, did the French iſſue out of Leith early in the morning, for keeping of the victuals which ſhould have come to us; we, being troubled among ourſelves, and, as is ſaid, divided in opinions, were neither circumſpect when they did iſſue, neither yet did we follow with ſuch expedition, as had been meet for them that would have ſought our advantage. Our ſoldiers could ſcarcely be driven forth of the town: the earl of Arran, lord James, and certain with them, made haſte; many honeſt men then followed, and made ſuch diligence, that they cauſed the French once to retire ſomewhat afraid. The reſt that were in Leith, perceiving the danger of their fellows, iſſued out for their ſuccour. The earl of Arran and lord James aforeſaid, being more forward than prudent and circumſpect, did compel the captains, as is alledged, to bring their men ſo near, that either they muſt needs have hazarded battle with the whole Frenchmen (and that under the mercy of their cannon alſo), or elſe they muſt needs retire into a very narrow corner: for our men were approached near to Reſtalrig: the one part of the French were upon the north toward the ſea, the other part marched from Leith to Edinburgh; and yet they marched ſo, that we could have fought with neither company before that they ſhould have joined.

We took purpoſe therefore to retire towards the town, and that in haſte, leſt that the former company of the French ſhould either have invaded the town before that we could have come to the reſcue thereof, or elſe have cut us off from the entry of the abbey of Holyrood-houſe, as apparently they had done, if that the laird of Grange, and Alexander Whitelaw, with a few horſemen, had not ſtaid both their horſemen and footmen. The company which was next us, perceiving that we retired, with ſpeed ſent forth their ſkirmiſhers, to the number of three or four hundred, who took as at a diſadvantage, before us having the mire of Reſtalrig betwixt us and them, and we were incloſed by the park-ditch, ſo that in nowiſe we could avoid their ſhot. The horſemen followed upon our heels, and ſlew divers: our own horſemen over-rode our footmen; and ſo, by reaſon of the narrowneſs of the place, there was no reſiſtance made. The earl of Arran, and lord James, in great danger, lighted amongſt the footmen, exhorting them to have ſome reſpect to order, and to the ſafety of their brethren, whom by their flying they expoſed to murder, and ſo were criminal of their death. Captain Alexander Halyburton, a man that feared God, tarried with certain of his ſoldiers behind, and made reſiſtance, till that he was firſt ſhot, and then taken; but being known, thoſe cruel murderers wounded him in divers parts to the death, and yet, as it were by the power of God, he was brought in to the town; where in few, but yet moſt plain words, he gave confeſſion of his faith, teſtifying, That he doubted nothing of God's mercy purchaſed to him by the blood of Chriſt Jeſus; neither yet that he repented, that it pleaſed God to make him worthy to ſhed his blood, and ſpend his life, in defence of ſo juſt a cauſe; and thus, with the dolour of many, he ended his dolour, and did enter (we doubt not) into that bleſſed immortality. Within two hours after our departure, there were ſlain to the number of twenty-four or thirty men, the moſt part poor. There was taken the laird of Pitmillie, the laird of Pharnie younger, the maſter of Buchan, George Cowell of Dundee, and ſome others of lower rank, John Dunbar lieutenant to captain Mowat: captain David Murray had his horſe ſlain, and himſelf hurt in the leg.

Few days before our firſt departure, which was upon All-hallow-even, William Maitland of Lethington younger, ſecretary to the queen, perceiving himſelf not only to be ſuſpected as one that favoured our part, but alſo to ſtand in danger of his life, if he ſhould remain amongſt ſo ungodly a company; for whenſoever matters came in queſtion, he ſpared not to ſpeak his conſcience; which

liberty of tongue, and gravity of judgment, the French did highly diſdain: which perceived by him, he conveyed himſelf away in the morning, and rendered himſelf to Mr. Kirkcaldy laird of Grange; who coming to us, did exhort us to conſtancy, aſſuring us, That in the queen there was nothing but craft and deceit. He travelled exceedingly to have retained the lords together, and moſt prudently laid before their eyes the dangers that might enſue their departing from the town; but fear and dolour had ſo ſeized the hearts of all, that they could admit no conſolation. The earl of Arran and the lord James offered to abide, if any reaſonable company would abide with them; but men did ſo ſteal away, that the wit of man could not ſtay them; yea, ſome of the greateſt determined plainly, that they would not abide. The captain of the caſtle, then lord Erſkine, would promiſe unto us no favour, but ſaid, He muſt needs declare himſelf friend to thoſe that were able to ſupport and defend him; which anſwer given to the lord James, diſcouraged thoſe that before determined to have bidden the uttermoſt, rather than have abandoned the town, ſo that the caſtle would have ſtood their friend; but the contrary declared, every man took purpoſe for himſelf. The complaints of the brethren within the town of Edinburgh were lamentable and ſore; the wicked then began to ſpue forth the venom which then lurked in their cankered hearts: the godly, as well thoſe that were departed, as the inhabitants of the town, were ſo troubled, that ſome of them would have preferred death to life at God's pleaſure; for avoiding of danger, it was concluded, that they ſhould depart at midnight. The duke made proviſion for his ordnance, and cauſed it to be ſent before; but the reſt was left to the care of the captain of the caſtle, who received it, as well that which appertained to the lord James, as that of Dundee. The deſpiteful tongues of the wicked railed upon us, calling us traitors and heretics; every one provoked other to caſt ſtones at us; one cried, Alas! if I might ſee another defy given; Give advertiſement to the Frenchmen, that they may come, and we ſhall help them now to cut the throats of theſe heretics: and thus, as the ſword of dolour paſſed through our hearts, ſo were the cogitations and former determinations of many hearts then revealed: for we would never have believed, that our natural countrymen and women could have wiſhed our deſtruction ſo unmercifully, and have ſo rejoiced in our adverſity (God move their hearts to repentance); for elſe we fear, that he, whoſe cauſe we ſuſtain, ſhall let them feel the weight of the yoke of cruel ſtrangers, into whoſe hands they wiſhed us to have been betrayed.

We ſtaid not till we came to Stirling, which we did the day after that we departed from Edinburgh; for it was concluded, that there conſultation ſhould be taken, what was the next remedy in ſo deſperate a matter.

The next Wedneſday, which was the 7th of November, John Knox preached (John Willock was gone into England, as before he had appointed); and treated of the 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th verſes of the Eightieth Pſalm, where David, in the perſon of the afflicted people of God, ſpeaketh thus:

The SERMON *of* JOHN KNOX *in Stirling, in the greateſt of our trouble.*

4. *O thou the Eternal, the God of Hoſts, how long ſhalt thou be againſt the prayer of thy people?*

5. *Thou haſt fed us with the bread of tears, and haſt given to us tears to drink in great meaſure.*

6. *Thou haſt made us a ſtrife unto our neighbours, and our enemies laugh us to ſcorn among themſelves.*

7. *O God of Hoſts, turn us again, make thy face to ſhine, and we ſhall be ſaved,* &c.

This pſalm had the ſaid John begun in Edinburgh, as it were foreſeeing our calamity, of which, in very deed, he did not obſcurely ſpeak, but he plainly did admoniſh us, That he was aſſured of troubles ſuddenly to come, and therefore he exhorted all men to prayers. He treated on the firſt three verſes in Edinburgh, to the comfort of many.

The Argument of the Eightieth Pſalm.

HE declared the argument of the pſalm, affirming, for his judgment, That it was made by David himſelf, who, in the ſpirit of prophecy, foreſaw the miſerable eſtate of God's people, eſpecially after the ten tribes were divided, and departed from the obedience of Judah; for it was not, ſaid he, without cauſe, that Joſeph, Ephraim, Benjamin, and Manaſſeh, were eſpecially named, and not Judah; *viz.* becauſe that they came firſt to calamity, and were tranſlated from their own inheritance, while that Judah yet poſſeſſed the kingdom. He confeſſed, that juſtly they were puniſhed for idolatry com-

mitted; but he affirmed, That amongſt them there remained ſome true worſhippers of God, for whoſe comfort were the prophets ſent, as well to call them to repentance, as to aſſure them of deliverance, and of the promiſes of God to be performed unto them.

The Diviſion.

He divided the pſalm into three parts; *viz.*

1. In a prayer.

2. In the ground whereupon their prayer was founded.

3. And in the lamentable complaints, and the vow they made unto God.

Their prayer was, 'That God ſhould convert 'and turn them; that he ſhould make his face to 'ſhine upon them; and that he ſhould reſtor- 'them to their former dignity.'

The Grounds and Foundations of their Prayers were,

1. That God himſelf had become paſtor and governor unto them.

2. That he had taken the protection of them into his own hand.

3. That he had choſen his habitation amongſt them.

4. That he had delivered them from bondage and thraldom.

5. That he had multiplied and bleſſed them with many notable benedictions.

Upon thoſe two Parts he gave theſe Notes,

Firſt, That the felicity of God's people may not be meaſured by any external appearance; for often it is, that the ſame people to whom God becometh not only Creator, but Paſtor and Protector, is more ſeverely dealt with, than thoſe nations where very ignorance and contempt of God reigneth.

Secondly, That God never made his acquaintance and league with one people by his word, but that there he had ſome of his elect; who, albeit they ſuffered for a time in the midſt of the wicked, yet in the end they found comfort, and felt in very experience, that God's promiſes are not vain.

Thirdly, That thoſe prayers were dictated unto the people by the Holy Ghoſt, before they came to the uttermoſt of trouble, to aſſure them, that God, by whoſe Spirit the prayer was dictated, would not contemn the ſame in the midſt of their calamities.

The *third part*, containing the lamentable complaint, he treated on in Stirling, in preſence of the duke, and of the whole council.

In the expoſition thereof, he declared wherefore God in wiſdom ſometimes ſuffered his choſen flock to be expoſed to mockage and dangers, and to appearing deſtruction; *viz.* that they may feel the vehemency of God's indignation; that they may know how little ſtrength is in themſelves; that they may leave a teſtimony to the generations following, as well of the malice of the devil againſt God's people, as of the marvellous work of God, in preſerving his little flock by far other means than man can eſpy.

In explaining theſe words, 'How long ſhalt 'thou be angry, O Lord, againſt the prayer of 'thy people,' he declared how dolorous and fearful it was to fight againſt that temptation, That God turned away his face from our prayers; for that was nothing elſe, than to comprehend and conceive God to be armed to our deſtruction; which temptation no fleſh can abide or overcome, unleſs the mighty Spirit of God interpoſe himſelf ſuddenly.

The example he gave, The impatience of Saul, when God would not hear his prayers.

The difference betwixt the elect and reprobate, in that temptation, he plainly declared to be, That the elect, ſuſtained by the ſecret power of God's Spirit, did ſtill call upon God, albeit he appeared to contemn their prayers; which, ſaid he, is the ſacrifice moſt acceptable to God, and is in a manner even to fight with God, and to overcome him, as Jacob did in wreſtling with his angel.

But the reprobate, ſaid he, being denied of their requeſts at God's hand, do either ceaſe to pray, or contemn God, who ſtrictly commandeth us to call upon him in the day of adverſity; or elſe they ſeek at the devil, that which they ſee they cannot obtain by God.

In the *ſecond part*, he declared, how hard it was to this corrupt nature of ours, not to rejoice and put confidence in ourſelves, when God giveth victory; and therefore how neceſſary it was, that man by affliction ſhould be brought to the knowledge of his own infirmity, leſt that he, being puffed up with vain confidence, make 'an idol of his 'own ſtrength,' as did king Nebuchadnezzar.

He did gravely diſpute upon the nature of the blind world, which in all ages had inſolently rejoiced when God did chaſten his own children, whoſe glory and honour becauſe the reprobate

can never ſee, therefore they deſpiſe them, and the wonderous works of God in them; and yet, ſaid he, the joy and rejoicing of the world is but mere ſorrow, becauſe the end of it tendeth to ſudden deſtruction, as the riotous banquetting of Belſhazzar declareth. Applying theſe heads to the time and perſons, he ſaid, If none of God's children had ſuffered before us the ſame injuries that preſently we ſuſtain, theſe our troubles would appear intolerable: ſuch is our tender delicacy, and ſelf-love of our own fleſh, that theſe things which we lightly paſs over in others, we can greatly complain of if they touch ourſelves.

I doubt not but that ſome of us have oftener than once read this pſalm; as alſo, that we have read and heard the travel and troubles of our ancient fathers; but which of us, either in reading or hearing their dolours and temptations, did ſo deſcend into ourſelves, that we felt the bitterneſs of their paſſions? I think none; and therefore hath God brought us to ſome experience in our own perſons.

But yet, becauſe the matter may appear obſcure, unleſs it be more properly applied, I cannot in conſcience but uſe ſuch plainneſs, as God ſhall grant unto me: our faces are this day confounded, our enemies triumph, our hearts have quaked for fear, and yet they remain oppreſſed with ſorrow and ſhame. But what ſhall we think to be the very cauſe that God hath thus dejected us? If I ſhall ſay, Our ſins, and former unthankfulneſs unto God, I ſpeak the truth, but yet I ſpeak more generally than the preſent neceſſity requireth: for when the ſins of men are rebuked in general, ſeldom is it that man deſcendeth within himſelf, accuſing and condemning in himſelf that which moſt diſpleaſeth God; but rather he doubteth that to be a cauſe, which before God is no cauſe indeed. For example, The Iſraelites fighting againſt the tribe of Benjamin, were twice diſcomfited, with the loſs of forty thouſand men: they lamented and bewailed both firſt and laſt: but we find not that they came to the knowledge of their offence and ſin, which was the cauſe that they fell by the edge of the ſword; but rather they doubted that to have been a cauſe of their misfortune, which God had commanded; for they aſked, Shall we go and fight any more againſt our brethren the ſons of Benjamin? By which queſtion it is evident, that they ſuppoſed that the cauſe of their overthrow and diſcomfiture was, becauſe they had lifted the ſword againſt their brethren and natural countrymen; and yet the expreſs commandment of God, that was given unto them, did deliver them from all crime in that cauſe. There is no doubt but that there was ſome cauſe in the Iſraelites, that God gave them ſo over into the hands of thoſe wicked men, againſt whom he ſent them, by his own expreſs commandment, to execute his judgments. Such as do well mark the hiſtory, and the eſtate of that people, may eaſily ſee the cauſe why God was offended: all the whole people had declined from God; idolatry was maintained by the common conſent of the multitude; and, as the text ſaith, 'Every man did that which was 'good in his own eyes.' In this mean time, the Levite complained of the villany that was done unto himſelf, and unto his wife, who, oppreſſed by the Benjamites of Gibeah, died under their filthy luſts, which horrible fact inflamed the hearts of the whole people, to take vengeance upon that abomination (and therein they offended not): but in this they failed, That they go to execute judgment againſt the wicked, without any repentance, or remorſe of conſcience, of their own former offences, and defection from God: and farther, becauſe they were a great multitude, and the other were far inferior to them, they truſted in their own ſtrength, and thought themſelves able enough to do their purpoſe, without any invocation of the name of God: but after that they had twice proved the vanity of their own ſtrength, they faſted and prayed; and being humbled before God, they received a more favourable anſwer, and aſſured promiſe of the victory.

The like may be amongſt us, albeit ſuddenly we do not eſpy it: and to the end that every man may the better examine himſelf, I will divide the whole company into two ſorts of men; the one are thoſe that from the beginning of this trouble have ſuſtained the common danger with their brethren, the other are theſe which are joined to our fellowſhip. In the one, and in the other, I fear that juſt cauſe ſhall be found, why God ſhould thus have humbled us: and albeit that this appear ſtrange at the firſt hearing, yet, if every man ſhall examine himſelf, and ſpeak that which his conſcience dictateth to him, I doubt not but he ſhall ſubſcribe to my ſentence. Let us begin at ourſelves, who longeſt have continued in this battle: when we were a few in number, in compariſon of our enemies; when we had neither earl nor lord (a few excepted) to comfort us, we called upon God, and took him for our Protector, Defence, and only Refuge; amongſt us was heard no braging of multitude, nor of our ſtrength, nor policy; we did only cry to God, to have reſpect to the

equity of our cauſe, and to the cruel purſuit of the tyrannical enemy: but ſince that our number had been thus multiplied, and chiefly ſince the duke, with his friends, have been joined with us, there was nothing heard but, 'This lord will 'bring theſe many hundred ſpears; this man hath 'the credit to perſuade this country; if this earl be 'ours, no man in ſuch bounds will trouble us.' And thus the beſt of us all, that before felt God's potent hand to our defence, have of late days put fleſh to be our arm; but wherein yet had the duke and his friends offended? It may be, that as we have truſted in them, ſo have they put too much confidence in their own ſtrength: but granting it be not ſo, I ſee a cauſe moſt juſt, why the duke and his friends ſhould thus be confounded amongſt the reſt of their brethren; I have not yet forgotten, what was the dolour and anguiſh of my own heart, when at St. Johnſton, Coupar-muir, and Edinburgh-craigs, thoſe cruel murderers, that now have put us to this diſhonour, threatened our preſent deſtruction: the duke and his friends, at all the three journeys, were to them a great comfort, and to us a great diſcouragement: for his name and authority did more aſtoniſh us than did the force of the other; yea, without his aſſiſtance, they could not have compelled us to appoint with the queen, upon ſo unequal conditions. I am uncertain if the duke hath unfeignedly repented of his aſſiſtance to thoſe murderers, unjuſtly purſuing us; yea, I am uncertain if he hath repented of the innocent blood of Chriſt's bleſſed martyrs, which was ſhed by his fault: but let it be that ſo he hath done (as I hear that he hath confeſſed his offence before the lords and brethren of the Congregation), yet I am aſſured, that neither he, neither yet his friends, did feel before this time, the anguiſh and grief of heart which we felt, when their blind fury purſued us; and therefore hath God juſtly permitted both them and us to fall into this confuſion at once; us, for that we put our truſt and confidence in man; and them, becauſe that they ſhould feel in their own hearts, how bitter was the cup which they made others to drink before them.

Reſteth, that both they and we turn to the Eternal, our God (who beateth down to death, to the intent that he may raiſe up again, to leave the remembrance of his wonderous deliverance, to the praiſe of his own name), which if we do unfeignedly, I no more doubt but that this our dolour, confuſion, and fear, ſhall be turned into joy, honour, and boldneſs, than that I doubt that God gave victory to the Iſraelites over the Benjamites, after that twice with ignominy they were repulſed and driven back: yea, whatſoever ſhall become of us and our mortal carcaſes, I doubt not but that this cauſe, in deſpite of Satan, ſhall prevail in this realm of Scotland; for as it is the eternal truth of the eternal God, ſo ſhall it once prevail, howſoever for the time it is impugned. It may be that God ſhall plague ſome, for that they delight not in the truth, albeit for worldly reſpects they ſeem to favour it; yea, God may take ſome of his deareſt children away, before that their eyes ſee greater troubles: but neither ſhall the one, nor the other, ſo hinder this action, but in the end it ſhall triumph.

This ſermon ended, in the which he did vehemently exhort all men to amendment of life, to prayer, and to the works of charity: the minds of men began wonderouſly to be erected; and immediately after dinner, the lords paſſed to council, unto the which the ſaid John Knox was called, to make invocation of the name of God (for other preachers were none with us at that time). In the end it was concluded, That William Maitland aforeſaid ſhould paſs to London, to expoſe our eſtate and condition to the queen and council; and that the noblemen ſhould depart to their homes, and be quiet, till the 16th day of December: which time was appointed to the next convention in Stirling, as in this our THIRD BOOK following ſhall be more amply declared.

Look upon us, O Lord, in the multitude of thy mercies; for we are brought even to the depth of the dungeon.

THE END OF BOOK SECOND.

BOOK THIRD.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REFORMATION OF RELIGION,

WITHIN THE REALM OF

SCOTLAND.

AFTER this our dolorous departing from Edinburgh, the fury and rage of the French increaſed; for then durſt neither man nor woman, that profeſſed Chriſt Jeſus, within the town be ſeen. The houſes of the moſt honeſt men were given by the queen to Frenchmen, for a part of their reward. The earl Bothwel, by ſound of trumpet, proclaimed the earl of Arran traitor, with other deſpiteful words; all which was done for the pleaſure, and by the ſuggeſtion, of the queen regent, who then thought the battle was won without further reſiſtance. Great practices ſhe made for obtaining the caſtle of Edinburgh; the French made their fagots, with other preparations, to aſſault the ſaid caſtle, either by force, or elſe by treaſon: but God wrought ſo mightily with the captain, the lord Erſkine, at that time, that neither the queen by flattery, nor the French by treaſon, prevailed. Advertiſement with all diligence paſſed to the duke of Guiſe, who then was king of France (as concerning power to command), requiring him to make expedition, if he deſired the full conqueſt of Scotland; who delayed no time, but with a new army ſent away his brother marquis Dalbuif, and in his company Marticks, promiſing, that he himſelf ſhould follow. But the righteous God, who in mercy looketh upon the affliction of thoſe who unfeignedly cry unto him, fought for us by his own out-ſtretched arm: for in one night, upon the coaſt of Holland, were drowned of them eighteen enſigns; ſo that only reſted the ſhip, in the which were two principals aforeſaid, with their ladies, who, violently driven back to Diepe, were compelled to confeſs, 'That God fought for the 'defence of Scotland.'

From England returned Robert Melvil, who paſt in company to London with the ſecretary, a little before Chriſtmas, and brought unto us certain articles to be anſwered, as by the contract, that after was made, more plainly ſhall appear. Whereupon the nobility aſſembled at Stirling, and returned anſwer with diligence: whereof the French advertiſed, they marched to Linlithgow, ſpoiled the duke's houſe, and waſted his lands of Kinneil; and after came to Stirling, where they remained certain days (the duke, the earls of Argyle and Glencairn, with their friends, paſſed to Glaſgow; the earl of Arran and lord James paſſed to

St. Andrews: for charge was given to the whole nobility Proteſtants, to keep their own bodies, till that God ſhould ſend them further ſupport). The French took purpoſe firſt to aſſault Fife; for at it was their great indignation. Their purpoſe was to have taken and fortified the town and abbey, with the caſtle of St. Andrews: and ſo they came to Culroſs, after to Dunfermline, and then to Burntiſland, where they began to fortify; but deſiſted therefrom, and marched to Kinghorn, upon the occaſion as followeth:

When certain knowledge came to the earl of Arran, and to lord James, that the French were departed from Stirling, they departed alſo from St. Andrews, and began to aſſemble their forces at Coupar, and ſent their men of war to Kinghorn, unto whom there reſorted divers of the coaſt-ſide, of mind to reſiſt rather at the beginning, than when they had deſtroyed a part of their towns: but the lords had given an expreſs commandment, That they ſhould hazard nothing, till that they themſelves were preſent; and for that purpoſe was ſent unto them the lord Ruthven, a man of great experience, and inferior to few in ſtoutneſs: in his company was the earl of Sutherland, ſent from the earl of Huntly, as he alledged, to comfort the lords in their affliction; but others whiſpered, That his principal commiſſion was unto the queen regent. Howſoever it was, he was hurt in the arm, by the ſhot of an hackbut; for the men of war, and the raſcal multitude, perceiving certain boats of Frenchmen landing, which came from Leith, purpoſed to ſtop their landing; and ſo, not conſidering the enemies that approached from Burntiſland, unadviſedly they ruſhed down to Petticur (ſo is that bay to the weſt of Kinghorn called), and at the ſea-coaſt began the ſkirmiſhing. But they never took heed to the enemy that approached by land, till that the horſemen charged them upon the back, and the whole bands came directly in their faces; and ſo were they compelled to give back, with the loſs of ſix or ſeven of their men, and with the taking of ſome; amongſt whom were two that profeſſed Chriſt Jeſus, one named Paul Lambert a Dutchman, and a French boy, fervent in religion, and clean of life, whom in deſpite they hanged over the ſteeple of Kinghorn. Thou ſhalt revenge, O Lord! in thy appointed time.

The cauſe that in ſo great danger there was ſo ſmall a loſs, next unto the merciful providence of God, was the ſudden coming of the lord Ruthven; for even as our men had given back, he and his company came to the head of the brae, and did not only ſtay the Frenchmen, but alſo ſome of ours broke upon their horſemen, and ſo repulſed them, that they did no further hurt to our footmen. In that rencounter was the earl of Sutherland foreſaid ſhot in the arm, and was carried back to Coupar. The Frenchmen took Kinghorn, where they lay and waſted the country about, as well Papiſts as Proteſtants; yea, even thoſe that were confederated with them, ſuch as Seafield, Wemyſs, Balmouto, Balweary, and others, enemies to God, and traitors to their country; of thoſe, we ſay, they ſpared not the ſheep, the oxen, the kine, and horſe; and, ſome ſay, that their wives and daughters got favour of the French ſoldiers: and ſo did God recompenſe the Papiſts in their own boſoms; for beſides the defiling of their houſes, as is ſaid, two of them received more damage than did all the gentlemen that profeſſed the goſpel within Fife, the laird of Grange only excepted, whoſe houſe of the Grange the Frenchmen overthrew with gunpowder. The queen regent, proud of this victory, burſt forth into her blaſphemous railing, and ſaid, 'Where is now John Knox's God? 'My god is now ſtronger than his, yea, even in 'Fife.' She poſted to her friends in France news that thouſands of the heretics were ſlain, and the reſt were fled; and therefore required, that ſome nobleman of her friends would come, and take the glory of that victory. Upon that information was Marticks, with two ſhips, and ſome captains and horſes, directed to come into Scotland; but little to their own advantage, as we ſhall after hear.

The lords of the Congregation, offended at the fooliſhneſs of the raſcal multitude, called to themſelves the men of war, and remained certain days at Coupar; unto whom repaired John Knox, and in our greateſt deſperation, preached unto us a moſt comfortable ſermon: his text was, The danger wherein the diſciples of Chriſt Jeſus ſtood, when they were in the midſt of the ſea, and Jeſus was upon the mountain, John vi. His exhortation was, That we ſhould not faint, but that we ſhould ſtill row againſt the contrarious blaſts, till that Jeſus Chriſt ſhould come: for, ſaid he, I am aſſuredly perſuaded, that God will deliver us from this extreme trouble, as that I am aſſured, that this is the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt which I preach unto you this day. The fourth watch is not yet come; abide a little, the boat ſhall be ſaved; and Peter, who hath left the boat, ſhall not drown. I am aſſured of that, albeit I cannot aſſure you by reaſon of this preſent rage; God grant that ye may

acknowledge his hand, after that your eyes have ſeen his deliverance.

In that ſermon he comforted many, and yet he offended the earl of Arran; for, in his diſcourſe upon the manifold aſſaults the church of God ſuſtained, he brought for example the multitude of ſtrangers that purſued Jehoſhaphat, after he had reformed religion. He ſpake of the fear of the people, yea, and of the king himſelf at the firſt. But after he affirmed, that Jehoſhaphat was ſtout; and to declare his courage in his God, he comforted his people and his ſoldiers; he came forth in the midſt of them, he ſpake lovingly unto them. He kept not himſelf, ſaid he, incloſed in his chamber, but frequented the multitude, and rejoiced them with his preſence and godly comfort. Theſe and the like ſentences took the ſaid earl to be ſpoken in reproach of him, becauſe he kept himſelf more cloſe and ſolitary than many men would have wiſhed.

After theſe things, determination was taken, that the earl of Arran, and lord James, with the men of war, and ſome companies of horſemen, ſhould go to Dyſart, and there lie to wait upon the French, to ſtop them from deſtroying the ſea-coaſt, as they intended utterly to have done. The ſaid earl, and lord James, did as they were appointed, albeit their company was very ſmall; and yet they did ſo valiantly, that it paſſed almoſt credit: for twenty-one days they lay in their clothes, their boots came never off; they had ſkirmiſhing almoſt every day, yea, ſome days from morning to night. The French were four thouſand ſoldiers, beſides their favourers and faction of the country: the lords were never together five hundred horſemen, with an hundred ſoldiers; and yet they held the French ſo buſy, that, for every horſe that was ſlain to the Congregation, they loſt four French ſoldiers.

William Kirkcaldy of Grange, the day after that his houſe was caſt down, ſent his defiance to monſieur d' Oſel, and unto the reſt, declaring that to this hour he had uſed the French favourably, yea, he had ſaved their lives, when that he might have ſuffered their throats to have been cut; but, ſeeing they had uſed him with that rigour, let them not look for the like favours in time to come. And unto monſieur d' Oſel he ſaid, He knew that he ſhould not get him in ſkirmiſhing, becauſe he knew he was a great coward; but it might be, that he ſhould quit him a common, either in Scotland, or elſe in France. The ſaid William Kirkcaldy, and the maſter of Lindſay, eſcaped many dangers; the maſter had his horſe ſlain under him, and William was almoſt betrayed in his houſe at Halyards; but yet they never ceaſed, for night and day they waited upon the French: they laid themſelves in a ſecret place, with ſome gentlemen, before day, to wait upon the French, who uſed commonly to iſſue in companies to ſeek their prey; and ſo came forth one captain Bartu, with his hundred, and began to ſpoil; whom the maſter, after lord Lindſay, and William ſuffered, without declaration of themſelves, or of their company, till that they had them more than a mile from Kinghorn, and then began the horſemen to break; which perceived, the French altogether drew to a place called Glames-houſe, and made for debate; ſome took the houſe, others defended the court and yards: the hazard appeared very unlikely, for our men had nothing but ſpears, and were compelled to light upon their feet; the other were within ditches, and every man had a culverin. The ſhot was fearful to many, and divers were hurt, amongſt whom was Robert Hamilton, and David Kirkcaldy, brother to the ſaid laird, who both were ſuppoſed to have been ſlain. The ſaid laird perceiving men to faint, and begin to recoil, ſaid, 'Fy, let us never live after this day, 'that we ſhall recoil for French ſcybalds and raſcals.' And ſo the maſter of Lindſay and he burſt in at the gate, and others followed. The maſter ſtruck with his ſpear at La Bartu, and grazing upon his harneſs, from fierceneſs ſtumbled almoſt upon his knees; but recovering ſuddenly, he faſtened his ſpear, and bore the ſaid captain backward; who, becauſe he would not be taken, was ſlain, and fifty of his company with him. Thoſe that were in the houſe, with ſome others, were ſaved, and ſent to Dundee to be kept.

This miſchance to the Frenchmen, made them to be more circumſpect in ſtraying and wandering abroad into the country, and ſo the poor people got ſome relief. To furniſh the French with victuals, was appointed captain Culan, with two ſhips, who travelled betwixt the ſouth ſhore and Kinghorn for that purpoſe: for his wages, he ſpoiled Kinghorn, Kirkcaldy, and ſo much of Dyſart as he might: for remedy whereof, were appointed two ſhips from Dundee; Andrew Sands, a very ſtout and fervent man in the cauſe of religion, was the principal. This ſame time arrived Marticks, who, without delay, landed himſelf, the coffers, and the principal gentlemen that were with him at Leith, leaving the reſt in the ſhips till better opportunity: but the ſaid Andrew and his company ſtriking ſail, and making as they would caſt anchor hard beſide them, boarded them both, and carried them to Dundee: in them were gotten ſome horſe, and

much harneſs, with ſome other trifles; but of money we heard not. Hereat the French offended, avowed the deſtruction of St. Andrews and Dundee.

And ſo upon Monday in the morning, the thirteenth of January, they marched from Dyſart, and paſſed the water of Leven, ever keeping the coaſt, by reaſon of their ſhips and victuals, as is ſaid: about noon they eſpied ſhips (which were ſeen that morning by us that were upon the land, but were not known). Monſieur d' Oſel affirmed them to be French ſhips, and ſo the ſoldiers triumphed, ſhot their volley for a ſalve, and marched forward to Kingcraig, fearing no reſiſtance; but ſhortly after, the Engliſh ſhips met with captain Culan, and ſeized upon him and his ſhips, which made them a little to muſe: then ſuddenly came Mr. Alexander Wood, who had been upon the admiral, and aſſured monſieur d' Oſel that they were Engliſhmen, and that they were the forewarners of a greater number that followed, who were ſent for ſupport of the Congregation. There might have been ſeen pulling of beards for anger, and might have been heard ſuch deſpite as cruel men uſe to ſpew forth, when God bridleth their fury. Wearineſs and the night conſtrained them to lodge there; they ſupped ſcarcely, becauſe their ſhips were taken, in the which were their victuals and ordnance, which they intended to have placed in St. Andrews. They themſelves durſt not ſtray abroad to ſeek; and the laird of Wemyſs's carriages, which likewiſe were coming with furniſhing unto them, were ſtaid; and therefore betimes in the morning they retired towards Kinghorn, and made more expedition in one day in returning, than they did in two in marching forward. The ſtorm, which had continued near the ſpace of a month, broke in the time of their returning; whereby many thought that they ſhould have been ſtaid, till that a reaſonable company might have been aſſembled to have fought with them; and for that purpoſe did William Kirkcaldy cut the bridge of Tullibody: but the French, expert enough in ſuch feats, took down the roof of a pariſh-church, and made a bridge over the ſame water, called Donan, and ſo they eſcaped, and went to Stirling, and thereafter to Leith; yet in their return they loſt divers, amongſt whom there was one whoſe miſerable end we may rehearſe.

As the French ſpoiled the country in their returning, one, captain or common ſoldier we cannot tell, but he had a red cloak, and a gilt murriow, entered upon a poor woman that dwelt in the White-ſide, and began to ſpoil. The poor woman offered unto him ſuch bread as ſhe had ready prepared; but he, in nowiſe therewith content, would have the meal, and a little ſalt-beef, which the poor woman had to ſuſtain her own life, and the lives of her poor children; neither could tears nor pitiful words mitigate the mercileſs man, but he would have whatſoever he might carry. The poor woman perceiving him ſo bent, and that he ſtooped down in her tub, for the taking forth of ſuch ſtuff as was within it, firſt couped and turned up his heels, ſo that his head went down; and thereafter, whether by herſelf, or if any other company came to help her, but there he ended his unhappy life: God ſo puniſhing his cruel heart, who could not ſpare a miſerable woman in that extremity. 'Let all ſuch 'ſoldiers receive ſuch reward, O Lord! ſeeing that 'thou only art the revenger of the oppreſſed.'

And now, becauſe that, from this time forward, frequent mention will be made of the comfortable ſupport that we in our greateſt extremity received by God's providence from our neighbours of England, we think it expedient ſimply to declare by what inſtruments that matter was firſt moved, and by what means it came to paſs, that the queen and council of England ſhewed themſelves ſo favourable unto us.

As John Knox had forewarned us, by his letters from Geneva, of all dangers that he foreſaw to enſue our enterpriſe; ſo, when he came to Diepe, mindful of the ſame, and reſolving with himſelf what remedy God would pleaſe to offer, he took boldneſs to write to Sir William Cecil, ſecretary of ſtate in England, with whom the ſaid John had been before familiarly acquainted, intending thereby to renew acquaintance, and ſo to open further of his mind. The tenor of his firſt letter follows:

The Spirit of Judgment, Wiſdom, and Sanctification, I wiſh unto you by Jeſus Chriſt.

As I have no pleaſure with long writing to trouble you, right honourable, whoſe mind I know to be taken up with moſt grave matters; ſo I mind not greatly to labour by long preface to conciliate your favours, which I ſuppoſe I have already (howſoever rumours report the contrary) as the favour it becometh one member of Chriſt's body to have of another; the contents therefore of my preſent letter ſhall be abſolved in two points: in the former, I purpoſe to diſcharge in few words my conſcience towards you; and in the other, ſomewhat muſt I ſpeak, for my own defence, and in

defence of that poor flock, of late aſſembled in the moſt godly reformed church and city of the world, Geneva: to you, Sir, I ſay, that, as from God you have received life, wiſdom, honours, and the preſent eſtate in the which you now ſtand; ſo ought you wholly to apply the ſame to the advancement of his glory, who only is the author of life, the fountain of wiſdom, and who moſt aſſuredly doth, and will honour and glorify them, that with ſimple hearts do glorify him; which, alas! in times paſt you have not done; but, being overcome with common iniquity, you have followed the world in the way of perdition: for to the ſuppreſſing of Chriſt's true goſpel, to the erecting of idolatry, and to the ſhedding of the blood of God's moſt dear children, have you by ſilence conſented, and ſubſcribed this your moſt horrible defection from the known truth, and once profeſſed; yet hath God to this day mercifully ſpared, yea, to man's judgment, he hath utterly forgotten, and pardoned the ſame: he hath not dealt with you, as he hath done with others, of like knowledge, whom in his anger (but yet moſt juſtly according to their deſerts) he did ſhortly ſtrike after their deſertion; but you, guilty in the ſame offences, hath he foſtered and preſerved, as it were, in his own boſom, during the time of that moſt miſerable thraldom, of that profeſſed enemy of God, miſchievous Mary; and now he hath ſet you at ſuch liberty, as the fury of God's enemies cannot hurt you, except that willingly, againſt his honour, you take pleaſure to conſpire with them. As this benefit which you have received is great, ſo muſt God's juſtice require of you a thankful heart: for ſeeing that his mercy hath ſpared you, being traitor to his majeſty; ſeeing further, that amongſt your enemies he hath preſerved you; and laſt, ſeeing, although worthy of hell, he hath promoted you to honour and dignity; of you muſt he require, becauſe he is juſt, earneſt repentance for your former defection, a heart mindful of his merciful providence, and a will ſo ready to advance his glory, that evidently it may appear, that in vain you have not received theſe graces of God; to the performance whereof, of neceſſity it is, that carnal wiſdom and worldly policy (to which you are reported too much inclined) muſt give place to God's ſimple and naked truth. Very love compels me to ſay, That except the Spirit of God purge your heart from that venom, which your eyes have ſeen to have been deſtruction to others, that you ſhall not long eſcape the reward of diſſemblers. Call to mind what your ears heard proclaimed in the chapel of St. James, when this verſe of the firſt Pſalm was handled, 'Not ſo, O 'wicked! not ſo, but as the duſt which the wind 'toſſeth, &c.' And conſider, that now you travel in the ſame way which then they did occupy; to ſpeak plainly, now you are in that eſtate and credit, in the which you ſhall either comfort the ſorrowful and afflicted for righteouſneſs' ſake, or elſe you ſhall moleſt or oppugn the Spirit of God ſpeaking in his meſſengers. The comforters of the afflicted for godlineſs, hath promiſe of comfort in their greateſt neceſſities; but the troublers of God's ſervants (how contemned that ever they appear before the world) are threatened to have their names in execration to the poſterities following. The examples of the one, and of the other, are not only evident in Scripture, but alſo have been lately manifeſted in England: and this is the concluſion of that, which to yourſelf, I ſay, except that in the cauſe of Chriſt's goſpel you be found ſimple, ſincere, fervent, and unfeigned, you ſhall taſte of the ſame cup, which politic heads have drunk in before you.

The other point concerning myſelf, and that poor flock now diſperſed, and, as I hear ſay, rudely uſed, is this: by divers meſſengers I have requeſted ſuch privileges, as Turks commonly do grant to men of every nation, *viz.* That liberty ſhould be granted to me freely to paſs through England, to the end that with greater expedition I might repair towards my own country, which now beginneth to thirſt for Chriſt's truth. This requeſt I thought ſo reaſonable, that almoſt I had entered the realm without licence demanded; and yet I underſtand, that it hath been ſo rejected, that the ſolicitors thereof did hardly eſcape impriſonment; and ſome of that poor flock I hear to be ſo extremely handled, that thoſe who moſt rudely have ſhed the blood of God's moſt dear children, find this day amongſt you greater favours than they do. Alas! this appeareth much to repugn to Chriſtian charity; for whatſoever hath been mine offence, this I fear not to affirm in their cauſe, That if any that have ſuffered exile in thoſe moſt dolorous days of perſecution, deſerve praiſe and commendation, for peace, concord, ſober and quiet living, it is they: and as for me, how criminal that ever I be in God's preſence, for the multitude of my ſins, yet before his juſtice-ſeat I have a teſtimony of a clear conſcience, That ſince my firſt acquaintance with England, willingly I never offended perſon within it, except, in open chair, to reprove that which

God condemneth, can be judged offence. But I have, ſay you, written a treaſonable book, againſt the government and empire of women: if that be my offence, the poor flock is innocent (except ſuch as this day do faſteſt cry treaſon): for, Sir, (in God's preſence I do write), with none in that company did I conſult before the finiſhing of the ſame: therefore, in Chriſt's name, I require, that the blame may be upon me alone. The writing of that book I will not deny, but to prove it treaſonable, I think it ſhall be hard; for, Sir, no more do I doubt of the truth of my propoſition, than that I doubt, that this was the voice of God, which firſt did pronounce this penalty againſt women, 'In ſorrow ſhalt thou bear thy 'children.' It is reported, that my book is, or ſhall be written againſt, or anſwered: if ſo be, Sir, I greatly fear, that flatterers ſhall more hurt than help the matter, which they would ſeem to maintain; for except my error be plainly ſhewn and confuted, by better authority than by ſuch laws as from year to year may, and do change, I dare not promiſe ſilence in ſo weighty a buſineſs, leſt that, in ſo doing, I ſhall appear to betray the verity, which is not ſubject to the mutability of time: and if any think me, either enemy to the perſon, or yet to the government of her, whom God hath now promoted, they are utterly deceived in me; for the miraculous work of God, comforting his afflicted by an infirm veſſel, I do acknowledge, and I will obey the power of his moſt potent hand (raiſing up whom beſt pleaſeth his mercy, to ſuppreſs ſuch as fight againſt his glory), albeit that both nature, and God's moſt perfect ordinance repugn to ſuch government. More plainly to ſpeak, If queen Elizabeth ~~ſhall~~ confeſs, that the extraordinary diſpenſation of God's great mercy makes that lawful unto her, which both nature and God's laws do deny unto all women, then ſhall none in England be more willing to maintain her lawful authority than I ſhall be: but if (God's wonderous works ſet aſide) ſhe ground, as God forbid, the juſtneſs of her title upon conſuetude, laws, and ordinances of men, then I am aſſured, that as ſuch fooliſh preſumption doth highly offend God's ſupreme majeſty, ſo do I greatly fear, that her ingratitude ſhall not long lack puniſhment. And this, in the name of the eternal God, and of his Son Jeſus Chriſt (before whom both you and I ſhall ſtand, to make an account of all counſel we give), I require you to ſignify unto her majeſty in my name; adding, That only humility, and deſertion of herſelf before God, ſhall be the firmneſs and ſtability of the throne, which I know ſhall be aſſaulted more ways than one. If this you conceal from her majeſty, I will make it patent to the world, that thus far I have communicated with you, having alſo further to ſpeak, if my judgment may be heard. Alas! Sir, is my offence (although in that time, and in that matter, I had written ten books) ſo heinous, that I cannot have licence, by preaching of Chriſt Jeſus, to refreſh thoſe thirſty ſouls, who long have lacked the water of life: no man will I preſently accuſe, but I greatly fear, that 'the leprous have no great pleaſure to behold 'fair faces in clear glaſs.' Let none be afraid, that I require to frequent the court, or yet to remain any long time in England; but only thirſt, in paſſing through to my native country, to communicate with you, and ſome others, ſuch things as willingly I liſt not to commit to paper, neither to the credit and knowledge of many; and then, in the north parts, to offer God's favours to ſuch as I ſuppoſe do mourn for their deſertion: and this, I truſt, ſhall be no leſs profitable to the queen, and to all godly within England, than it ſhould be pleaſing to me in the fleſh.

This is the third time that I have begged licence to viſit the hungry and thirſty amongſt you, which if now be denied, as before God I have a teſtimony, that I ſeek not for myſelf, but the advancement of Chriſt's goſpel, and the comfort of ſuch as I know afflicted; ſo ſhall the godly underſtand, that England, in refuſing me, refuſeth a friend, how ſmall that ever the power be. The mighty Spirit of the Lord Jeſus move your heart deeply, to conſider your duty unto God, and the eſtate of that realm, in which, by his appointment, you now ſerve.

Yours to command in godlineſs,

JOHN KNOX.

From Diepe, the 10th of
April 1559.

To this letter was no anſwer made; for ſhortly the ſaid John Knox made forward to Scotland by ſea, where he landed the 3d of May, and had ſuch ſucceſs as is in the Second Book declared. The ſaid John being in St. Andrews, after Coupar-muir, entered in deep diſcourſe with the laird of Grange; the dangers were very evident, but the ſupport was not eaſily to be ſeen. After many words, John Knox burſt forth as followeth: 'If 'England would foreſee their own commodity,

'yea, if they would conſider the danger wherein 'themſelves ſtand, they would not ſuffer us to 'periſh in this quarrel; for France hath no leſs 'decreed the conqueſt of England than of Scot-'land.' After long reaſoning, it was concluded betwixt them two, that ſupport ſhould be craved of England: and, for that purpoſe, the ſaid laird of Grange firſt wrote to Sir Henry Piercy, and after rode from Edinburgh, and ſpoke with him; to whom he made ſo plain demonſtration of the danger appearing to England, that he took upon him to write to ſecretary Cecil, who with expedition returned anſwer back again, giving him to underſtand, That our enterpriſe altogether milliked not the council, albeit that they deſired further reſolution of the principal lords: which thing underſtood, it was concluded to write to him plainly our whole purpoſe; the tenor of our letter was this:

The firſt Letter to Sir William Cecil, from the Lords of the Congregation.

THE contents of a letter directed by you, right worſhipful, to Sir Henry Piercy, was notified unto us by Mr. Kirkcaldy of Grange, this Sunday the 26th of July; by the which we perceive, that the ſaid laird of Grange, of zeal and faithful heart which he beareth to the furtherance of this our great, and, before the world, dangerous enterpriſe, hath travelled with you, as with an unfeigned favourer of Chriſt's true religion, and of the liberty of our country, for knowledge of your minds towards us, in caſe that we be aſſaulted by any foreign invaſion, or greater power than we be well able to reſiſt. Your comfortable anſwer to this queſtion we have conſidered, to our joy and comfort; as alſo your motions, and what you demand, *viz.* What the Proteſtants within this realm do purpoſe? To what end we mean to direct our actions? How we will, and how we are able to accompliſh the ſame? What doubts we have of any adverſe power? And, finally, in caſe that ſupport ſhould be ſent from you, what manner of amity might enſue betwixt theſe two realms? *&c.*

To the which in brief we anſwer, That our whole and only purpoſe, as God knoweth, is to advance the glory of Chriſt Jeſus, the true preaching of his goſpel within this realm; to remove ſuperſtition, and all ſorts of external idolatry; to bridle, to our powers, the fury of thoſe that heretofore have cruelly ſhed the blood of our brethren: and, to our uttermoſt, to maintain the liberty of this our country, from the tyranny and thraldom of ſtrangers, as God ſhall aſſiſt us. How we are able to accompliſh theſe premiſes, is to us unknown; only our hope is good, that he that hath begun this good work in us, and hath by his power to this hour confounded the faces of our adverſaries, will perform the ſame to his glory, which chiefly we ſeek in this our enterpriſe. Becauſe we ſuppoſe, that neither our preſent danger, neither yet the warlike preparation which France maketh againſt us, are hid from you, nor from the council, we omit that part. As touching the aſſurance of a perpetual amity to ſtand betwixt theſe two realms, as no earthly thing of us is more deſired, ſo crave we of God, to make us the inſtruments, by which this unnatural debate, which long hath continued betwixt us, may once be compoſed, to the praiſe of God's name, and to the comfort of the faithful in both realms. And if your wiſdoms can foreſee, and deviſe the means and aſſurances how the ſame may be brought to paſs, perſuade yourſelves not only of our conſent and aſſiſtance, but alſo of our conſtancy, as men can promiſe, unto our lives end; yea further, of charge and commandment by us, to be left to our poſterity, that the amity betwixt us, in God, contracted and begun, may be by them kept inviolate for ever.

As for the revolting from you to France, which ye ſeem to fear and ſuſpect, at their pleaſure, we utterly abhor that infidelity; for now doth the voice of God continually ſound in our ears, That ſuch as profane the terrible and reverend name of God, ſhall not eſcape vengeance. Our confederacy, amity, and league, ſhall not be like the pactions made by worldly men, for wordly profit; but as we require it for God's cauſe, ſo will we call upon his name for the obſervation of the ſame. Moreover, if we ſhould lack any thing in temporal commodity, yet ſhould we never have occaſion to return to them; for we now perceive and feel the weight of their yoke, and intend, by God's grace, to cut away ſuch inſtruments, as by whom this realm was before abuſed. True it is, that as yet we have made no mention of any change in authority; neither yet were we minded to do any ſuch thing, till extreme neceſſity compelleth us thereto; but ſeeing it is now more than evident, that France, and the queen regent here, with her prieſts, pretend nothing but the ſuppreſſing of Chriſt's goſpel, the ruin of us, and the ſubverſion of this poor realm, committing our innocence to God, and unto the judgment of all godly and

wiſe men, we are determined to ſeek the next remedy; in which we heartily require your counſel and aſſiſtance. And thus far we have enterpriſed, to make you participant of our purpoſe, becauſe in the ſaid letters ye required of the ſaid Mr. Kirkcaldy ſome further aſſurance than his own word or writing, which we doubt not but ye ſhall ſhortly receive from more than from us. We dare not haſtily make the aſſembly, neither of nobles, neither of barons, privy in this cauſe, for dangers that may enſue by policy and craft of the adverſaries; your wiſdom, we doubt not, will communicate theſe only with ſuch as ye know favourers of ſuch a godly conjunction. It ſhould much help, in our opinion, if the preachers, both in perſuaſion, and in public prayers, as ours do here, would commend the ſame unto the people. And thus, after our moſt humble commendations to the queen's majeſty (whoſe reign we wiſh may be proſperous and long, to the glory of God, and comfort of his church), we heartily commit you to the protection of the Omnipotent.

From Edinburgh, the 17th of
July 1559.

With this our letter John Knox wrote two, one to the ſaid ſecretary, and another to the queen's majeſty herſelf; the tenor whereof follows thus:

John Knox's ſecond Letter to Mr. Cecil, for the Delivery of another to the Queen.

SIR,

AFTER my humble commendations, pleaſe you deliver this other incloſed to the queen; it containeth a few and ſimple words of my confeſſion, what I think of her authority, how it is juſt, and what may make it odious in God's preſence. I hear that there is one confutation ſet forth againſt the FIRST BLAST; God grant, that the writer thereof hath no more ſought the favours of this preſent world, no leſs the glory of God, and the ſtable good of his country, than he who enterpriſed in that Blaſt to utter his conſcience. When I ſhall have time (which now is ſomewhat precious unto me) to peruſe that work, I will communicate my judgment with you.

The time is now, Sir, that all, who either thirſt for Chriſt to reign in this iſle, or yet the hearts of the inhabitants to be joined together in love unfeigned, ought rather to ſtudy how the ſame might be brought to paſs, than vainly to travel for the maintenance of that, whereof already we have ſeen the danger, and feel the ſmart: if the moſt part of women be wicked, and ſuch as willingly we would not ſhould reign over us; and if the moſt godly, and ſuch as have rare graces, be yet mortal, we ought to take heed leſt, in eſtabliſhing of one judged godly and profitable to her country, we make an intereſt and title to many; by whom not only will the truth be impugned, but alſo will the country be brought into bondage. God give you, and other favourers of your country, eyes to ſee, and wiſdom to avoid, the dangers appearing.

By divers letters I have required licence to have viſited the north parts of England; but as yet I have received no favourable anſwer: the longer, Sir, that it be delayed, the leſs comfort will the faithful there receive; yea, weaker will the queen's favour be. If I were not an unfeigned friend to her majeſty, I would not inſtantly beg ſuch liberty: which, to me, I know, will neither be profitable nor pleaſing in the fleſh. The common things here, I doubt not, you know; ſome things I have, as oftentimes I have written, which gladly I would communicate, but I mind not to commit them to paper and ink; find therefore the means, that I may ſpeak with ſuch a one as you will credit in all things. The grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt reſt with you.

I heartily beſeech you to have my ſervice recommended to the queen's majeſty, adding, That whoſoever maketh me odious to her majeſty, ſeeketh ſomewhat beſides the glory of God, and her majeſty's proſperity; and therefore cannot be aſſured and unfeigned friends. From, &c.

The letter ſent from the ſaid John to the queen's majeſty of England, being incloſed in the foreſaid Mr. Cecil's letter.

To the virtuous and godly Elizabeth, by the Grace of God, Queen of England, John Knox deſireth the perpetual Comfort of the Holy Spirit.

MADAM,

As your majeſty's diſpleaſure againſt me, moſt unjuſtly conceived, hath been, and is to my wretched heart a burden grievous, and almoſt intolerable; ſo is the teſtimony of a clear conſcience to me a ſtay and uphold, that I ſink not in deſpair, how vehement ſoever the temptations appear; for, in God's preſence, my conſcience

beareth me record, That maliciouſly, or of purpoſe, I never offended your majeſty, nor your realm; and therefore, howſoever I be judged of man, I am ſure to be abſolved of Him, who only knoweth the ſecrets of hearts. I cannot deny the writing of a book againſt the uſurped authority and unjuſt government of women; neither yet am I minded to recant, or call back any principal point or propoſition of the ſame, till truth and verity do further appear; but why that your majeſty, or any ſuch, who unfeignedly favour the liberty of England, ſhould be offended at the author of ſuch a work, I can perceive no juſt occaſion; for firſt, my book touched not your majeſty's perſon in ſpecial, neither is it prejudicial to any liberty of the realm, if the time of my writing be indifferently conſidered. How could I be enemy to your majeſty's perſon, for delivery whereof, I did more ſtudy, and undertake further, than any of thoſe who now accuſe me? And as concerning your government, how could, or can I envy that? which moſt I have wiſhed for, and for which, as my weak memory will ſuffer, I render thanks unfeignedly to God; *viz.* That it hath pleaſed him, of his eternal goodneſs, to exalt your head, which ſometime was in danger, to the manifeſtation of his glory, and extirpation of idolatry: and as for my offence, which I have committed againſt England, either by writing that book, or by any other work, I will not refuſe that moderate and indifferent men judge and diſcern betwixt me, and thoſe that accuſe me; *viz.* Whether of the parties do moſt hurt to the liberty of England; I, who affirm that no woman may be exalted above any realm, to make the liberty of the ſame ſubject to a ſtrange, proud, and cruel nation; or they, that approve whatſoever pleaſeth princes for the time. If I were as well diſpoſed to accuſe, as ſome of them, to their own ſhame, have declared themſelves, I nothing doubt but that, in few words, I ſhould let reaſonable men underſtand, That ſome, that this day lowly crouch and bow to your majeſty, and labour to make me odious in your eyes, did, in your adverſity, neither ſhew themſelves faithful friends to your majeſty, neither yet ſo loving and careful of their native country as they would be eſteemed: but omitting the accuſation of others, for my own purgation and your majeſty's ſatisfaction, I ſay, that nothing contained in my book is, or can be prejudicial to your majeſty's juſt government, providing that you be not found ungrateful unto God. Ungrateful you will be proved in the preſence of his throne, howſoever that flatterers juſtify you, if you transfer the glory of that honour, in which you now ſtand, to any other thing, than to the diſpenſation of his mercy, which only maketh that lawful to your majeſty, which nature and law denieth to all women, to command and bear rule over men. Neither would I that your majeſty ſhould fear, that this your humiliation before God, ſhould in any caſe infirm or weaken your majeſty's juſt and lawful authority: nay, madam, ſuch unfeigned confeſſion of God's benefits received, will be the eſtabliſhment of the ſame, not only to yourſelf, but alſo to your ſeed and poſterity; where, on the contrary, a proud conceit, and elevation of yourſelf, will be the occaſion that your reign will be unſtable, troubleſome, and ſhort. God is witneſs, that unfeignedly I both love and reverence your majeſty; yea, I pray that your reign may be both proſperous and quiet, and that for the quietneſs which Chriſt's members, before perſecuted, have received under you: but yet, if I ſhould flatter your majeſty, I were no friend, but a deceitful traitor; and therefore in conſcience I am compelled to ſay, That neither the conſent of the people, the proceſs of time, nor multitude of men, can eſtabliſh a law which God ſhall approve; but whatſoever he approveth by his eternal word, that ſhall be approved, and ſtay conſtantly firm; and whatſoever he condemneth, ſhall be condemned, though all men on earth ſhould travel for the juſtification of the ſame: and therefore, madam, the only way to retain and keep the benefits of God, abundantly of late days poured upon you and your realm, is unfeignedly to render unto God, to his mercy, and undeſerved grace, the whole glory of this your exaltation; forget your birth, and all title which hereupon doth hang, and conſider deeply, how for fear of your life you did decline from God, and bow to idolatry, going to maſs under your ſiſter Mary's perſecution of God's ſaints. Let it not appear a ſmall offence in your eyes, that you have declined from Chriſt Jeſus, in the day of your battle; neither yet would I, that you ſhould eſteem that mercy to be vulgar and common which you have received, *viz.* That God hath covered your offence, hath preſerved your perſon, when you were moſt unthankful; and, in the end, hath exalted and raiſed you up, not only from the duſt, but alſo from the ports of death, to rule above his people, for comfort of his kirk. It appertaineth to you therefore, to ground the juſtice of your authority, not on that law which from year to year doth change, but upon the eternal providence of him, who, contrary to the ordinary courſe of na-

ture, and without your deſerving, hath exalted your head. If thus, in God's preſence, you humble yourſelf, as in my heart I glorify God for that reſt granted to his afflicted flock within England, under you a weak inſtrument; ſo will I, with tongue and pen, juſtify your authority and government, as the Holy Ghoſt hath juſtified the ſame in Deborah, that bleſſed mother in Iſrael: but if you neglect, as God forbid, theſe things, and ſhall begin to brag of your birth, and to build your authority and your government upon your own law, flatter you whoſo liſteth, your felicity ſhall be ſhort. Interpret my words in the beſt part, as written by him, who is no enemy to your majeſty. By divers letters I have required to viſit your realm, not to ſeek myſelf, neither yet my own eaſe and benefit; which if you now refuſe and deny me, I muſt remit my cauſe to God, adding this for concluſion, that commonly it is ſeen, That ſuch as refuſe the counſel of the faithful (appear it never ſo ſharp), are compelled to follow the deceit of flatterers, to their own perdition. The mighty Spirit of the Lord Jeſus move your heart to underſtand what is ſaid, and give unto you the direction of his Spirit, and ſo rule you in all your actions and enterpriſes, that in you God may be glorified, his kirk edified, and you yourſelf, as a lively member of the ſame, may be an example of virtue and godlineſs of life to all others. So be it. At Edinburgh, 28th July 1559.

Theſe letters were directed by Alexander Whitelaw, a man who often had hazarded himſelf, and all that he had, for the cauſe of God, and for his friends, being in danger for the ſame cauſe. Within a day or two, after the departing of the ſaid Alexander, there came a letter from Sir Henry Piercy to John Knox, requiring him to meet him at Alnwick the 3d day of Auguſt, for ſuch affairs as he would not write, nor yet communicate with any, but with the ſaid John himſelf. While he was preparing himſelf for the journey (for ſecretary Cecil had appointed to have met him at Stamford), the Frenchmen furiouſly came forth of Dunbar, of purpoſe to have ſurpriſed the lords, being in Edinburgh, as in the Second Book before is declared; which ſtaid the journey of the ſaid John, till that God had delivered the innocents from that great danger; and then was he ſent, having in his company Mr. Robert Hamilton, miniſter of the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, directed from the lords, with full commiſſion and inſtructions, to declare their whole caſe and eſtate wherein they ſtood. Their paſſage was from Pittenweem by ſea; they arrived at Holy Iſland; and being advertiſed, that Sir Henry Piercy was abſent from the north, they addreſſed themſelves to Sir James Crofts, then captain of Berwick, and warden of the eaſt marches of England: they ſhewed unto him their credit and commiſſion. He received them courteouſly, and comforted them with his faithful counſel, which was, That they ſhould travel no further, neither yet ſhould they be ſeen in public, and that for divers conſiderations: *Firſt*, The queen regent had her ſpies in England. *Secondly*, The queen, and the council that favoured our faction, would that all things ſhould be ſecret ſo long as they might. And, *laſtly*, ſaid he, I think it not expedient, that, in ſuch rarity of preachers, ye two be any long time abſent from the lords of the Congregation: and therefore, ſaid he, ye ſhall do beſt to commit to writing your whole mind and credit, and I ſhall promiſe to you, upon my honour, to have anſwer at you, and at the lords again, before that ye yourſelves can be at London; and where that your letters cannot expreſs all things ſo fully as your preſence could, I ſhall ſupply the ſame, not only by my pen, but alſo by my own preſence, to ſuch as will inform the council ſufficiently of all things. The ſaid John and Mr. Robert followed his counſel (for it was faithful, and proceeded of love at that time); they tarried with him very ſecretly within the caſtle of Berwick two days: in which time returned Alexander Whitelaw aforeſaid, with anſwer to the lords, and unto John Knox; the tenor of whoſe letter was this:

Mr. Cecil's Letter to John Knox.

MR. KNOX,

NON eſt maſculus neque femina; omnes enim ut ait Paulus, unum ſumus in Chriſtu Jeſu: benedictus vir qui confidit in Domino; & erit Dominus fiducia ejus. I have received your letters, at the ſame time that I thought to have ſeen yourſelf at Stamford. What is now hitherto the cauſe of ſtopping you, I know not. I forbear to deſcend to the bottom of things, until I may confer with ſuch one as ye are: and therefore, if your chance ſhall be hereafter to come hither, I wish you furniſhed with good credit and power to make good reſolution. Although my anſwer to the lords of the Congregation be ſomewhat obſcure, yet, upon further underſtanding, ye ſhall find the mat-

ter plain. I need to wish you no more prudence than God's grace, whereof God send you plenty: and so I end.

Sic subscribitur,

Yours, as a member of the same body in Christ,

From Oxford, the 28th of July 1559. M. CECIL.

And albeit the said John received this letter at Berwick, yet would he answer nothing till that he had spoken with the lords, whom he found in Stirling, and unto whom he delivered the answer sent from the council of England (for Alexander Whitelaw took sickness betwixt Berwick and Edinburgh, and was troubled by the lord Seton, as in the former Book is declared): the answer sent by Mr. Cecil was so general, that many amongst us despaired of any comfort to come from that country; and therefore were determined that they would request no further. John Knox laboured in the contrary, but he could prevail no further, but that he should have licence and liberty to write as he thought best: and so he took upon him to answer for all, in form as followeth:

Answer to Mr. Cecil's Writing.

Two causes hindered me, right worshipful, to visit you in any part of England. Before this, no signification of your mind and pleasure was made unto me; for only did Sir Henry Piercy will me to come and speak with him, which conveniently, at that time, I could not do, by reason that the Frenchmen (which was the second cause of my stay) did then most furiously pursue us, while our company was dispersed, and then durst I not be absent for divers inconveniences. Neither did I think my presence with you greatly necessary, considering that the matter, which I most desired, was opened and proposed; to the which I would have wished, that a more plain and special answer should have been made: for albeit Mr. Whitelaw by his credit, Mr. Kirkcaldy by his letter, and I, both by letters, and by that which I had received from Sir James Crofts, did persuade your good minds; yet could not the council be otherwise persuaded, but that this alteration in France had altered your former purpose. It is not unknown what good-will we three do bear to England: and therefore I wish, that rather your pen, than your credit, or any thing written to any of us, should assure the lords and others of your good minds, who are now in number but five hundred: unless that money be furnished without delay, to pay the soldiers for their service past, and to retain another thousand footmen, with three hundred horsemen, till some stay be had in this danger, these gentlemen will be compelled to leave the fields. I am assured, as flesh may be of flesh, that some of them will take a very hard life, before that ever they compose, either with the queen regent, or with France: but this I dare not promise at all, unless in you they see greater forwardness. To support us, will appear excessive; and to break promise with France, will appear dangerous: but the loss of expences, in my opinion, ought not to be esteemed from the first payment, neither yet the danger from the first appearance. France is most fervent to conquer us, and avoweth, that against us they will spend the crown (so did mine own ears hear Button Court brag). But most assuredly I know, That unless by us they thought to make an entry to you, that they would not buy our poverty at that price. They labour to corrupt some of our great men by money (and some of our number are poor, as before I wrote, and cannot serve without support); some they threatened, and against others they have raised up a party in their own country. In this mean time, if ye lie by as neutrals, what will be the end, you may easily conjecture. And therefore, Sir, in the bowels of Christ Jesus, I require you to make plain answer, what the gentlemen here may trust to, and what the queen's majesty will do, may without long delay be put in execution. I rest in Christ Jesus.

At St. Johnston, the 28th day of, &c.

Answer with great expedition was returned to this letter, desiring some men of credit to be sent to the lords to Berwick, for the receiving of the money for the first support, with promise, that if the lords of the Congregation meant no otherwise than before they had written, and if they would enter into league with honest conditions, they should neither lack men nor money to their just causes. Upon this answer, was directed from the lords to Berwick, Mr. Henry Balnaves, a man of good credit in both the realms, who suddenly returned with such a sum of money as served all the public affairs till November next, when John Cockburn of Ormiston sent for the second support,

and receiving the ſame, unhappily fell into the hands of the earl of Bothwel, was wounded, taken, and ſpoiled of a great ſum: upon which miſchance followed all the reſt of the troubles before rehearſed. In the Second Book preceding, we have declared how ſecretary Lethington was directed to England: but one thing before we have paſſed by, in that our greateſt dejection, this order was taken, that the duke, the earl of Glencairn, lord Boyd, lord Ochiltrie, and their friends, ſhould remain together at Glaſgow, for comfort of the country, and for giving of anſwers, as occaſion ſhould require; and that the earl of Arran, the lord James, the earl of Rothes, the maſter of Lindſay, and their adherents, ſhould continue together within Fife for the ſame cauſes, that advertiſements might go from the one to the other, as need required. In the negociation of the ſecratary Lethington with the queen and council of England (in the which he travelled with no leſs wiſdom and faithfulneſs, than happy ſucceſs), many things occurred, that required the reſolution of the whole lords.

After that the queen and council of England had concluded to ſend their army to Scotland, for expelling of the French, the duke of Norfolk was ſent to Berwick, with full inſtructions, power, and commiſſion to do in all things, concerning the preſent affairs of Scotland, as the queen and council in their own perſons had power to do. Hereupon the ſaid duke required ſuch a part of the lords of Scotland, as had power and commiſſion from the whole, to meet him at ſuch a day and place as pleaſed them to appoint: this advertiſement came firſt to Glaſgow, by the means of the maſter of Maxwel; which read and conſidered by the lords, concluſion was taken that they would meet at Carliſle, and that was the procurement of the ſaid maſter of Maxwel for his eaſe. Hereupon were letters directed from the lords, being in Glaſgow, to lord James, requiring him, with all poſſible expedition, to repair towards them, for the purpoſe aforeſaid: which letters read and adviſed upon, commandment was given to John Knox to make the anſwer; for ſo it was appointed at the diviſion of the lords, that he ſhould anſwer for the part of thoſe that were in Fife, and Mr. Henry Balnaves for the part of them that abode at Glaſgow. The ſaid John anſwered as followeth:

To the Duke and the other Lords at Glaſgow.

After humble commendation of my ſervice; albeit I have written more than once to Mr. Henry Balnaves, what things have miſliked me in your ſlow proceedings, as well in ſupporting your brethren, who many days have ſuſtained extreme danger in theſe parts, as in making proviſion how the enemy might have been annoyed, who lay, few in number, nigh to your quarters, in Stirling; and in making likewiſe proviſion how the expectation of our friends, who long have waited for your anſwer, might have been ſatisfied: albeit, I ſay, that of theſe things I have before complained, yet, in conſcience, I am compelled to ſignify unto your honours, that, unleſs of theſe and other enormities I ſhall ſee ſome redreſs, I am aſſured, that the end ſhall be ſuch, as godly men ſhall mourn, that a good cauſe ſhall periſh for lack of wiſdom and diligence. In my laſt letters to Mr. Henry Balnaves, I declared, that your ſpecial friends in England wonder that no greater expedition is made, the weight of the matter being conſidered. If the fault be in the duke and his friends, I wrote alſo, that the greateſt loſs ſhould be his and theirs in the end.

And now I cannot ceaſe both to wonder and lament, that your whole council was ſo deſtitute of wiſdom and diſcretion, as to charge this poor man, the prior, to come to you to Glaſgow, and thereafter to go to Carliſle, for ſuch affairs as are to be handled: Was there none amongſt you who did foreſee what inconveniences might enſue his abſence from theſe parts? I ceaſe to ſpeak of the dangers by the enemy: your friends have lain in your haven now fifteen days paſt (what was their former travel it is not unknown); they have never received comfort of any man, him only excepted, more than if they had lain upon the coaſt of their mortal enemy. Do ye not conſider, that ſuch a company ſhall need comfort and proviſion from time to time? Remove him, and who abideth there who carefully will travel in that or any other weighty matter in theſe parts? Did ye not farther conſider, that he that had begun to meddle with the gentlemen who have declared themſelves back-friends heretofore, and alſo that order ſhould have been taken for ſuch as have been neutral; now by reaſon of his abſence, the one ſhall eſcape without admonition, and the other ſhall be at their own liberty? I am aſſured, that the enemy ſhall not ſleep, neither in that nor in other affairs, to undermine you and your whole cauſe, and eſpecially to hurt this part of the country, to revenge their former folly. If none of theſe former cauſes ſhould have moved you to have conſidered that ſuch a journey, at ſuch a

time, was not meet for him, neither yet for them that muſt accompany him; yet diſcreet men would have conſidered, that the men that have lain in their jackets, and travelled their horſes continually the ſpace of a month, required ſome longer reſt, firſt to themſelves, but eſpecially to their horſes, before they had been charged to ſuch a journey, than yet they have had. The prior may, for ſatisfaction of your unreaſonable minds, enterpriſe the purpoſe, but I am aſſured he ſhall not be able to have ſix honeſt men in all Fife to accompany him; and how that either ſtandeth with your honours, or with his ſafety, judge ye yourſelves. But yet, wonder it is, that ye did not conſider, to what pain and grief ſhall ye put our friends of England, eſpecially the duke of Norfolk and his council, whom ye ſhall cauſe to travel the moſt weariſome and troubleſome way that is in England. In my opinion, whoſoever gave you that counſel, either lacked right judgment in things to be done, or elſe had too much reſpect to his own eaſe, and too ſmall regard to the travel and damage of their brethren.

A common cauſe requireth a common concurrence, and that every man bear his burden proportionably: but prudent and indifferent men eſpy the contrary in this cauſe, eſpecially of late days; for the weakeſt are moſt grievouſly charged, and they to whom the matter moſt belongeth, and to whom juſtly greateſt burden is due, are exempted, in a manner, both from travel and expences. To ſpeak the matter plainly, wiſe men do wonder what the duke's friends do mean, that they are ſo ſlack and backward in this cauſe: in other actions they have been judged ſtout and forward; and in this, which is the greateſt that ever he or they had in hand, they appear deſtitute both of grace and courage. I am not ignorant, that they that are moſt inward of his council are enemies to God, and therefore cannot but be enemies to this cauſe; but wonder it is, that he and his other friends ſhould not conſider, that the loſs of this godly enterpriſe ſhall be the rooting out of them and their poſterity from this realm: conſidering, my lords, that by God's providence ye are joined with the duke in this common cauſe, admoniſh him plainly of the danger to come, require him to beware of the counſel of thoſe that are plainly infected with ſuperſtition, with pride, and with the venom of particular profit; which if he do not, at your admonition, he ſhall ſmart before he be aware; and if ye ceaſe to put him in mind of his duty, it may be, that, for your ſilence, ye ſhall drink ſome portion of the plague with him. Take my plain ſpeaking as proceeding from him that is not your enemy, being alſo uncertain, when I ſhall have occaſion to write hereafter: God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, aſſiſt you with the ſpirit of wiſdom and fortitude, that, to his glory, and your lordſhip's common comfort, ye may perform that thing which godly was once begun. Amen.

Sic ſubſcribitur,

Your lordſhip's to command in godlineſs,

JOHN KNOX.

From St. Andrews, the 6th of February, in haſte, 1559.

Upon the receipt of this letter, and conſultation had hereupon, a new concluſion was taken, *viz.* that they would viſit the ſaid duke of Norfolk at Berwick, where he was. Thus far we have digreſſed from the text of our hiſtory, to let the poſterity that ſhall follow, underſtand by what inſtruments God wrought the familiarity and friendſhip that after we found in England. Now we return to our former hiſtory.

The parts of Fife ſet at freedom from the bondage of theſe bloody worms, ſolemn thanks were given in St. Andrews unto God, for his mighty deliverance: ſhortly after, the earl of Arran and lord James apprehended the lairds of Wemyſs, Seafield, Balgowny, Durie, and others, that aſſiſted the Frenchmen; but they were ſet ſhortly at freedom, upon ſuch conditions as they minded never to keep, for ſuch men have neither faith nor honeſty: Mr. James Balfour, who was the greateſt practiſer, and had drawn the band of the Balfours, eſcaped. The Engliſh ſhips daily multiplied, till that they were able to keep the whole Frith, whereat the French and queen regent enraged, began to execute their tyranny upon the parts of Lothian that lay nigh to Edinburgh. Let Mr. David Borthwick witneſs what favour his wife and place of Adeſton found of the French, for all the ſervice that he did to the queen regent. In the midſt of February, were directed to England, from the duke and the Congregation, the lord James, lord Ruthven, the maſter of Maxwel, the maſter of Lindſay, Mr. Henry Balnaves, and the laird of Pittarro, all of whom, with their honeſt companies and commiſſion, departed by ſea, except the maſter of Maxwel, to Berwick: where there met them the duke of Norfolk, lieutenant to the queen of England, and with him a great com-

pany of the gentlemen of the north, with ſome alſo of the ſouth, having full power to contract with the nobility of Scotland; as they did, upon ſuch conditions as are in the ſame contract ſpecified. And becauſe we have heard the malicious tongues of wicked men make falſe report of that, we have faithfully and truly inſerted in this our hiſtory the ſaid contract, as well that which was made at Leith during the ſiege, as that which was firſt made at Berwick; that the memory thereof may abide to our poſterity, to the end that they may judge with indifferency, whether that we have done any thing prejudicial to our commonwealth, or yet contrary unto the dutiful obedience which true ſubjects owe to their ſuperiors; whoſe authority ought to defend and maintain the liberty and freedom of the realms committed to their charge, and not to oppreſs and betray the ſame to ſtrangers. The tenor of our contract followeth:

The Contract at Berwick.

JAMES duke of Chattelarault, earl of Arran, lord Hamilton, and others of the council, nobility, and principal ſtates of Scotland; to all and ſundry whoſe knowledge theſe preſents ſhall come, greeting. We have well conſidered, and are fully perſuaded, in what danger, deſolation, and miſery, the long enmity with the kingdom of England hath brought our country heretofore; how wealthy and flouriſhing it ſhall become, if thoſe two kingdoms, as they are joined in one iſland, by creation of the world, ſo they may be knit in a conſtant and aſſured friendſhip. Theſe conſiderations, grounded upon a moſt infallible truth, ought no leſs to have moved our progenitors and forefathers than us: but the preſent danger hanging over our heads, by the unjuſt dealing of thoſe, of whom we have always beſt deſerved, hath cauſed us to weigh them more earneſtly than they did. The miſbehaviour of the French monſieurs, I had almoſt ſaid monſters, here, hath of late years been ſo great; the oppreſſions and cruelty of the ſoldiers, the tyranny and ambition of their ſuperiors and rulers, ſo grievous to the people; the violent ſubverſion of our liberty, and conqueſt of the land, whereat they have, by moſt crafty and ſubtile means, continually preſſed, hath been, I ſay, ſo intolerable to us all, that at laſt, when we could not obtain redreſs by humble ſuits, and earneſt ſupplications, preſented to the queen dowager, who both for duty's ſake, and place ſhe doth occupy, ought to have been moſt careful of our ſtate; we have been by real neceſſity conſtrained, not only to eſſay our own forces, but alſo to implore the queen's majeſty of England's aid and ſupport, which her majeſty hath moſt willingly granted, upon certain conditions ſpecified in a treaty paſt at Berwick, betwixt the duke of Norfolk, lieutenant to her majeſty, on the one part, and certain our commiſſioners, on the other part, whereof the tenor followeth:

At Berwick, the 27th day of February, the year of our Lord God 1559; it is appointed and finally contracted, betwixt the noble and mighty Thomas duke of Norfolk, earl marſhal of England, and lieutenant to the queen's majeſty of the ſaid realm, in the name and behalf of her highneſs, on the one part; and the right honourable lord James Stewart, Patrick lord Ruthven, Sir John Maxwel of Terregles knight, William Maitland of Lethington younger, John Wiſchard of Pittarro, and Mr. Henry Balnaves of Halhill, in name and behalf of the noble and mighty James duke of Chattelarault of Scotland, and the lords of the Congregation, joined together in this cauſe, for maintenance and defence of the ancient rights and liberties of their country, on the other part, in form as after followeth: that is to ſay, That the queen, having ſufficiently underſtood, as well by information ſent from the nobility of Scotland, as by the proceedings of the French, that they intend to conquer the realm of Scotland, ſuppreſs the liberty thereof, and unite the ſame unto the crown of France perpetually, contrary to the laws of the ſaid realm, and the pacts, oaths, and promiſes of France; and being thereto moſt humbly and earneſtly required by the ſaid nobility, for, and in name of the whole realm, ſhall accept the ſaid realm of Scotland, the ſaid nobility and ſubjects thereof, into her majeſty's protection and maintenance, only for preſervation of the ſame in their old freedoms and liberties, and from conqueſt, during the time that the marriage ſhall continue betwixt the queen of Scots and the French king, and a year after: and, for expelling out of the ſame realm ſuch as preſently and apparently go about to practiſe the ſaid conqueſt, her majeſty ſhall, with all ſpeed, ſend into Scotland a convenient aid of men of war, both horſe and foot, to join with the power of Scotſmen, with artillery, munition, and all other inſtruments of war meet for that purpoſe, as well by ſea as by land; not only to expel the preſent power of the French within that realm, oppreſſing the ſame, but alſo to ſtop, as far as conveniently may be, all greater forces of French to enter therein, for the like purpoſe: and ſhall continue her maje-

ſty's aid to the ſaid realm, nobility, and ſubjects of the ſame, unto the time the French (being enemies to the ſaid realm) be utterly expelled hence; and ſhall never tranſact, compoſe, nor agree with the French, nor conclude any league with them, except the Scots and the French ſhall be agreed, that the realm of Scotland may be left in a due freedom by the French; nor ſhall leave the maintenance of the ſaid nobility and ſubjects, whereby they might fall as a prey into their enemies hands, as long as they ſhall acknowledge their ſovereign lady the queen, and ſhall endeavour themſelves to maintain the liberty of their country, and the ſtate of the crown of Scotland.

And in caſe any forts or ſtrengths within the realm be won out of the hands of the French at this preſent, or any time hereafter by her majeſty's aid, the ſame ſhall be immediately demoliſhed by the Scotſmen, or delivered to the ſaid nobility aforeſaid, at their option and choice; neither ſhall the power of England fortify within the ground of Scotland, being out of the bounds of England, but by the advice of the duke, nobility, and ſtates of Scotland. For the which cauſes, and in reſpect of her majeſty's moſt gentle clemency, and liberal ſupport, the ſaid nobility, as well ſuch as be joined, as ſuch as ſhall hereafter join with them, for the defence of the liberty of that realm, ſhall, to the uttermoſt of their power, aid and ſupport her majeſty's army againſt the French and their partakers, with horſemen and footmen, and with victuals by land and ſea, with all manner of other aid, to the beſt of their power, and ſo ſhall continue, during the time that her majeſty's army ſhall remain in Scotland.

Item, They ſhall be enemies to all ſuch Scotſmen and French, as ſhall in any ways ſhew themſelves enemies to the realm of England, for the aiding and ſupporting of the ſaid nobility, in the delivery of the realm of Scotland from conqueſt.

Item, They ſhall never aſſent nor permit that the realm of Scotland ſhall be conquered, or otherwiſe knit to the crown of France, than it is at this preſent, only by marriage of the queen their ſovereign to the French king; and it be ruled by the laws and liberties of the realm, as it ought to be.

Item, In caſe the Frenchmen ſhall at any time hereafter invade, or cauſe to be invaded, the realm of England, they ſhall furniſh the number of two thouſand horſemen, and one thouſand footmen at the leaſt, or ſuch part of either of them, at the charge of the queen of England, and ſhall conduct the ſame to paſs from the borders of Scotland, next England, upon her majeſty's charges, to any part of the realm of England, for defence of the ſame. And in caſe the invaſion be on the north parts of England, on the north ſide of the water of Tyne towards Scotland, or againſt Berwick, on the north ſide of the water of Tweed, they ſhall convene and gather their whole forces upon their own charges, and ſhall join with the Engliſh power, and ſhall continue in good and earneſt purſuit of the quarrel of England, during the ſpace of thirty days, or ſo much longer, as they were accuſtomed to tarry in the fields for defence of Scotland, at the commandment of their ſovereigns at any time by-paſt.

And alſo the earl of Argyle, lord juſtice of Scotland, being preſently joined with the reſt, ſhall employ his force and good-will, where he ſhall be required by the queen's majeſty, to reduce the north parts of Ireland to the perfect obedience of England, conform to a mutual and reciprocal contract to be made betwixt her majeſty's lieutenant, or deputy of Ireland, being for the time, and the ſaid earl; wherein ſhall be contained what he ſhall do for his part, and what the ſaid lieutenant or deputy ſhall do for his ſupport, in caſe he ſhall have to do with James M'Donald, or any other of the iſles of Scotland, or realm of Ireland.

For performance and ſure keeping whereof, they ſhall for their part, give to the ſaid duke of Norfolk, the pledges preſently named by him, before the entry of her majeſty's army within Scotland, to remain in England for the ſpace of ſix months, and to be there exchanged upon deliverance of new hoſtages, of like, or as good condition as the former; or being the lawful ſons, brethren, or heirs, of any of the peers or barons of parliament, that have, or hereafter ſhall ſhew themſelves, and perſiſt open enemies to the French in this quarrel; and ſo forth from ſix months to ſix months, or four months to four months, as ſhall beſt pleaſe the party of Scotland. And the time of continuance of the hoſtages ſhall be during the marriage of the queen of Scots to the French king, and a year after the diſſolution of the ſaid marriage, until further order may be had betwixt both the realms, for peace and concord. And furthermore, the ſaid nobility, being peers and barons of parliament joined together, ſhall ſubſcribe and ſeal theſe articles and agreement, within the ſpace of twenty or thirty days at the uttermoſt, next following the day of the delivering of the ſaid hoſtages; and ſhall alſo procure and perſuade all others of the nobility that ſhall join them-

ſelves hereafter with the ſaid lords, for the cauſe above ſpecified, likewiſe to ſubſcribe and ſeal thoſe articles, at any time after the ſpace of twenty days after their conjunction, upon requiſition made by them on the party of the queen's majeſty of England.

And, finally, the ſaid nobility joined together, certainly perceiving that the queen's majeſty of England is thereunto moved, only upon reſpect of princely honour and neighbourhood, for defence of the freedom of Scotland from conqueſt, and not of any other ſiniſter intent, do by theſe preſents teſtify and declare, That they, nor any of them, mean not by this agreement to withdraw any due obedience to their ſovereign lady the queen, nor in any lawful thing to withſtand the French king her huſband and head, that during the marriage ſhall not tend to the ſubverſion and oppreſſion of the juſt and ancient liberties of the ſaid kingdom of Scotland; for preſervation whereof, both for their ſovereign's honour, and for the continuance of the kingdom in its ancient ſtate, they acknowledge themſelves bound to ſpend their goods, lands, and lives.

And, for performance of this preſent contract for the part of England, the queen's majeſty ſhall confirm the ſame, and all clauſes therein contained, by her letters patent, under the great ſeal of England, to be delivered to the nobility of Scotland, upon the entry of the pledges aforeſaid within the ground of England. In witneſs whereof, the ſaid duke of Norfolk hath ſubſcribed theſe points, and thereunto affixed his ſeal, the day, year, and place aforeſaid. Which contract we find honeſt and reaſonable, and that our ſaid commiſſioners therein have conſiderately reſpected the common-weal of this realm, of us, and our poſterity; and therefore do ratify, allow, confirm, and approve the ſame, with all clauſes and articles therein contained, by theſe preſents. In witneſs hereof, we have ſubſcribed the ſame with our hands; and our ſeals of arms, in ſuch caſes accuſtomed, are appended. At the camp before Leith, the 10th day of May, the year of God 1560.

Follow the ſubſcriptions:

Duke of Chattelarault.	Earl of Monteith.
Earl of Argyle.	Lord Ogilvy.
Earl of Arran.	Lord Borthwick.
Earl of Huntly.	Lord James Stuart.
Earl of Glencairn.	Lord of St. John.
Earl of Morton.	Alexander Gordon.
Earl of Rothes.	Lord John Aberbrothwick.
Lord Boyd.	Gavin Hamilton of Kilwinning.
Lord Somervel.	Abbot of Culroſs.
Lord Ochiltrie.	James Stuart of St. Colm's Inch.
Lord Robert Stuart.	
Abbot of Kinloſs.	

The Inſtructions given, ſubſcribed to the ſaid Commiſſioners, are as follows:

1. In the *firſt* place, If it ſhall be aſked of you by the duke of Norfolk, and by others the queen's majeſty's appointed commiſſioners, If your pledges be in readineſs? ye ſhall anſwer, That they are, and in St. Andrews the 25th of this inſtant, and ſhall be ready to be delivered in hoſtage, for ſecurity of our promiſes and part of the contract; they offering and making ſecurity for their part by the queen's majeſty's ſubſcription and great ſeal, and delivering the ſame unto you: providing that they chuſe and make their election of the pledges, as is communed.

2. *Item*, If the ſaid commiſſioners ſhall demand of you, What enterpriſe the army of England ſhall take in hand at their firſt in-coming? ye ſhall anſwer in general, The expulſion of the French ſoldiers out of this realm; and firſt, and in ſpecial, out of the town of Leith, ſeeing their great forts are there.

3. *Item*, If it ſhall be aſked of you, At what place our friends and brethren of England ſhall be met? and at what day? what number? and what noblemen in company? ye ſhall refer all theſe things to their election and choice.

4. *Item*, If it ſhall be aſked of you, How the armies ſhall be furniſhed with victuals, and eſpecially the horſemen? ye ſhall anſwer, That, with their advice, ſufficient order ſhall be taken therein.

5. *Item*, If it be required, How the munition ſhall be carried, and oxen furniſhed to that effect? you ſhall anſwer, As we have given in commiſſion to Lethington, which we ratify.

6. *Item*, If it ſhall be aſked, Who ſhall be lieutenant to the army of Scotland? ye ſhall anſwer, The duke of Chattelarault.

7. *Item*, If it ſhall be enquired, What number our whole army extends to? ye ſhall anſwer, They will be, God willing, five thouſand men.

8. *Item*, If it ſhall be aſked, What manner of way Leith ſhall be aſſaulted? ye ſhall deſire all preparations to be in readineſs, and the advice to be taken after the placing of the armies, and view of the ſtrength ſhortly.

9. *Item*, If it ſhall be aſked concerning the caſtle

of Edinburgh, If they will ſtand friends or not? ye ſhall declare our diligence made, and to be made ſhortly herein? but for the preſent we can aſſure them of nothing.

10. *Item*, If it be aſked, in caſe the caſtle be enemy, Where the army ſhall be placed? ye ſhall anſwer, For the firſt in Muſſelburgh and Tranent, and thoſe parts, till the battery and all preparations be in readineſs.

11. *Item*, In caſe it be enquired of all by-lyers and neutrals, and in eſpecial of the lord of Huntly, and the north? ye ſhall anſwer in general, A good hope is had of the moſt part thereof: and touching the lord of Huntly in ſpecial, ye ſhall ſhew how he hath ſent writings to my lord of Arran, with a ſervant of credit, to aſſure him of his aſſiſtance; and for that cauſe, hath deſired letters of ſuſpenſion of the queen dowager's commiſſion to be ſent to him, to be uſed in thoſe parts, and other letters to arreſt the clergy's rents and hires both in thoſe parts, with proclamations to cauſe all men to be in readineſs to paſs forward, for maintaining of the religion, and expelling of ſtrangers. The nobility have written to him, that he may come to them in perſon; whereof the anſwer is not returned as yet.

12. *Item*, If it ſhall be aſked the place and manner of meeting of our folks, or of us and them, in caſe Stirling be kept? we refer the anſwer hereof to your diſcretions.

13. *Item*, If it ſhall be aſked, That their leaden money ſhall have paſſage for their neceſſaries? ye ſhall reaſon the commodity and diſcommodity thereof with the council.

14. *Item*, If it ſhall be aſked, What pioneers ſhall be had? ye ſhall anſwer, The number being expreſſed, and money in readineſs to hold or pay them, they ſhall have ſufficiency.

15. *Item*, If they ſhall deſire, That we declare our cauſes unto the princes of Almaign, and the king of Denmark, deſiring their aſſiſtance; ye ſhall anſwer, That we think the ſame good, and ſhall ſpeedily take order therewith.

16. *Item*, If it ſhall be deſired of you to confirm for us, and in our name, the things paſt and granted by our former commiſſioner, the young laird of Lethington; ye ſhall in all points for us, and in our name, confirm the ſame, ſo far as it ſhall make either for the weal and conjunction of the two realms, or this preſent cauſe, or yet for the ſecurity of our part for fulfilling of the ſame: and as ye ſhall accept their offers tending to the ſame end, and ſuch ſecurity on that part as ye may purchaſe; and eſpecially ſuch as we have heretofore expreſſed. Given at Glaſgow, the 10th of February 1559.

Item, We give and grant you full power to augment or diminiſh the ſaid heads and articles, as ye think the weal of the cauſe ſhall require in all points.

Sic ſubſcribitur,

John of Monteith.	William Murray of Tullibardin.
James Hamilton.	Glencairn.
Andrew of Rothes.	Ochiltrie.
Alexander Gordon.	John Erſkine of Dun.
R. Boyd.	James Halyburton.
Alexander Argyle.	

Shortly after this contract were our pledges delivered to Mr. Winter admiral of the navy, that came to Scotland, a man of great honeſty, ſo far as ever we could eſpy in him; who were ſafely conveyed to Newcaſtle, and ſo the Engliſh army began to aſſemble towards the border. Whereof the French and queen regent aſſured, they began to deſtroy what they could in the towns and country about; for the whole victuals they carried to Leith, the mills they broke, the ſheep, oxen, and kine, yea, the horſes of poor labourers, all made they to ſerve their tyranny. And, finally, left nothing which enemies could have deviſed, except that they demoliſhed not gentlemens houſes, and burnt not the town of Edinburgh; in which point God bridled their fury, to let his afflicted underſtand, that he took care for them. Before the coming of the army, the French paſt to Glaſgow, and deſtroyed the country thereabout.

What tyranny Marticks uſed upon a poor Scots ſoldier, is fearful to hear, and yet this deed may not be omitted. Silver would they give none to the poor men, and they were ſo ſlow to depart out of the town, that albeit the drum beat, the enſign could not be gotten. There was a poor craftsman, who had bought for his victuals a brown loaf, and was eating a morſel of it, and was putting the reſt of it into his boſom. The tyrant came to him, and, with the poor wretch's own dagger, firſt ſtruck him in the breaſt, and after threw it at him, and ſo the poor man ſtaggering and falling, the merciſeſs tyrant ran him through with his rapier, and thereafter commanded him to be hanged over the ſtair. 'Lord, thou wilt look and recom-
'penſe ſuch tyranny, how contemptible ſoever the
'perſon was.'

The 2d of April, the year of our Lord 1560, the army entered into Scotland; the conducting whereof was committed to lord Gray, who had in his company the lord Scrope, Sir James Crofts, Sir Henry Piercy, Sir Francis Lake, with many other captains and gentlemen, having charge, ſome of footmen, and ſome of horſemen. The army conſiſted of ten thouſand men. The queen regent paſt to the caſtle of Edinburgh, and ſome others of her faction: at Preſton met them the duke, the earl of Argyle (Huntly came not till that the ſiege was confirmed), lord James, the earl of Glencairn, and Monteith, lords Ruthven, Boyd, Ochiltrie, with all the Proteſtants, gentlemen of the Weſt, Fife, Angus, and Mearns; ſo that in a few days the army was great. After the deliberation of two days had at Invereſk, the whole camp marched forward with ordnance, and all preparations neceſſary for the ſiege, and came to Reſtalrig on Palm-Sunday evening. The French had put themſelves in battle array upon the Links without Leith, and ſent forth their ſkirmiſhers, who, beginning before ten of the clock, continued ſkirmiſhing till after four of the o'clock at afternoon, when there was given upon them a charge by ſome horſemen of Scotland, and ſome of England; but becauſe the principal captain of the horſemen of England was not preſent, the whole troops durſt not charge; and ſo was not the overthrow and ſlaughter of the French ſo great as it once appeared to have been; for the great battle was once at the trot: but when they perceived that the great force of horſemen ſtood ſtill, and charged not, they returned, and gave ſome reſcue to their fellows that fled; and ſo there fell only in that defeat about three hundred Frenchmen. God would not give the victory ſo ſuddenly, leſt that man ſhould glory in his own ſtrength.

The ſmall victory that was gotten put both the Engliſh and Scots in over great ſecurity, as the iſſue declared. The French incloſed within the town, the Engliſh army began to plant their pavilions betwixt Leith and Reſtalrig: the ordnance of the town, and eſpecially that which lay upon St. Anthony's ſteeple, gave them great annoyance; againſt which place were bent eight cannon, which ſhot ſo continually, and ſo juſt, that within few days the ſteeple was condemned, and all the ordnance that was on it diſcomfited; which made the Engliſhmen ſomewhat more negligent than it became good men of war to have been; for, perceiving that the French made no purſuit without their walls, they took an opinion, that they ſhould never iſſue forth more; which made ſome of the captains for paſtime go to the town: the ſoldiers for their eaſe laid their armour beſide them, and, as men without danger, fell to the dice and cards; and ſo upon the Eaſter-Monday, at the very hour of nine, the French iſſued both upon horſe and foot, and with great violence entered within the Engliſh trenches, ſlew and put to flight all that was found therein. The watch was negligently kept, and ſo were the ſuccours ſlow and long in coming; for the French, before that any reſiſtance was made unto them, approached hard to the great ordnance: but then the horſemen trooped together, and the footmen got themſelves in array, and ſo repulſed the French back again to the town; but the ſlaughter was great, ſome ſay, it doubled that which the French received the firſt day.

And this was the fruit of their ſecurity and ours, which after was remedied; for the Engliſhmen, moſt wiſely conſidering themſelves not able to beſiege the town round about, deviſed to make mounts at divers quarters of it, in the which they and their ordnance lay in as good ſtrength as they did within the town: the common ſoldiers kept the trenches, and had the ſaid mountains for their ſafeguard and refuge, in caſe of any greater purſuit than they were able to ſuſtain. The patience and ſtout courage of the Engliſhmen, but principally of the horſemen, is worthy of all praiſe: for where was it ever heard, that eight thouſand (they never exceeded that number that lay in camp) ſhould beſiege four thouſand of the moſt deſperate throat-cutters that were to be found in Europe, and to lie nigh unto them, daily ſkirmiſhing, the ſpace of three months and more. The horſemen night and day kept watch, and did ſo valiantly behave themſelves, that the French got no advantage from that day, to the day of the aſſault, whereof we ſhall ſhortly hear.

In this mean time was this other bond made of all the nobility, barons, and gentlemen, profeſſing Chriſt Jeſus in Scotland, and of divers others that joined with us, for expelling of the French, amongſt whom the earl of Huntly was a prime man. The bond followeth:

The laſt Bond at Leith.

AT Edinburgh, the twentieth-and-ſeventh of April, the year of our Lord 1560 years; we, whoſe names are under-written, have promiſed and obli-

ged ourſelves faithfully, in the preſence of God, and by theſe preſents do promiſe, That we together in general, and every one of us in ſpecial by himſelf, with our bodies, goods, friends, and all that we can do, ſhall ſet forward the reformation of religion, according to God's word; and procure, by all means poſſible, that the truth of God's word may have free paſſage within this realm, with due adminiſtration of the ſacraments, and all things depending upon the ſaid word: and alſo, deeply weighing with ourſelves the miſbehaviour of the French miniſters here, the intolerable oppreſſion committed by the French men of war upon the poor ſubjects of this realm, by maintenance of the queen dowager, under colour and pretence of authority; the tyranny of their captains and leaders, and manifeſt danger of conqueſt, in which this country at this preſent ſtandeth, by reaſon of divers fortifications upon the ſea-coaſt, and other novelties of late attempted by them; do promiſe, That we ſhall, every one with another, as well as altogether, with the queen of England's army, preſently come in for our deliverance, effectually concur, join in one, take and hold one plain part, for expulſion of the ſaid ſtrangers, oppreſſors of our liberty, forth out of this realm, and for recovery of our ancient freedoms and liberties; to the end, that in time coming we may, under the obedience of the king and queen our ſovereigns, be only ruled by the laws and cuſtoms of the country, and men born in the land; and that never one of us ſhall have privy inteligence, by writing, meſſage, or communication, with any of our enemies or adverſaries in this cauſe, but by advice of the reſt (at leaſt of five) of the council. Again, That we ſhall tender the common cauſe, as if it was the cauſe of every one of us in particular; and that the cauſes of every one of us now joined together, being lawful and honeſt, ſhall be all our cauſes in general; and that he that is enemy to the cauſe aforeſaid, ſhall be enemy to us all, in ſo far, that what perſon ſoever will plainly reſiſt theſe our godly enterpriſes, and will not concur, as a good and true member of this our commonwealth, we ſhall fortify the ſaid authority of the council, to reduce him to his duty: likeas, we ſhall fortify the ſaid authority of the council, in all things tending to the furtherance of the ſaid cauſes. And if any particular debate, quarrel, or controverſy ſhall ariſe, for whatſoever cauſe that is paſt, preſent, or to come, betwixt any of us, as God forbid, in that caſe we ſhall ſubmit ourſelves, and our ſaid queſtions, to the deciſion of the council, or to arbitrators to be named by them, &c: providing always, that this be not prejudicial to the ordinary juriſdiction of judges; but that men may purſue their actions by order of law, civilly or criminally, as it pleaſeth them.

This contract and bond came not only to the ears, but alſo to the ſight of the queen dowager; whereat ſhe ſtormed not a little, and ſaid, 'The 'malediction of God I give unto them that counſel-'led me to perſecute the preachers, and to refuſe the 'petitions of the beſt part of the true ſubjects of 'this realm.' It was ſaid to me, That the Engliſh army could not continue in Scotland ten days; but now they have lain near a month, and are more like to remain than they were at the firſt day they came. They that gave information to the queen, ſpake as worldly-wiſe men, and as things appeared to have been; for the country being almoſt in all the parts thereof waſted, the victuals next adjacent to Leith, either brought in for their proviſion, or elſe deſtroyed; the mills, and other places, as before is ſaid, being caſt down, it appeared, that the camp could not have been furniſhed (except it had been by their own ſhips, and as that could not have been of any long continuance, ſo ſhould it have been little comfortable). But God confounded all worldly wiſdom, and made his own benediction as evidently to appear, as if in a manner he had fed the army from above; for all kind of victuals were more abundant, and at more eaſy prices in the camp, all the time that it lay, after that eight days were paſt, than either they have been in Edinburgh any two years before, or it hath been in this town to this day, the 20th of May *anno* 1566.

The people of Scotland ſo much abhorred the tyranny of the French, that they would have given the ſubſtance that they had to have been rid of that chargeable burden, which our ſins had provoked God to lay upon us, in delivering us into the hands of a woman, whom our nobility in their fooliſhneſs ſold unto ſtrangers, and with her the liberty of this realm: 'God, for his great mercy's ſake, pre-'ſerve us yet from further bondage, in which we 'are like to fall, if he provide not remedy; for our 'nobility will yet remain blind ſtill, and will follow 'their affection, come after whatſoever may.' But to return to our hiſtory.

The camp abounding in all neceſſary proviſion, order was taken for continuation of the ſiege, and ſo the trenches were drawn as near the town as poſſibly they might: the great camp removed from Reſtalrig, to the weſt ſide of the Water of Leith; and

ſo were the cannon planted for the battery, and did ſhoot at the ſouth-weſt wall: but, by reaſon all was earth, the breach was not made ſo great upon the day, but that it was ſufficiently repaired upon the night; whereof the Engliſhmen beginning to be weary, determined to give the breach an aſſault, as that they did upon the 7th day of May, beginning before the day-light, and continued till it was nigh ſeven o'clock: and albeit that the Engliſh and Scots, with great ſlaughter of the ſoldiers of both, were repulſed, yet was there never a ſharper aſſault given by ſo few hands; for they exceeded not a thouſand men, that aſſaulted the whole two quarters of the town, and yet they dammed the whole block-houſes; yea, they once put the French clean off their walls, and were upon both the eaſt and weſt block-houſe: but they wanted backing, for their ladders lacked ſix quarters of the juſt height; and ſo, while the former were compelled to fight upon the top of the wall, their fellows could not join to ſupport them; and ſo were they by multitude driven back again, when it was once thought that the town was won.

Sir James Crofts was blamed of many for not doing his duty that day; for he was appointed, with a ſufficient number of the moſt able men, to have aſſaulted the north-weſt quarter upon the ſea-ſide, where at low water (as at the time of the aſſault it was) the paſſage was eaſy; but neither he nor his approached to their quarter appointed. He had before, at the firſt coming in, ſpoken with the queen regent, at the fore block-houſe of the caſtle of Edinburgh. Whether ſhe had enchanted him or not, we know not, but by ſuſpicion of that day, in which he deceived the expectation of many; and, ſo far as man could judge, was the cauſe of that great repulſe; for ſome aſcribed the ſhortneſs of the ladders to him: but that omitted, which might have proceeded of negligence, his abſence from the purſuit of his quarter, was the cauſe that the French, who were appointed to defend there, ſeeing no purſuer, came to the relief of their fellows; and ſo they two joining together, with great ſlaughter gave the repulſe to our company. The Frenchmen's harlots, of whom the moſt part were Scots whores, did no leſs cruelties than did the ſoldiers; for beſides that they charged their pieces, and miniſtered unto them other weapons, ſome continually caſt ſtones, ſome carried chimneys of burning fire, ſome brought timber, and other impediments of weight, which with great violence they threw over the wall upon our men, but eſpecially when they began to turn back.

Now albeit in all this we acknowledge the ſecret work of God, who by ſuch means would beat down as well the pride of England as of Scotland, yet neither ought the feebleneſs nor faiſehood of men be excuſed, neither yet the cruelty of the adverſaries concealed. The queen regent ſat all the time of the aſſault (which was both terrible and long) upon the fore-wall of the caſtle of Edinburgh; and when ſhe perceived the overthrow of us, and that the enſigns of the French were again diſplayed upon the walls, ſhe gave a gawf of laughter, and ſaid, 'Now will I go to the maſs, and 'praiſe God for that which mine eyes have ſeen.' And ſo was friar Black ready for that purpoſe, whom ſhe herſelf a little before had catched with his harlot in the chapel; but whoredom and idolatry agree well together, and that our court can witneſs.

The French, proud of the victory, ſtripped naked all the ſlain, and laid their dead carcaſes before the hot ſun along the wall, where they ſuffered them to lie more days than one: unto the which, when the queen regent looked, for mirth ſhe leapt, and ſaid, 'Yonder is the faireſt tapeſtry that ever 'I ſaw; I would that the whole fields that are be-'twixt this place and yon were ſtrewed with the 'ſame ſtuff.' This fact was ſeen of all, and her words were heard of ſome, and it was miſliked of many; againſt the which John Knox ſpake openly in the pulpit, and boldly affirmed, That God ſhould revenge that contumely done to his image, not only in the furious and godleſs ſoldiers, but even in ſuch as rejoiced thereat: and the very experience declared, that he was not deceived; for within few days after (yea, ſome ſay, that ſame day), began her belly and legs to ſwell, and ſo continued, till that God, in his wiſdom, took her away from this world, as after we ſhall hear.

After the defeat received, the queen regent, and her faction, were fully perſuaded that the ſiege would be raiſed, and that the Engliſh army would depart; and ſo began the Papiſts wonderouſly to brag: and yet God did fruſtrate their expectation; for the army determined to remain, till new advetiſement came from the queen and council. The duke of Norfolk, who then lay at Berwick, commanded the lord Gray to continue the ſiege; and promiſed, That he ſhould not want men, ſo long as any were to be had betwixt Trent and Tweed; for ſo far was he lieutentant. He further promiſed his own preſence, in caſe it ſhould be required; and for aſſurance thereof, he ſent his own tents, ſuch as ſeldom before had been ſeen in Scotland, with his of-

ficers and proviſion. And with expedition were ſent two thouſand freſh men, whereby the camp, greatly comforted, began to forget the former diſcomfiture, and to ſuſtain the daily ſkirmiſhing, as they did before: in the which the French, after the day of the aſſault, did ever receive the hurt and the repulſe, as the ſlaughter of many that came to the Cole-rake did witneſs. The greateſt damage that either Engliſh or Scots received after that day, was the ſlaughter of two gentlemen; the one, maſter of houſehold to my lord James, Robert Colvil of Cleiſh, a man ſtout, modeſt, and wiſe, who was ſhot in the thigh with a falcon or hackbut of Croke, and ſo departed the miſery of this life within two hours after; the other was Alexander Lockhart, brother to the laird of Bar, who raſhly diſcovering himſelf in the trenches, was ſhot in the head, and immediately thereafter departed this life.

While the ſiege thus continued, a fire happened in Leith, which deſtroyed many houſes, and much victual; and ſo began God to fight for us, as the lord Erſkine, in plain words, ſaid to the queen regent; 'Madam,' ſaith he, 'I can ſay no more, but 'ſeeing that men may not expel unjuſt poſſeſſors 'forth of this land, God himſelf would do it; for 'yon fire is not kindled by man.' Which words offended the queen regent not a little; whoſe ſickneſs daily increaſing, great craft ſhe uſed, that monſieur d' Oſel might have been permitted to have ſpoken with her; belike ſhe would have bidden him farewell (for their old familiarity was great); but that denied, ſhe writ, as it had been to her ſurgeon and apothecary, ſhewing her ſickneſs, and requiring ſome drugs. The letter being preſented to the lord Gray, he eſpied the craft; for few lines being written above, and ſo much white paper left, he ſaid, Drugs are more abundant and freſher in Edinburgh, than they can be in Leith; there lurketh here ſome other myſtery: and ſo he began to try, and, by holding the paper to the fire, he perceiveth ſome writing appear, and ſo began he to read: but what it was no other man can tell, for immediately he burnt the bill, and ſaid to the meſſenger, Albeit I have been her ſecretary, yet tell her, I ſhall keep her counſel; but ſay to her, Such wares will not ſell till a new market. The anſwer received, ſhe was nothing content; and then travelled ſhe earneſtly, that ſhe might ſpeak with the earls Argyle, Glencairn, Marſhal, and with the lord James.

After deliberation, it was thought expedient that they ſhould ſpeak with her, but not altogether, leſt that ſome part of the Guiſians practice had lurked under the colour of ſuch friendſhip. Her regret was unto them all, 'That ſhe had behaved 'herſelf ſo fooliſhly, as that ſhe had compelled 'them to ſeek the ſupport of others than of their 'own ſovereign; and ſaid, That ſhe ſore repented 'that ever it came to that extremity; but ſhe was 'not to blame, but the wicked counſel of her 'friends on the one part, and the earl of Huntly 'on the other; for if he had not been, ſhe would 'have fully agreed with them at their communing 'at Preſton.' They gave unto her both the counſel and the comfort which they could in that extremity, and willed her to ſend for ſome godly learned man, of whom ſhe might receive inſtruction; for theſe ignorant Papiſts, that were about her, underſtood nothing of the myſtery of our redemption. Upon their motion was John Willock ſent for, with whom ſhe talked a reaſonable ſpace, and who did plainly ſhew unto her, as well the virtue and ſtrength of the death of Jeſus Chriſt, as the vanity and abomination of that idol the maſs. She did openly confeſs, 'That there was no ſalvation, 'but in and by the death of Jeſus Chriſt;' but of the maſs we heard not her confeſſion. Some ſay, ſhe was anointed with extreme unction, after the Papiſtical manner; which was a ſign of ſmall knowledge of the truth, and of leſs repentance of her former ſuperſtition; yet howſoever it was, Chriſt Jeſus got no ſmall victory over ſuch an enemy. For albeit before ſhe had vowed, that, in deſpite of all Scotland, the preachers of Chriſt Jeſus ſhould either die, or be baniſhed the realm; yet was ſhe compelled not only to hear, that Chriſt Jeſus was preached, and all idolatry openly rebuked, and in many places ſuppreſſed; but alſo, ſhe was conſtrained to hear one of the principal miniſters within the realm, and to approve the chief head of our religion, wherein we diſſent from all Papiſts and Papiſtry. Shortly thereafter ſhe finiſhed her life, unhappy to Scotland, from the firſt day ſhe entered into it, unto the day that ſhe departed this life, which was the 9th day of June, in the year of God 1560. The Guiſian counſels, as they were wicked and cruel to the people, ſo they proved miſchievous to themſelves, and to thoſe that followed them.

Upon the 16th day of June, after the death of the queen regent, came to Scotland monſieur Randam, and with him the biſhop of Vallance, in commiſſion from France, to negociate a peace: from England there came Sir William Cecil chief ſecretary, and doctor Whitton. Their negociation was

tedious; for both England and we, fearing deceit, ſought by all means that the contract ſhould be ſure. And they, on the other part, meaning to gratify ſuch as had ſent them (who meant nothing but mere falſehood), protracted time to the uttermoſt; yea, while that thoſe of Leith were very ſcarce of victuals, and thoſe of the Inch had periſhed, had it not been that by policy they got a ſhip with victuals, and ſome munition, which was upon mid-ſummer evening, whereof they made no ſmall triumph, which alſo for a ſeaſon ſtaid the appointment; yet in the end peace was concluded, in form as followeth:

The Articles tranſacted and agreed by John Biſhop of Vallance and Monſieur Randam, Deputies to the King and Queen of Scotland, upon the Matters preſented to them, by way of Petition, for the Part of the Nobility and People of Scotland.

In the firſt place, Upon the complaint and petition of the ſaid nobility, and the people of this country, and the number of men of war ſuſtained by their majeſties in theſe parts in the time of peace; it is humbly remonſtrated to the ſaid deputies, that they would provide convenient remedy thereunto, for the comfort and relief of the country. The ſaid deputies, conſidering the ſaid deſires to be juſt, and conformable to reaſon, condeſcended, agreed, and aſſured, That the king and queen ſhould procure no French men of war, nor no other nation, to come to theſe parts in time coming: but if ſtrangers would pretend to enter into this realm with a navy or army, to occupy the ſame; in the which caſe, proviſion ſhall be made by their majeſties, the judgment and counſel of the ſtates of the realm being had thereto: and that the French men of war, being now in the town of Leith, ſhall be ſent to France the ſame time that the navy and army of Engliſhmen and Scotſmen are ſcattered and departed both by ſea and land; the which ſhall be done in the beſt manner may be, as at more length conſideration ſhall be had thereupon. And as to the bands of Scots men of war, being at the ſaid place, they ſhall be broken, and the men of war licenſed to depart.

Moreover, as to the forts of Dunbar and Inchkeith; That there ſhall remain in them an hundred and twenty French men of war only, which ſhall be parted and diſtributed in theſe two places: and there ſhall remain no more in Dunbar but threeſcore men of war, if it is affirmed, by the captains choſen to that effect by both the parties, that, for the keeping of the ſame, a greater number is not needful: alſo to depart, when the ſtates of the realm can find a good and ſure remedy, upon the expences made in the ſaid places, to keep the ſame from peril of invaſion, or ruin thereof, from them that would pretend to occupy the ſame; they ſhall immediately ſhew the ſame unto their majeſties as haſtily as may be done: and, in the mean time, the number of the ſaid men of war ſhall not be augmented. And, in like manner, it ſhall not be lawful to the ſaid men of war, to do any injuries to any perſons, nor yet to maintain and defend any Scotſmen, of what quality ſoever they be, againſt the will and authority of the magiſtrates of the realm; nor to receive them in the ſaid places, that the miniſter of juſtice may not put hands on them; nor yet ſhall intromit, in any manner of way, with the quarrels and diſcords of the lords, and other particular men of this realm: but they themſelves ſhall be bound, in caſe of any quarrel, to be puniſhed after the laws and conſtitutions of this realm, and to anſwer for themſelves before the judges ordinaries of the ſame. Laſt of all, that from henceforth they be not compelled to take on credit, they ſhall be every month ſatisfied of their wages; and that two Scots lords, choſen by the council, may preſent it, at the weapon ſhowing and muſters of the ſaid men of war; and alſo, to viſit the ſaid forces, to ſee if the number of them be added to: and it ſhall not be lawful to the ſaid men of war to take any victuals for their ſuſtenance, or for munition of the ſaid places, but by payment of ready money numerate, and with the pleaſure of them that deliver the ſame unto them; and therefore the ſaid lords oblige themſelves to give them ſo much as is needful unto them, they having to pay therefore.

Item, Upon the petition preſented unto the ſaid lords deputies, anent the demolition of the fortifications; the ſaid deputies conſent, agree, and aſſure, That the fortifications of Leith ſhall be demoliſhed; and that two, three, or four captains ſhall be choſen by both the parties, to view the caſtle of Dunbar; and if it be found by them, that the reparation, amplification, and fortification, made thereof now after the peace, greater number of men to the keeping thereof be required, the reparation and fortification thereof ſhall be demoliſhed, ſo ſoon as may be done, and ſhall remain only untouched that thing, which may make the ſaid caſtle more ſure, and in leſs danger from invaſion; providing not the leſs, that no greater number of men therein be required for keeping of the ſame. Moreover, in times coming, the king and queen

ſhall make no more new forts within this realm; and ſhall not augment them that are already made, nor ſhall repair them that are demoliſhed, without counſel and conſent of the eſtates; nor yet ſhall tranſport to theſe parts any artillery, munition of war, powder, or victuals, but ſo much as may ſerve for keeping of the ſaid places for the ſpace of ſix months, or a year.

Item, Anent the demand made about the debts contracted by the French men of war in this country, the ſaid deputies conſent, That the king and queen ſhall cauſe to be reſtored all that which happeneth to be found given and granted to the king's lieutenant, and his captains and other officers, for the nouriſhment and maintenance of the ſaid Frenchmen; or that which is found owing by the lieutenants for ſervice of their majeſties, that may appear by writ or confeſſion of parties.

Item, Upon the petition made anent the convention of ſtates of this realm, the ſaid deputies conſented and accorded, *&c.* That the ſtates of the realm may convene and hold a parliament on the twentieth day of the month of July next to come; upon the which day the parliament ſhall be continued, as the uſe is, unto the firſt day of the month of Auguſt following: providing always, that before they begin to handle any things in the ſaid parliament, all tumult of war be diſcharged and ceaſe, that they who are preſent may be free, without fear of men of war, or others; and that in the mean time a meſſenger be ſent by the ſaid deputies to the king and queen, to certify them of the things agreed, treated, and accorded, requeſting their majeſties humbly to be contented with the ſame. And the ſaid convention ſhall be as lawful, in all reſpects, as the ſame had been ordained and done by expreſs commandment of their majeſties; providing, that no matter be treated therein before the ſaid firſt day of Auguſt.

Item, Upon the article preſented concerning war and peace, the ſaid deputies conſented, accorded, *&c.* That the king and queen neither make peace nor war on their parts, but by the counſel, judgment, and conſent of the ſtates, according to the ordinance of the country, and as was obſerved by their predeceſſors.

Item, Upon the petition preſented to the ſaid deputies, concerning the government and regiment of the policy, they have conſented, *&c.* That four-and-twenty worthy men of this realm be choſen by the ſtates, of which the king and the queen ſhall chuſe ſeven, and the ſtates five, which, in their majeſties abſence, ſhall take order, and make an ordinary council, for the adminiſtration foreſaid; ſo that no man, of whatſoever quality he be, ſhall have the power to order any thing to be done, touching the ſaid buſineſs, without the mediation, authority, and conſent of them: and the ſaid counſellors ſhall convene together, as oft as they can conveniently; but ſhall convene no leſs nor ſix together. And when any matter of importance occurreth, they ſhall all be called to conſult, and order to be taken by them, or the moſt part of them, if need be. And if any of the ſaid ſeven, choſen by the king and queen, happen to die, their majeſties ſhall chuſe another forth of the ſaid number of four-and-twenty, in the place of him that died; and if any of the ſaid five choſen by the ſtates dieth, the remainder fore-choſen by them, ſhall name another of the ſaid number of twenty-four. Moreover, if it be thought expedient to the ſaid ſtates, that other two be augmented to the ſaid number of twelve, then, and in that caſe, the king and queen ſhall chuſe one, and the ſtates another: and ſo was this article agreed, under condition, that is to ſay, that the ſame be no prejudice, in times coming, to the king and queen, and rights of the crown. And the ſaid deputies offered their labours, to make mediation to the king and queen, for maintaining penſions and expences of the ſaid counſellors, and ordinary officers of the ſaid council, to be provided from the rents and revenues of the crown.

Item, Upon the petition made to the ſaid deputies, anent the officers of this realm, they conſented and accorded, *&c.* That in time to come, the king and queen ſhall not depute any ſtranger in the adminiſtration of the civil and common juſtice, and likewiſe in the office of chancellor, keeper of the ſeal, the treaſurer, comptroller, and other like offices, and ſhall not uſe them, but ſhall be content with their own ſubjects born in the realm. Moreover, it ſhall not be lawful to put the offices of treaſurer and comptroller into the hands of churchmen, or others, who are not able to exerciſe the ſaid offices; which treaſurer and comptroller ſhall be provided of ſufficient commiſſion to uſe the ſaid offices: but it ſhall not be lawful to them to diſpoſe or ſell wards of marriages, or other caſualties, or any other things whatſoever they be, pertaining to their offices, without advice and conſent of the ſaid council, to the effect that the council may know, that all things be done to the profit of the king and queen: and yet they will not bind or reſtrict the king and queen to this article, that they may not give when they think expedient.

Item, They accorded, That in the firſt convention and parliament of the ſtates of this realm, there ſhall be conſtituted, ordained, and eſtabliſhed, an act of oblivion, which afterwards ſhall be confirmed by the king and queen's majeſties; by the which the remembrance of bearing armour, and other things which have been done, ſhall be buried and forgotten, from the ſixth day of the month of March, in the year of our Lord God 1558. And by the ſame act, they who have contravened the laws of the realm, ſhall be excuſed, and free of all pains contained therein, even ſo as if it had never been contravened; providing, that the privilege of the ſaid act be not extended to them, which the ſtates of the realm ſhall judge unworthy thereof.

Item, It is agreed and concluded, That in the ſaid convention or parliament, the ſtates of the realm, as the cuſtom is, and ordinarily is required, ſhall be called; in the which all they that have uſed to convene, and to be preſent, may come, without all fear or force done, or to be done to them by any perſon; ſo that the ſaid ſtates ſhall oblige them, that where in time coming any ſedition, or gathering of men of war, ſhall happen to be, without command of the council, being of the number of twelve, the realm and country ſhall repute the cauſers thereof, and they that convene, as rebels, and ſhall purſue them as ſuch, that they may be puniſhed by the laws of the realm; ſo that the king and queen ſhall not be compelled, in time coming, to ſend any men of war, ſtrangers, into theſe parts, for obtaining due obedience of their ſubjects.

Item, They offered, accorded, and agreed, That there ſhall be a general peace and reconciliation amongſt all lords and ſubjects of this realm; ſo that they that are of the Congregation, and they which are not of the ſame, ſhall lay no reproach to others, for the things which are done from the ſaid ſixth day of March 1558.

Item, They offered, accorded, and affirmed, That the king and queen ſhall not purſue, revenge, nor make any perſecution for the things that have been done, nor yet ſhall they ſuffer the ſame to be done by their ſubjects, Frenchmen, but ſhall have all things in oblivion, as if the ſame had never been done; and ſuch like the lords of this realm of Scotland ſhall do in all buſineſs betwixt them and the Frenchmen, on their parts. And if, by ſiniſter information, or any other occaſion, their majeſties have conceived evil opinion againſt their ſubjects, they ſhall utterly forget and change the ſame: nor ſhall they take from them, or any of them, their ſubjects, the offices, benefices, or eſtates, which they have bruiked and enjoyed in the ſaid realm before, by reaſon of any thing they have meddled with, from the ſaid ſixth day of March 1558: and further, ſhall make no occaſion of deprivation, or depoſing of them by any other colour, without juſt cauſe; but rather, they ſhall eſteem and uſe them, in time coming, as good and obedient ſubjects; providing, that the ſaid lords, and other ſubjects, on their part, make to their majeſties all obedience, ſuch as other faithful and natural ſubjects owe to their ſovereigns.

Item, It is accorded and agreed, That it ſhall be lawful to none of the lords and nobility of Scotland, or any other, to make convocation of men of war, but in the ordinary caſe approved by the laws and cuſtoms of the realm: and none of them ſhall cauſe any men of war, ſtrangers, to come to their parts; and much leſs ſhall attempt to do any thing againſt the king or queen, or againſt the authority of the council, and other magiſtrates of the realm; and they which have preſented the petition ſhall be bound thereunto. And in caſe any of them, or others, find occaſion to invade, or take armour againſt any man, as he pretendeth, after that he hath communicated the matter with the council of the realm, he ſhall preſent his complaint to their majeſties; and generally, they ſhall oblige them, under the ſaid pains, to do the things which pertain to good and faithful ſubjects, for the quietneſs and tranquillity of the realm, and rights of their ſovereign.

Item, It is agreed, That if any biſhops, abbots, or other churchmen, ſhall complain of having received any injuries, either in their perſons or goods, the complaints ſhall be ſeen and conſidered by the ſtates of the ſaid convention and parliament, and there ſhall be made redreſs, as they ſhall find according to reaſon; and, in the mean time, no man ſhall ſtop them, but they ſhall bruik and enjoy their goods; nor ſhall do any hurt, injury, or violence to them; and if any doth contravene this article, he ſhall be purſued by the lords, as a diſturber of a good commonwealth.

Item, It is accorded, *&c.* That the ſaid lords ſhall bind them to obſerve, and cauſe to be obſerved, all and ſundry points and articles agreed in this treaty: and if it happen, that any of them, or any other, ſhould gainſay the ſame, the other lords, and reſidue of the whole people, ſhall be enemies to him, and ſhall purſue him, till he be chaſtened and puniſhed according to his demerits.

Item, It is concluded, &c. That all the whole realm may know, that the king and queen are not willing to keep any remembrance of the troubles and differences paſt, and ſo far as concerns the nobility and other ſubjects of this realm, that their majeſties deſire is to uſe them humanely, and to be favourable unto them; the ſaid deputies have promiſed and accorded, That the duke of Chattelarault, and all other noblemen of Scotland, ſhall be reſtored, and ſettled again in all their goods and benefices, which they had enjoyed in France, that they may bruik and enjoy the ſame, in the ſame manner as they did before theſe debates, the ſaid ſixth day of March and year aforeſaid, even as the ſaid controverſies had never happened. And alſo, that all capitulations and articles agreed upon in times paſt, and eſpecially thoſe that were appointed in the king and queen's contract, ſhall be obſerved and kept, as well for the part of their majeſties, as for the part of the nobility and people of Scotland. And as concerning David, ſon to the duke of Chattelarault, now being in Boès de Vincennes, liberty ſhall be granted unto him to return into Scotland, and to do as he pleaſeth.

Moreover, when the ſaid deputies ſet forth, that ſome time it might happen, that the king might have need of his great guns and artillery in France, the ſaid lords, having conſideration thereof, agreed, That no other artillery be tranſlated out of this realm, but thoſe which were ſent and brought in, from the day of the deceaſe of Francis king of France, of good memory, to theſe parts: and that all other artillery and munition be put into the places whence they were taken forth; and in ſpecial, they that have the arms of Scotland, ſhall put them into the places whence they were taken forth; and there ſhall be noblemen of Scotland appointed therefore; and two for the part of the king's majeſty, are to be deputed, to recognize and view the ſame before the ſhipping thereof.

And moreover, That whereas, in the names of the nobility and people of Scotland, certain articles concerning religion, and other points, have been preſented, which the ſaid deputies will not touch; and conſidering the weight and importance of them, have remitted the ſame to be recognized and decided by their majeſties: the ſaid lords and nobility do promiſe, That a certain number of noblemen ſhould be choſen in the next convention and parliament, to be ſent to their majeſties, who ſhall ſet forth to their highneſſes thoſe things that ſhall be thought needful for the ſtate of their buſineſs, and for the fore-mentioned, and other articles and points undecided by the deputies, to the effect they may know their majeſties intention and good-will concerning thoſe things which ſhall be ſet forth from the country; who alſo ſhall have with them a confirmation and ratification by the ſtates of the realm, of thoſe articles which are agreed on, &c. by the deputies, to whom alſo at the ſame time, or before, ſhall be given and delivered a like confirmation and ratification made by their majeſties, ſo being that the ſaid ſtates ſend their ratification aforeſaid.

The Proclamation of the Things above written, made the 8th of July, in the Year of God 1560.

To the glory of the Almighty Lord God, and to the comfort of all Chriſtians, the moſt puiſſant prince and princeſs, and moſt Chriſtian king and queen, Francis and Mary, by the grace of God, king and queen of France and Scotland; and by the moſt puiſſant princeſs Elizabeth, by the ſame grace, queen of England, France, and Ireland, &c. it is accorded, and reconciliation of peace and amity made, which is to be obſerved inviolably amongſt them, their ſubjects, realms, and countries; foraſmuch as, in name of the ſame prince and princeſs, it is commanded, and ſtrictly charged to all manner of perſons under their obedience, or being in their ſervice, from henceforth to deſiſt from all hoſtility, both by ſea and land, and to keep a good peace one with the other; and with charge, that none ſhall break the ſame, under peril of, &c.

Theſe things tranſacted, and the peace proclaimed, as is ſaid, ſudden proviſion was made for tranſporting of the French to France, of whom the moſt part were put into the Engliſh ſhips, who alſo carried with them the whole ſpoil of Leith: and that was the ſecond benefit which they received of their late promiſed liberty, the end whereof is not yet. The Engliſh army departed by land the 16th day of July, in the year of God 1560; the moſt part of our nobility, Proteſtants, honourably convoyed them (as in very deed they had well deſerved). But lord James would not leave the lord Gray with the other noblemen of England, till that they entered into Berwick; after whoſe returning, the council began to look as well upon the affairs of the commonwealth, as upon the matters that might concern the ſtability of religion.

As before we have heard, the parliament was concluded to begin the 20th of July, and to be

continued till the firſt of Auguſt next; and therefore the lords made the greater haſte and diligence, that all things ſhould be put in convenient order. But before all things, the preachers exhorted them (for then in Edinburgh were the moſt part of the chief miniſters of this realm) to be thankful unto God; and, next to provide that the miniſters ſhould be diſtributed, as the neceſſity of the country required. A day was appointed, when that the whole nobility, and the greateſt part of the Congregation, aſſembled in St. Giles's church, in Edinburgh, where, after the ſermon made for that purpoſe, public thanks were given unto God for his merciful deliverance, in form as followeth:

Thankſgiving for our Deliverance, with Prayers.

O ETERNAL and everlaſting God, Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who hath not only commanded us to pray, and promiſed to hear us, but alſo willeſt us to magnify thy mercies, and to glorify thy name, when thou ſheweſt thyſelf pitiful and favourable unto us; eſpecially when thou deliverеſt us from deſperate dangers: for ſo did thy ſervants, Abraham, David, Jehoſhaphat, and Hezekiah; yea, the whole people of Iſrael omitted not the ſame, when thou, by thy mighty hand, didſt confound their enemies, and didſt deliver them from fear and danger of death intended. We ought not, nor can we forget, O Lord! in how miſerable eſtate ſtood this poor country, and we, the juſt inhabitants of the ſame, not many days paſt; when idolatry was maintained; when cruel ſtrangers did bear rule; when virgins were deflowered, matrons corrupted, mens wives violently and villainouſly oppreſſed, the blood of innocents ſhed without mercy; and finally, when the unjuſt commandments of proud tyrants were obeyed as law. Out of theſe miſeries, O Lord! could neither our wit, policy, nor ſtrength deliver us; yea, thou didſt ſhew to us how vain was the help of man, where thy bleſſing giveth not victory. In theſe our anguiſhes, O Lord! we ſobbed unto thee, we cried for thy help, and we proclaimed thy name, as thy troubled flock, perſecuted for thy truth's ſake. Mercifully haſt thou heard us, O Lord! mercifully, we ſay, becauſe that neither in us, neither yet in our confederates, was there any cauſe, why that thou ſhouldſt have given unto us ſo joyful and ſudden a deliverance: for neither of us ceaſed to do wickedly, even in the midſt of our greateſt troubles; and yet haſt thou looked upon us ſo pitifully, as that we had given unto thee moſt perfect obedience: for thou haſt diſappointed the counſels of the crafty; thou haſt bridled the rage of the cruel; and thou haſt, of thy mercy, ſet this our periſhing realm at a reaſonable liberty. Oh! give us hearts (thou, Lord, that only giveſt all good gifts) with reverence and fear, to meditate on thy wonderous works, lately wrought in our eyes. Let not the remembrance of the ſame unthankfully ſlip from our wavering minds. We grant and acknowledge, O Lord! that whatſoever we have received ſhall fall into oblivion with us, and ſo turn to our condemnation, unleſs thou, by the power of thy Spirit, keep and retain us in recent and perpetual memory of the ſame: We beſeech thee therefore, O Father of Mercies! that as, of thy undeſerved grace, thou haſt partly removed our darkneſs, ſuppreſſed idolatry, and taken from above our heads the devouring ſword of mercileſs ſtrangers, that ſo it would pleaſe thee to proceed with us in this thy grace begun. And albeit that in us there is nothing that may move thy Majeſty to ſhew us this favour, yet, for Chriſt Jeſus, thy only well-beloved Son's ſake, whoſe name we bear, and whoſe doctrine we profeſs, we beſeech thee never to ſuffer us to forſake or deny this verity, which now we profeſs: but ſeeing that thou haſt mercifully heard us, and haſt cauſed thy verity to triumph in us, ſo we crave of thee continuance to the end, that thy godly name may be glorified in us thy creatures. And ſeeing that nothing is more odious in thy preſence, O Lord! than ingratitude and violation of an oath and covenant made in thy name; and ſeeing thou haſt made our confederates of England the inſtrument by whom we are now ſet at this liberty, and to whom, in thy name, we have promiſed mutual faith again; let us never fall to that unkindneſs, O Lord! that either we declare ourſelves unthankful unto them, or profaners of thy holy name. Confound thou the counſel of thoſe that go about to break that moſt godly league contracted in thy name, and retain thou us ſo firmly together, by the power of thy Holy Spirit, that Satan have never power to ſet us again at variance nor diſcord. Give us thy grace to live in that Chriſtian charity, which thy Son our Lord Jeſus hath ſo earneſtly commended to all the members of his body; that other nations, ſtirred up by our example, may ſet aſide all ungodly war, contention, and ſtrife, and ſtudy to live in tranquillity and peace, as it becometh the ſheep of thy paſture, and the people that daily look for our final deliverance, by the coming again of

our Lord Jeſus: to whom, with Thee and the Holy Spirit, be all honour, glory, and praiſe, now and ever. Amen.'

Hereafter were the commiſſioners of burghs, with ſome of the nobility and barons, appointed to ſee the equal diſtribution of miniſters, to change and tranſport, as the moſt part ſhould think expedient. And ſo was John Knox appointed to Edinburgh, Chriſtopher Goodman (who the moſt part of the troubles had remained in Ayr) was appointed to St. Andrews, Adam Heriot to Aberdeen, Mr. John Row to St. Johnſton, Paul Meaffen (to whom was no infamy then known) to Jedburgh, William Chriſtiſon to Dundee, David Ferguſſon to Dunfermline, and Mr. David Lindſay to Leith. There were nominated for ſuperintendants and overſeers, that all things in the church ſhould be carried with order and well, Mr. John Spotiſwood for Lothian, Mr. John Winram for Fife, Mr. John Willock for Glaſgow, the laird of Dun for Angus and Mearns, Mr. John Carſwel for Argyle and the Iſles. Theſe to be elected at the days appointed, unleſs that the countries whereto they were to be appointed, could in the mean time find out men more able and ſufficient, or elſe ſhew ſuch cauſes as might diſable them from that employment.

The parliament approaching, due advertiſement was made by the council, to all ſuch as by law and ancient cuſtom had, or might claim to have title therein. The aſſembly was great, notwithſtanding ſome, as well of thoſe that be called ſpiritual, as temporal lords, contemptuouſly did abſent themſelves: and yet the chief pillars of the Papiſtical church gave their preſence, ſuch as the biſhops of St. Andrews, Dunblain and Dunkeld, with others of the inferior ſort; beſide thoſe that had renounced Papiſtry, and openly profeſſed Jeſus Chriſt with us, ſuch as the biſhop of Galloway, the abbots of Lindroſs, Culroſs, St. Colm's Inch, Newbattle, Holyrood-houſe, the prior of St. Andrews, Coldinghame, St. Mary-Iſle, the ſub-prior of St. Andrews, and divers others whom we obſerved not. At the ſame time of parliament John Knox publicly preached upon ſome texts of the prophet Haggai: the doctrine was proper for the time; in application whereof he was ſo ſpecial and ſo vehement, that ſome (having greater reſpect to the world, than to God's glory), feeling themſelves pricked, ſaid in mockage, 'We may now forget ourſelves, and bear 'the barrow to build the houſe of God.' God be merciful to the ſpeaker, for we fear yet he ſhall have experience, that the building of his own houſe (the houſe of God being deſpiſed) ſhall not be ſo proſperous, and of ſuch ſtability as we deſire it were. And albeit ſome mocked, yet others were godly moved, who did aſſemble themſelves together, to conſult what things were to be propoſed to that preſent parliament: and, after deliberation, was this ſubſequent ſupplication offered:

The Barons, Gentlemen, Burgeſſes, and other true Subjects of this Realm, profeſſing the Lord Jeſus within the ſame;

To the Nobility and States of Parliament preſently aſſembled within the ſaid Realm, deſire Grace, Mercy, and Peace, from God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, with the Increaſe of his Holy Spirit.

PLEASE your honours to call to remembrance, how divers and ſundry times we, with ſome of yourſelves, moſt humbly petitioned, at the feet of the late queen regent, for freedom and liberty of conſcience, with a godly reformation of abuſes, which, by the malice of Satan, and negligence of men, are crept into the religion of God, and are maintained by ſuch as take upon them the name of clergy. And albeit that our godly and moſt reaſonable ſuit was then diſdainfully rejected, whereof no ſmall troubles have enſued, as your honours well know, yet ſeeing that the ſame neceſſity yet remaineth that then moved us, and moreover that God of his mercy hath now put into your hands to take ſuch order, as God thereby may be glorified, this commonwealth quieted, and the policy thereof eſtabliſhed; we cannot ceaſe to crave of your honours the redreſs of ſuch enormites as manifeſtly are, and of long time have been, committed by the place-holders of the miniſtry, and others of the clergy within this realm. And, *firſt*, ſeeing that God, of his great mercy, hath by the light of his word manifeſted to no ſmall number of this realm, that the doctrine of the Roman church, received by the ſaid clergy, and maintained through their tyranny by fire and ſword, contained in itſelf many peſtiferous errors, which cannot but bring damnation to the ſouls of ſuch as therewith ſhall be infected; ſuch as the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation; of the adoration of Chriſt's body, under the form of bread, as they term it; of the merits of works, and juſtification that they alledge cometh thereby; together with the doctrine of the Papiſtical indulgences, purgatory, pilgrimage, and praying to ſaints departed; which all either repugn to the plain Scriptures, or elſe have no ground in the

doctrine of our maſter Jeſus Chriſt, his prophets and apoſtles.

Firſt, We humbly therefore crave of your honours, that ſuch doctrine and idolatry as by God's word are both condemned, ſo may they be aboliſhed by act of this preſent parliament, and puniſhment appointed for the tranſgreſſors.

Secondly, Seeing that the ſacraments of Jeſus Chriſt are moſt ſhamefully abuſed and profaned by that Roman harlot, and her ſworn vaſſals; and alſo, becauſe that the true diſcipline of the ancient church is utterly now amongſt that ſect extinguiſhed: (for who within the realm are more corrupt in life and manners, than are they that are called the clergy, living in whoredom, adultery, deflowering virgins, corrupting matrons, and doing all abomination, without fear of puniſhment?) We humbly therefore deſire your honours to find remedy againſt the one and the other.

Thirdly, Becauſe that Man of Sin falſly claimeth to himſelf the titles of, 'The Vicar of Chriſt, the 'Succeſſor of Peter, the Head of the Church, that 'he cannot err, that all power is granted unto him, '*&c.*' By the which uſurped authority, he taketh upon him the diſtribution and poſſeſſion of the whole patrimony of the church, whereby the true miniſtry of the word of God long time hath been altogether neglected, the godly learning deſpiſed, the ſchools not provided, and the poor not only defrauded of their portion, but alſo moſt tyrannically oppreſſed; we likewiſe hereof deſire remedy.

And leſt that your honours ſhould doubt in any of theſe premiſes, we offer ourſelves evidently to prove, that in all the rabble of the clergy, there is not one lawful miniſter, if God's word, the practice of the apoſtles, the ſincerity of the primitive church, and their own ancient laws, ſhall judge of lawful election. We further offer to prove them all thieves and murderers, yea, rebels and traitors to the lawful authority of emperors, kings, and princes; and therefore unworthy to be ſuffered in any reformed commonwealth. How maliciouſly they murdered our brethren, for no other cauſe, but for that they offered to us the light of God's word, your honours cannot be ignorant; and into what hazard their tyranny hath brought this whole realm, the ages after will conſider. If ye look for other fruit in times to come, than ye have ſeen in them whom we accuſe, we are aſſured ye ſhall be deceived.

Now hath God, beyond all expectation of man, made you, who ſometimes were ſuppliants with us for reformation, judges, as it were, in the cauſe of God; at leaſt, he hath ſo ſubdued your enemies unto you, that by violence they are not able to ſuppreſs the verity, as heretofore they have done: we therefore, in the bowels of Jeſus Chriſt, crave of your honours, that either they may be compelled to anſwer to our former accuſations, and unto ſuch others as juſtly we have to lay to their charges; or elſe, that, all affection laid aſide, ye pronounce them ſuch by cenſure of this parliament, and cauſe them to be ſo reputed, as by us moſt juſtly they are accuſed; eſpecially that they may be decerned unworthy of honour, authority, charge or cure, in the church of God; and ſo from henceforth never to enjoy voice in parliament: which if ye do not, then, in the fear of God, and by aſſurance of his word, we forewarn you, that as ye leave a grievous yoke, and a burden intolerable upon the church of God in this realm, ſo ſhall they be thorns in your eyes, and pricks in your ſides; whom after, when ye would, ye ſhall have no power to remove. God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, give you upright hearts, ſeeking his glory, and true underſtanding what this day he, who hath delivered you from bondage, both ſpiritual and temporal, craveth of you by his ſervants; and your honours anſwer moſt humbly we require.

This our ſupplication being read in audience of the whole aſſembly, divers men were of divers judgments: for as there were ſome that uprightly favoured the cauſe of God, ſo were there many that, for worldly reſpects, abhorred a perfect reformation; (for how many within Scotland, who have the name of nobility, are unjuſt poſſeſſors of the patrimony of the church?) and yet were the barons and miniſters called, and commandment given unto them, to draw into plain and ſeveral heads, the ſum of that doctrine which they would maintain, and would deſire the preſent parliament to eſtabliſh, as wholeſome, true, and only neceſſary to be believed, and to be received within the realm: which they willingly accepted; and within four days preſented this Confeſſion, as it followeth, without alteration of any one ſentence.

THE

CONFESSION OF FAITH,

AS

Profeſſed and Believed by the PROTESTANTS within the Realm of SCOTLAND,

Publiſhed by them in Parliament, and by the Eſtates thereof ratified and approved, as wholeſome and ſound Doctrine, grounded upon the infallible Truth of God.

MATTHEW XXIV. 14.

And theſe glad Tidings of the Kingdom ſhall be preached throughout the whole World, for a Witneſs unto all Nations, and then ſhall the End come.

PREFACE.

The STATES of SCOTLAND, with the Inhabitants of the ſame profeſſing the holy Goſpel of Chriſt Jeſus, to their natural Countrymen, and unto all other Realms and Nations profeſſing the ſame Lord Jeſus with them, wiſh Grace, Mercy, and Peace, from God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, with the Spirit of righteous Judgment, for Salvation.

LONG have we thirſted, dear brethren, to have notified unto the world the ſum of that doctrine which we profeſs, and for the which we have ſuſtained infamy and danger; but ſuch hath been the rage of Satan againſt us, and againſt the eternal verity of Chriſt Jeſus, lately now again born amongſt us, that to this day no time hath been granted unto us, to clear our conſciences, as moſt gladly we would have done: for how we have been toſſed a whole year paſt, the moſt part of Europe (as we do ſuppoſe) doth underſtand. But ſeeing that of the infinite goodneſs of our God (who never ſuffereth his afflicted utterly to be confounded), above expectation, have we obtained ſome reſt and liberty, we could not but ſet forth this brief and plain Confeſſion of ſuch doctrine as is propoſed unto us, and as we believe and profeſs; partly for ſatisfaction of our brethren, whoſe hearts, we doubt not, have been, and yet are, wounded by the deſpiteful railing of ſuch as yet have not learned to ſpeak well; and partly for ſtopping the mouths of impudent blaſphemers, who boldly condemn that which they neither heard nor underſtood: not that we judge, that the cankered malice of ſuch is able to be cured by this ſimple Confeſſion; no, we know that the ſweet ſavour of the goſpel is, and ſhall be death unto the ſons of perdition. But we have chief reſpect to our weak and infirm brethren, to whom we would communicate the bottom of our hearts, leſt that they be troubled or carried away by diverſity of rumours which Satan ſpreadeth againſt us, to the defeating of this our moſt godly enterpriſe; proteſting, That if any man will note in this our Confeſſion, any article or ſentence repugning to God's holy

word, that it would pleaſe him of his gentleneſs, and for Chriſtian charity's ſake, to admoniſh us of the ſame in writing; and we, upon our honour and fidelity, do promiſe unto him ſatisfaction from the mouth of God (that is, from his holy Scriptures), or elſe reformation of that which he ſhall prove to be amiſs. For God we take to record in our conſciences, That from our hearts we abhor all ſects of hereſy, and all teachers of erroneous doctrine; and that with all humility we embrace the purity of Chriſt's goſpel, which is the only food of our ſouls; and therefore ſo precious unto us, that we are determined to ſuffer the extremeſt of worldly danger, rather than that we will ſuffer ourſelves to be defrauded of the ſame. For hereof we are moſt certainly perſuaded, That whoſoever denieth Chriſt Jeſus, or is aſhamed of him in preſence of men, ſhall be denied before the Father, and before his holy angels; and therefore, by the aſſiſtance of the mighty Spirit of the ſame Lord Jeſus Chriſt, we firmly purpoſe to abide to the end in the Confeſſion of this our Faith.

THE CONFESSION OF FAITH.

I. *Of GOD.*

WE confeſs and acknowledge one only God, to whom only we muſt cleave, whom only we muſt worſhip, and in whom only we muſt put our truſt: who is eternal, infinite, unmeaſurable, incomprehenſible, omnipotent, inviſible, one in ſubſtance, and yet diſtinct into three perſons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt; by whom we confeſs and believe all things in heaven and earth, as well viſible as inviſible, to have been created, to be retained in their being, and to be ruled and guided by his inſcrutable providence, to ſuch end as his eternal wiſdom, goodneſs, and juſtice hath appointed them, to the manifeſtation of his own glory.

II. *Of the Creation of Man.*

WE confeſs and acknowledge this our God to have created man (*viz.* our firſt father Adam), of whom alſo God formed the woman to his own image and ſimilitude; to whom he gave wiſdom, lordſhip, juſtice, free-will, and clear knowledge of himſelf, ſo that in the whole nature of man there could be no imperfection: from which honour and perfection man and woman did both fall; the woman being deceived by the ſerpent, and man obeying the voice of the woman, both conſpiring againſt the ſovereign majeſty of God, who in expreſs words had before threatened death, if they preſumed to eat of the forbidden tree.

III. *Of Original Sin.*

BY which tranſgreſſion, commonly called Original Sin, was the image of God utterly defaced in man, and he and his poſterity of nature became enemies to God, ſlaves to Satan, ſervants to ſin, inſomuch that death everlaſting hath had, and ſhall have power and dominion over all that have not been, are not, or ſhall not be regenerated from above; which regeneration is wrought by the power of the Holy Ghoſt, working in the hearts of the elect of God an aſſured faith in the promiſes of God, revealed to us in his word; by which faith they apprehend Chriſt Jeſus, with the graces and benefits promiſed in him.

IV. *Of the Revelation of the Promiſes.*

FOR this we conſtantly believe, That God, after the fearful and horrible defection of man from his obedience, did ſeek Adam again, call upon him, rebuke his ſin, convince him of the ſame, and in the end made unto him a joyful promiſe, *viz.* 'That the ſeed of the woman ſhould break down 'the ſerpent's head;' that is, He ſhould deſtroy the works of the devil: which promiſe, as it was repeated and made more clear from time to time, ſo was it embraced with joy, and moſt conſtantly retained of all the faithful, from Adam to Noah, from Noah to Abraham, and from Abraham to David, and ſo forth to the incarnation of Jeſus Chriſt; who all (we mean the faithful fathers under the law) did ſee the joyful days of Chriſt Jeſus, and did rejoice.

V. *The Continuance, Increaſe, and Preſervation, of his Church.*

WE moſt conſtantly believe, That God preſerveth, inſtructeth, multiplieth, honoureth, decoreth, and from death called to life his church in all ages, from Adam, till the coming of Chriſt Jeſus in the fleſh: for Abraham he called from his father's country, him he inſtructed, his ſeed he multiplied, the ſame he marvellouſly preſerved, and more marvellouſly delivered from the bondage of Pharaoh; to whom he gave his laws, conſtitutions, and ceremonies: them he poſſeſſed in the land of Canaan; to them, after judges, and after Saul, he gave David to be king; to whom he made promiſe, That of the fruit of his loins ſhould one ſit for ever upon his regal ſeat. To this ſame people, from time to time, he ſent prophets to reduce them to the right way of their God, from the which oftentimes they declined by idolatry. And albeit, for their ſtubborn contempt of juſtice, he was compelled to give them into the hands of their

enemies, as before he threatened by the mouth of Moſes: inſomuch that the holy city was deſtroyed, the temple burnt with fire, and the whole land left deſolate the ſpace of ſeventy years; yet of mercy did he reduce them again to Jeruſalem, where the city and temple were re-edified, and they, againſt all temptations and aſſaults of Satan, did abide till the Meſſias came, according to the promiſe.

VI. *Of the Incarnation of Chriſt Jeſus.*

When the fulneſs of time came, God ſent his Son, his Eternal Wiſdom, the Subſtance of his own glory, into this world, who took the nature of manhood, of the ſubſtance of a woman, *viz.* of a virgin, and that by the operation of the Holy Ghoſt; and ſo was born, the juſt Seed of David, the Angel of the great Counſel of God, the very Meſſias promiſed, whom we acknowledge and confeſs, Emmanuel, very God and very Man, two perfect natures united and joined in one perſon: by which our confeſſion, we condemn the damnable and peſtilent hereſies of Arius, Marcion, Eutyches, Neſtorius, and ſuch others, as either deny the eternity of his Godhead, or the verity of his human nature, or confound them, or yet divide them.

VII. *Why it behoveth the Mediator to be very God and very Man.*

We acknowledge and confeſs, That this moſt wonderous conjunction betwixt the Godhead and Manhood of Chriſt Jeſus, did proceed from the eternal and immutable decree of God, whence alſo our ſalvation ſpringeth and dependeth.

VIII. *Of Election.*

For that ſame eternal God, who of mere grace elected us in Chriſt Jeſus his Son, before the foundation of the world was laid, appointed him to be our Head, our Brother, our Paſtor, and great Biſhop of our Souls: but becauſe that the enmity betwixt the juſtice of God and our ſins was ſuch, that no fleſh by itſelf could, or might have attained unto God; it behoved that the Son ſhould deſcend unto us, and take himſelf a body of our body, fleſh of our fleſh, and bone of our bones, and ſo become the perfect Mediator betwixt God and man; giving power to ſo many as believe in him, to be the ſons of God, as he himſelf doth witneſs; 'I paſs up to my Father and your Father, to my 'God and unto your God:' by which moſt holy fraternity, whatſoever we have loſt in Adam is reſtored to us again; and for this cauſe we are nothing afraid to call God our Father, not ſo much in that he hath created us (which we have common with the reprobate), as for that, that he hath given to us his only Son to be our Brother, and given unto us grace to embrace him for our only Mediator, as before is ſaid. It behoved further the Meſſias and Redeemer to be very God and very Man, becauſe he was to ſuffer the puniſhment due for our tranſgreſſions, and to preſent himſelf in the preſence of his Father's judgment, as in our perſon, to ſuffer for our tranſgreſſion and diſobedience, by death to overcome him that was author of death. But becauſe the only Godhead could not ſuffer death, neither could only the Manhood overcome the ſame, he joined both together in one perſon, that the imbecillity of the one ſhould ſuffer, and be ſubject to death (which we had deſerved), and the infinite and invincible power of the other, *viz.* of the Godhead, ſhould triumph, and purchaſe unto us life, liberty, and perpetual victory; and ſo we confeſs, and moſt undoubtedly believe.

IX. *Chriſt's Death, Paſſion, Burial,* &c.

That our Lord Jeſus offered himſelf a voluntary ſacrifice unto his Father for us; that he ſuffered contradiction of ſinners; that he was wounded and plagued for our tranſgreſſions; that he, being the clean and innocent Lamb of God, was condemned in the preſence of an earthly judge, that we might be abſolved before the tribunal-ſeat of our God; that he ſuffered not only the cruel death of the croſs (which was accurſed by the ſentence of God), but alſo, that he ſuffered for a ſeaſon the wrath of his Father, which ſinners had deſerved: but yet we avow, that he remained the only well-beloved and bleſſed Son of his Father, even in the midſt of his anguiſh and torment, which he ſuffered in body and ſoul, to make the full ſatisfaction for the ſins of his people. After the which we confeſs and avow, that there remains no other ſacrifice for ſins; which, if any affirm, we nothing doubt to avow, that they are blaſphemous againſt Chriſt's death, and the everlaſting purgation and ſatisfaction purchaſed unto us by the ſame.

X. *Reſurrection.*

We undoubtedly believe, that inſomuch as it was impoſſible that the pains of death ſhould retain in bondage the Author of Life, that our Lord Jeſus,

crucified, dead, and buried, who deſcended into hell, did riſe again for our juſtification, and deſtroyed him who was the author of death; brought life again to us that were ſubject to death, and to the bondage of the ſame: we know that his reſurrection was confirmed by the teſtimony of his very enemies; by the reſurrection of the dead, whoſe ſepulchres did open, and they did ariſe, and appeared to many within the city of Jeruſalem: it was alſo confirmed by the teſtimony of angels, and by the ſenſes and judgments of his apoſtles and others, who had converſation, and did eat and drink with him after his reſurrection.

XI. *Aſcenſion.*

We nothing doubt but that the ſelf-ſame body which was born of the virgin, was crucified, dead, and buried, and which did riſe again, did aſcend into the heavens, for accompliſhment of all things; where, in our names, and for our comfort, he hath received all power in heaven and in earth; where he ſitteth at the right hand of the Father, enthronized in his kingdom, Advocate and only Mediator for us; which glory, honour, and prerogative, he alone amongſt the brethren ſhall poſſeſs, till that all his enemies be made his footſtool; as that we undoubtedly believe they ſhall be in the final judgment: to the execution whereof, we certainly believe, that the ſame Lord Jeſus ſhall viſibly and apparently return, as that he was ſeen to aſcend. And there we firmly believe, that the time of refreſhing and reſtitution of all things ſhall come, inſomuch that thoſe that from the beginning have ſuffered violence, injury, and wrong, for righteouſneſs ſake, ſhall inherit the bleſſed immortality promiſed from the beginning; but contrariwiſe, the ſtubborn, cruel, inobedient oppreſſors, filthy perſons, adulterers, and all ſorts of unthankful men, ſhall be caſt into the dungeon of utter darkneſs, where their worm ſhall not die, neither yet their fire be extinguiſhed: the remembrance of the which day, and of the judgment to be executed in the ſame, is not only to us a bridle, whereby our carnal luſts are reſtrained, but alſo ſuch ineſtimable comfort, that neither may the threatenings of worldly princes, neither yet the fear of temporal death and preſent danger, move us to renounce and forſake that bleſſed ſociety, which we the members have with our Head and only Mediator Chriſt Jeſus; whom we confeſs and avow to be the Meſſias promiſed, the only Head of the church, our juſt Lawgiver, our only High Prieſt, Advocate, and Mediator: in whoſe honours and offices, if a man or an angel preſume to intrude themſelves, we utterly deteſt and abhor them, as blaſphemous to our Sovereign, and ſupreme Governor Chriſt Jeſus.

XII. *Faith in the Holy Ghoſt.*

This our faith, and the aſſurance of the ſame, proceedeth not from fleſh and blood, that is to ſay, from no natural powers within us; but is the inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt, whom we confeſs God equal with the Father and with the Son; who ſanctifieth us, and bringeth us into all verity, by his own operation; without whom we ſhould remain for ever enemies to God, and ignorant of his Son Chriſt Jeſus: for of nature we are ſo dead, ſo perverſe and blind, that neither we can feel when we are pricked, ſee the light when it ſhineth, nor aſſent to the will of God when it is revealed, only the Spirit of the Lord Jeſus quickeneth that which is dead, removeth the darkneſs from our minds, and boweth our ſtubborn hearts to the obedience of his bleſſed will: and ſo as we confeſs, that God the Father created us when we were not, as his Son our Lord Jeſus redeemed us when we were enemies to him, ſo alſo we confeſs, that the Holy Ghoſt doth ſanctify and regenerate us, without all reſpect of any merit proceeding from us, be it before, or be it after our regeneration. To ſpeak this one thing yet in more plain words, as we willingly ſpoil ourſelves of all honour and glory of our own creation and redemption, ſo do we alſo of our regeneration and ſanctification; for of ourſelves we are not ſufficient to think one good thought; but he who hath begun the good work in us, is only he that continueth us in the ſame, to the praiſe and glory of his undeſerved grace.

XIII. *The Cauſe of good Works.*

So that the cauſe of good works we confeſs to be, not of free-will, but the Spirit of the Lord Jeſus, who dwelling in our hearts by true faith, bringeth forth ſuch good works, as God hath prepared for us to walk in: for this we moſt boldly affirm, that blaſphemy it is to ſay, that Chriſt Jeſus abideth in the heart of ſuch, as in whom there is no Spirit of ſanctification; and therefore we fear not to affirm, that murderers, oppreſſors, cruel perſecutors, adulterers, whoremongers, filthy perſons, idolaters, drunkards, thieves, and all

workers of iniquity, have neither true faith, neither any portion of the Spirit of ſanctification, which proceedeth from the Lord Jeſus, ſo long as they obſtinately continue in their wickedneſs: for how ſoon ſoever the Spirit of the Lord Jeſus (which God's elect children receive by true faith) taketh poſſeſſion in the heart of any man, ſo ſoon doth he regenerate and renew the ſame man; ſo that he begins to hate that which before he loved, and beginneth to love that which before he hated; and from thence cometh that continual battle, which is betwixt the fleſh and ſpirit in God's children, while the fleſh and natural man (according to their own corruption) luſteth for things pleaſing and delectable to itſelf, grudgeth in adverſity, is lifted up in proſperity, and at every moment is prone and ready to offend the majeſty of God: but the Spirit of God, which giveth witneſſing unto our ſpirit that we are the ſons of God, maketh us to reſiſt the devil, to abhor filthy pleaſures, to groan in God's preſence for deliverance from this bondage of corruption; and finally, to triumph over ſin, that it reign not in our mortal bodies. This battle have not the carnal men, being deſtitute of God's Spirit, but do follow and obey ſin with greedineſs, and without repentance, even as the devil and their corrupt luſts do prick them: but the ſons of God, as afore is ſaid, do fight againſt ſin, do ſob and mourn, when they perceive themſelves tempted to iniquity; and if they fall, they riſe again with earneſt and unfeigned repentance: and theſe things they do, not by their own power, but the power of our Lord Jeſus (without whom they were able to do nothing) worketh in them all that is good.

XIV. *What Works are reputed good before God.*

We confeſs and acknowledge, that God hath given to man his holy law, in which not only are forbidden all ſuch works as diſpleaſe and offend his godly Majeſty, but alſo are commanded all ſuch as pleaſe him, and as he hath promiſed to reward. And theſe works are of two ſorts; the one is done to the honour of God, the other to the profit of our neighbours: and both have the revealed will of God for their aſſurance. To have one God; to worſhip and honour him; to call upon him in all our troubles; to reverence his holy name; to hear his word; to believe the ſame; to communicate with his holy ſacraments, are the works of the firſt table: to honour father and mother, princes, rulers, and ſuperior powers; to love them, to ſupport them; yea, to obey their charges (not repugning to the commandment of God); to ſave the lives of innocents; to repreſs tyranny; to defend the oppreſſed; to keep our bodies clean and holy; to live in ſobriety and temperance; to deal juſtly with all men, both in word and deed; and finally, to repreſs the appetite of our neighbour's hurt, are the good works of the ſecond table, which are moſt pleaſing and acceptable unto God, as thoſe works are commanded by himſelf. The contrary thereof is ſin moſt odious, which always diſpleaſeth him, and provoketh him to anger; as, not to call upon him alone when we have need; not to hear his word with reverence; to contemn and deſpiſe it; to have or to worſhip idols; to maintain and defend idolatry; lightly to eſteem the reverend name of God; to profane, abuſe, or contemn the ſacraments of Chriſt Jeſus; to diſobey or reſiſt any that God hath placed in authority (while they paſs not over the bounds of their office); to murder, or conſent thereunto; to bear hatred, or to ſuffer innocent blood to be ſhed, if we may gain-ſtand it; and finally, the tranſgreſſing of any other commandment in the firſt or ſecond table, we confeſs and affirm to be ſin, by the which God's hot diſpleaſure is kindled againſt the proud and unthankful world. So that good works we affirm to be thoſe only that are done in faith, and at God's commandment, who in his law hath expreſſed what are the things that pleaſe him: and evil works we affirm, not only thoſe that are expreſsly done againſt God's commandment, but thoſe alſo that, in matters of religion, and worſhipping of God, have no aſſurance, but the invention and opinion of man, which God from the beginning hath ever rejected, as by the prophet Iſaiah, and by our Maſter Chriſt Jeſus, we are taught in theſe words, 'In vain do they worſhip 'me, teaching doctrines which are the precepts of 'men.'

XV. *The Perfection of the Law, and the Imperfection of Man.*

The law of God we confeſs and acknowledge moſt juſt, moſt equal, moſt holy, and moſt perfect, commanding thoſe things which, being wrought in perfection, were able to give life, and to bring man to eternal felicity: but our nature is ſo corrupt, ſo weak and imperfect, that we are never able to fulfil the works of the law in perfection; yea, 'if 'we ſay we have no ſin (even after we are regene-'rated), we deceive ourſelves, and the verity of

'God is not in us.' And therefore it behoveth us to apprehend Chriſt Jeſus with his juſtice and ſatisfaction, who is the end and accompliſhment of the law to all that believe, by whom we are ſet at this liberty, that the curſe and malediction of the law fall not upon us, albeit we fulfil not the ſame in all points; for God the Father, beholding us in the body of his Son Chriſt Jeſus, accepteth our imperfect obedience, as it were perfect, and covereth our works, which are defiled with many ſpots, with the juſtice of his Son. We do not mean, that we are ſet ſo at liberty, that we owe no obedience to the law (for that before we have plainly confeſſed), but this we affirm, that no man on earth (Chriſt Jeſus only excepted) hath given, giveth, or ſhall give in work, that obedience to the law, which the law requireth; but when we have done all things, we muſt fall down, and unfeignedly confeſs, that we are unprofitable ſervants: and therefore, whoſoever boaſt themſelves of the merits of their own works, or put their truſt in the works of ſupererogation, they boaſt themſelves of that which is not, and put their truſt in damnable idolatry.

XVI. *Of the Church.*

As we believe in God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, ſo do we moſt earneſtly believe, that from the beginning there hath been, now is, and to the end of the world ſhall be a church; that is to ſay, a company and multitude of men choſen of God, who rightly worſhip and embrace him by true faith in Chriſt Jeſus, who is the only Head of the ſame church, which alſo is the body and ſpouſe of Chriſt Jeſus; which church is Catholic, that is, Univerſal, becauſe it containeth the elect of all ages, all realms, nations, and tongues, be they of the Jews, or be they of the Gentiles, who have communion or ſociety with God the Father, and with his Son Jeſus Chriſt, through the ſanctification of his Holy Spirit; and therefore it is called Communion, not of profane perſons, but of ſaints, who are citizens of the heavenly Jeruſalem, have the fruition of the moſt ineſtimable benefits, *viz.* of one God, one Lord Jeſus, one faith, and one baptiſm; without the which church there is neither life nor eternal felicity: and therefore we utterly abhor the blaſphemy of thoſe that affirm, That men that live according to equity and juſtice ſhall be ſaved, what religion ſoever they have profeſſed: for as without Chriſt Jeſus there is neither life nor ſalvation, ſo ſhall there none be participant thereof, but ſuch as the Father hath given unto his Son Chriſt Jeſus, and thoſe in time to come to him, avow his doctrine, and believe in him (we comprehend the children with the faithful parents). This church is inviſible, known only to God, who only knoweth whom he hath choſen; and comprehendeth, as well, as is ſaid, the elect that be departed (commonly called the Church Triumphant), as thoſe that yet live, and fight againſt ſin and Satan, or ſhall live hereafter.

XVII. *The Immortality of the Soul.*

The elect departed are in peace, and reſt from their labours; not that they ſleep, and come to a certain oblivion (as ſome fantaſtic heads do affirm), but that they are delivered from all fear, all torment, and all temptation, to which we and all God's elect are ſubject in this life; and therefore do bear the name of the Church Militant. As on the contrary always, the reprobate and unfaithful departed, have anguiſh, torment, and pain, that cannot be expreſſed. So that neither are the one nor the other in ſuch ſleep, that they feel not joy or torment, as the parable of Chriſt Jeſus in the ſixteenth of Luke, his words to the thief, and theſe words of the ſouls crying under the altar, 'O Lord! thou art righteous and juſt, how 'long ſhalt thou not revenge our blood upon them 'that dwell upon the earth?' do plainly teſtify.

XVIII. *Of the Notes by the which the true Church is diſcerned from the falſe, and who ſhall be Judge of the Doctrine.*

Because that Satan from the beginning hath laboured to deck his peſtilent ſynagogue with the title of the Church of God, and hath inflamed the hearts of cruel murderers to perſecute, trouble, and moleſt the true church and members thereof, as Cain did Abel, Iſhmael Iſaac, Eſau Jacob, and the whole prieſthood of the Jews Jeſus Chriſt himſelf, and his apoſtles after him; it is a thing moſt requiſite, that the true church be diſcerned from the filthy ſynagogue, by clear and perfect notes, leſt we, being deceived, receive and embrace to our own condemnation the one for the other. The notes, ſigns, and aſſured tokens, whereby the immaculate ſpouſe of Chriſt Jeſus is known from the horrible harlot the church malignant, we affirm, are neither antiquity, title uſurped, lineal deſcent, place appointed, nor multitude of men approving any error: for Cain in age and title was preferred

to Abel and Seth; Jeruſalem had prerogative above all places of the earth, where alſo were the prieſts lineally deſcended from Aaron; and greater multitudes followed the ſcribes, phariſees, and prieſts, than unfeignedly believed and approved Chriſt Jeſus and his doctrine: and yet, as we ſuppoſe, no man of ſound judgment will grant, that any of the forenamed were the church of God.

The notes therefore of the true church of God, we believe, confeſs, and avow, to be, *Firſt*, The true preaching of the word of God, in which God hath revealed himſelf to us, as the writings of the prophets and apoſtles do declare. *Secondly*, The right adminiſtration of the ſacraments of Chriſt Jeſus, which may be annexed to the word and promiſe of God, to ſeal and confirm the ſame in our hearts. *Laſtly*, Eccleſiaſtical diſcipline uprightly miniſtered, as God's word preſcribeth, whereby vice is repreſſed, and virtue nouriſhed. Whereſoever then theſe former notes are ſeen, and of any time continue (be the number never ſo few, about two or three) there, without all doubt, is the true church of Chriſt, who, according to his promiſe, is in the midſt of them; not of that univerſal (of which we have before ſpoken), but particular, ſuch as was in Corinthus, Galatia, Epheſus, and other places in which the miniſtry was planted by Paul, and were of himſelf named the churches of God; and ſuch churches we, the inhabitants of the realm of Scotland, profeſſors of Chriſt Jeſus, confeſs us to have in our cities, towns, and places reformed: for the doctrine taught in our churches is contained in the written word of God, *viz.* in the books of the Old and New Teſtaments; in thoſe books we mean, which of the ancients have been reputed canonical; in the which we affirm, that all things neceſſary to be believed for the ſalvation of mankind are ſufficiently expreſſed: the interpretation whereof, we confeſs, neither appertaineth unto any private nor public perſon; neither yet to any church, for any pre-eminence or prerogative, perſonal or local, which one hath above another, but appertaineth to the Spirit of God, by the which alſo the Scripture was written. When controverſy then happeneth, for the right underſtanding of any place or ſentence of Scripture, or for the reformation of any abuſe within the church of God, we ought not ſo much to look what men before us have ſaid and done, as unto that which the Holy Ghoſt uniformly ſpeaketh within the body of the Scriptures, and unto that which Chriſt Jeſus himſelf did, and commanded to be done. For this is a thing univerſally granted, That the Spirit of God, which is the Spirit of Unity, is in nothing contrary to himſelf. If then the interpretation, determination, or ſentence of any doctor, church, or council, repugn to the plain word of God, written in any other place of Scripture, it is a thing moſt certain, that there is not the true underſtanding and meaning of the Holy Ghoſt; ſuppoſing that councils, realms, and nations, have approved and received the ſame: for we dare not receive and admit any interpretation, which directly oppugneth to any principal point of our faith, to any other plain text of Scripture, or yet to the rule of charity.

XIX. *The Authority of the Scriptures.*

And as we believe and confeſs the Scriptures of God ſufficient to inſtruct and make the man of God perfect, ſo do we affirm and avow the authority of the ſame to be of God, and neither to depend on men nor angels. We affirm therefore, that ſuch as alledge the Scriptures to have no authority, but that which is received from the church, to be blaſphemous againſt God, and injurious to the true church, which always heareth and obeyeth the voice of her own Spouſe and Paſtor, but taketh not upon her to be miſtreſs over the ſame.

XX. *Of the General Councils, of their Power, Authority, and Cauſe of their Convention.*

As we do not raſhly condemn that which godly men aſſembled together in general councils, lawfully gathered, have approved unto us; ſo, without juſt examination, dare we not receive whatſoever is obtruded unto men, under the name of General Councils: for plain it is, that, as they were men, ſo have ſome of them manifeſtly erred, and that in matters of great weight and importance. So far then as the council proveth the determination and commandment that it giveth, by the plain word of God, ſo far do we reverence and embrace the ſame: but if men, under the name of a council, pretend to forge unto us new articles of our faith, or to make conſtitutions repugning to the word of God, then utterly we may refuſe the ſame, as the doctrine of devils, which draweth our ſouls from the voice of our only God, to follow the doctrines and conſtitutions of men. The cauſe then why general councils convened, was neither to make any perpetual law (which God before had not made), neither yet to forge new articles of our belief, neither to give the word of God authority, much leſs to make that to be his word, or yet the true interpreta-

tion of the ſame, which was not before by his holy will expreſſed in his word: but the cauſe of councils (we mean of ſuch as merited the name of councils) was partly for confutation of hereſies, and for giving public confeſſion of their faith to the poſterities following; which both they did, by the authority of God's written word, and not by any opinion or prerogative that they could not err, by reaſon of their general aſſembly. And this we judge to have been the chief cauſe of general councils. The other was for good policy and order, to be conſtituted and obſerved in the church, in which, as in the houſe of God, it becometh all things to be done decently, and in order: not that we think that one policy, and one order in ceremonies, can be appointed for all ages, times, and places; for as ceremonies, ſuch as men have deviſed, are but temporal, ſo may and ought they to be changed, when they rather foſter ſuperſtition, than that they edify the church uſing the ſame.

XXI. *Of the Sacraments.*

As the fathers under the law, beſides the verity of the ſacrifices, had two chief ſacraments, *viz.* circumciſion and the paſſover; the deſpiſers and contemners whereof were not reputed for God's people; ſo we acknowledge and confeſs, that we now, in time of the goſpel, have two ſacraments only, inſtituted by the Lord Jeſus, and commanded to be uſed by all thoſe that will be reputed to be members of his body; *viz.* baptiſm, and the ſupper or table of the Lord Jeſus, called, 'The communion of his body and blood.' And theſe ſacraments (as well of the Old as of the New Teſtament) were inſtituted of God, not only to make a viſible difference betwixt his people, and thoſe that were without his league, but alſo to exerciſe the faith of his children; and, by participation of the ſame ſacraments, to ſeal in their hearts the aſſurance of his promiſe, and of that moſt bleſſed conjunction, union, and ſociety, which the elect have with their Head Chriſt Jeſus. And thus we utterly condemn the vanity of thoſe that affirm ſacraments to be nothing elſe but naked and bare ſigns; no, we aſſuredly believe, that by baptiſm we are ingrafted into Jeſus Chriſt, to be made partakers of his juſtice, by the which our ſins are covered and remitted: and alſo, that in the ſupper, rightly uſed, Chriſt Jeſus is ſo joined with us, that he becometh the very nouriſhment and food of our ſouls.

Not that we imagine any tranſubſtantiation of bread into Chriſt's natural body, and of wine into his natural blood (as the Papiſts have perniciouſly taught, and damnably believed), but this union and communion which we have with the body and blood of Chriſt Jeſus, in the right uſe of the ſacraments, is wrought by operation of the Holy Ghoſt, who, by true faith, carrieth us above all things that are viſible, carnal, and earthly, and maketh us to feed upon the body and blood of Chriſt Jeſus, which was once broken and ſhed for us, which now is in the heaven, and appeareth in the preſence of his Father for us. And yet, notwithſtanding the far diſtance of place, which is betwixt his body now glorified in the heaven, and us now mortal in this earth; yet we moſt aſſuredly believe, that the bread that we break, is the communion of Chriſt's body; and the cup which we bleſs, is the communion of his blood: ſo that we confeſs, and undoubtedly believe, that the faithful, in the right uſe of the Lord's table, ſo do eat the body, and drink the blood of the Lord Jeſus, that he remaineth in them, and they in him: yea, that they are ſo made fleſh of his fleſh, and bone of his bones, that as the eternal Godhead hath given to the fleſh of Chriſt Jeſus (which of the own condition and nature was mortal and corruptible) life and immortality, ſo doth Chriſt Jeſus his fleſh and blood, eaten and drunken by us, give to us the ſame prerogatives; which albeit, we confeſs, are neither given unto us at that only time, neither yet by the proper power and virtue of the ſacraments only; yet we affirm, that the faithful, in the right uſe of the Lord's table, have ſuch conjunction with Chriſt Jeſus as the natural man cannot comprehend; yea, and further, we affirm, That albeit the faithful, oppreſſed by negligence and manly infirmity, do not profit ſo much as they would at the very inſtant action of the ſupper, yet ſhall it after bring forth fruit, as lively ſeed ſown in good ground; for the Holy Spirit, which can never be divided from the right inſtitution of the Lord Jeſus, will not fruſtrate the faithful of the fruit of that myſtical action: but all this, we ſay, cometh by true faith, which apprehendeth Chriſt Jeſus, who only maketh his ſacraments effectual unto us: and therefore, whoſoever ſlandereth us, as though we affirmed or believed ſacraments to be openly naked and bare ſigns, do injury unto us, and ſpeak againſt a manifeſt truth. But this liberally and frankly we muſt confeſs, that we make a diſtinction betwixt Chriſt Jeſus in his natural ſubſtance, and betwixt the elements in the ſacramental ſigns: ſo that we will neither worſhip the ſigns, in place of that which is ſignified by them; neither yet do we deſpiſe and

interpret them as unprofitable and vain, but do uſe them with all reverence, examining ourſelves diligently before that ſo we do; becauſe we are aſſured by the mouth of the apoſtle, That ſuch as eat of that bread, and drink of that cup unworthily, are guilty of the body and blood of the Lord Jeſus.

XXII. *Of the right Adminiſtration of the Sacraments.*

THAT ſacraments be rightly miniſtered, we judge two things requiſite; the one, that they be miniſtered by lawful miniſters, whom we affirm to be only they that are appointed to the preaching of the word, or into whoſe mouths God hath put ſome ſermon of exhortation, they being men of lawful chuſing thereto by ſome church; the other, that they be miniſtered in ſuch elements, and in ſuch ſort, as God hath appointed: elſe we affirm, that they ceaſe to be right ſacraments of Jeſus Chriſt. And therefore it is, that we flee the ſociety with the Papiſtical church, in participation of their ſacraments; *firſt*, Becauſe their miniſters are no miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt; yea, which is more horrible, they ſuffer women, whom the Holy Ghoſt will not ſuffer to teach in the congregation, to baptize. And, *ſecondly*, becauſe they have ſo adulterated both the one ſacrament and the other, with their own inventions, that no part of Chriſt's action abideth in the original purity; for oil, ſalt, ſpittle, and ſuch like in baptiſm, are but mens inventions; adoration, veneration, bearing through ſtreets and towns, and keeping of bread in boxes, are profanation of Chriſt's ſacraments, and no uſe of the ſame: for Chriſt Jeſus ſaid, 'Take and eat,' *&c.* 'Do ye 'this in remembrance of me.' By which words and charge, he ſanctified bread and wine to be the ſacrament of his body and blood, to the end that the one ſhould be eaten, and that all ſhould drink of the other, and not that they ſhould be kept to be worſhipped and honoured as God, as the blind Papiſts have done heretofore, who alſo have committed ſacrilege, ſtealing from the people one part of the ſacrament, *viz.* the bleſſed cup.

Moreover, that the ſacraments be rightly uſed, it is required, that the end and cauſe why the ſacraments were inſtituted, be underſtood and obſerved, as well of the miniſter as the receivers: for if the opinion be changed in the receiver, the right uſe ceaſeth; which is moſt evident by the rejection of the ſacrifices (as alſo if the teacher teach falſe doctrine), which were odious and abominable unto God (albeit they were his own ordinances), becauſe that wicked men uſed them to another end than God hath ordained. The ſame affirm we of the ſacraments in the Papiſtical church, in which we affirm the whole action of the Lord Jeſus to be adulterated, as well in the external form, as in the end and opinion. What Chriſt Jeſus did, and commanded to be done, is evident by the three evangeliſts who ſpeak of the ſacrament, and by St. Paul: what the prieſt doth at his altar, we need not to rehearſe. The end and cauſe of Chriſt's inſtitution, and why the ſelf-ſame ſhould be uſed, is expreſſed in theſe words, 'Do ye this in remem-'brance of me: as oft as ye ſhall eat of this bread, 'and drink of this cup, ye ſhall ſhew forth (that 'is, extol, preach, and magnify) the Lord's death 'till he come.' But to what end, and in what opinion, the prieſts ſay their maſſes, let the words of the ſame their own doctors and writings witneſs; *viz.* that they are mediators betwixt Chriſt and his church, to offer unto God the Father a ſacrifice propitiatory for the ſins of the quick and the dead: which doctrine, as blaſphemous to Chriſt Jeſus, and making derogation to the ſufficiency of his only ſacrifice, once offered for purgation of all thoſe that ſhall be ſanctified, we utterly abhor, deteſt, and renounce.

XXIII. *To whom Sacraments appertain.*

WE confeſs and acknowledge, That baptiſm appertaineth as well to the infants of the faithful, as unto thoſe that are of age and diſcretion; and ſo we condemn the error of the Anabaptiſts, who deny baptiſm to appertain to children, before that they have faith and underſtanding. But the ſupper of the Lord we confeſs to appertain only to ſuch as have been of the houſehold of faith, and can try and examine themſelves, as well in their faith, as in their duties towards their neighbours. Such as eat and drink at that holy table without faith, or being at diſſenſion and diviſion with their brethren, do eat unworthily; and therefore it is, that, in our churches, miniſters take public and particular examination of the knowledge and converſation of ſuch, as are to be admitted to the table of the Lord Jeſus.

XXIV. *Of the Civil Magiſtrate.*

WE confeſs and acknowledge empires, kingdoms, dominions, and cities, to be deſtinated and ordained by God; the powers and authorities in

the ſame (be it of emperors in their empires, of kings in their realms, dukes and princes in their dominions, or of other magiſtrates in free cities), to be God's holy ordinance, ordained for manifeſtation of his own glory, and for the ſingular profit and commodity of mankind. So that whoſoever goeth about to take away, or to confound the holy ſtate of civil policies, now long eſtabliſhed, we affirm the ſame men not only to be enemies to mankind, but alſo wickedly to fight againſt God's expreſs will. We further confeſs and acknowledge, That ſuch perſons as are placed in authority, are to be loved, honoured, feared, and holden in moſt reverend eſtimation, becauſe they are the lieutenants of God, in whoſe ſeſſion God himſelf doth ſit and judge (yea, even the judges and princes themſelves), to whom by God is given the ſword, to the praiſe and defence of good men, and to revenge and puniſh all open malefactors. To kings, moreover princes, rulers, and magiſtrates, we affirm, that chiefly and moſt principally the reformation and purgation of religion appertaineth; ſo that not only they are appointed for civil policy, but alſo for maintenance of the true religion, and for ſuppreſſing of idolatry and ſuperſtition whatſoever; as in David, Jehoſhaphat, Ezekias, Joſias, and others, highly commended for their zeal in the cauſe, may be eſpied. And therefore we confeſs and avow, That ſuch as reſiſt the ſupreme powers (doing that which appertaineth to their charge), do reſiſt God's ordinance, and therefore cannot be guiltleſs. And further, we affirm, That whoſoever deny unto them their aid, counſel, and comfort, while the princes and rulers vigilantly travel in the executing of their office, that the ſame men deny their help, ſupport, and counſel to God, who, by the preſence of his lieutenant, craveth it of them.

XXV. *The Gifts freely given to the Church.*

ALBEIT that the word of God truly preached, the ſacraments rightly miniſtered, and diſcipline executed according to the word of God, be the certain and infallible ſigns of the true church; yet do we not ſo mean, that every particular perſon, joined with ſuch a company, be an elect member of Chriſt Jeſus: for we acknowledge and confeſs, that darnel, cockle, and chaff, may be ſown, grow in great abundance, and lie in the midſt of the wheat; that is, the reprobate may be joined in the ſociety of the elect, and may externally uſe with them the benefits of the word and ſacraments; but ſuch being but temporal profeſſors, in mouth but not in heart, do fall back, and continue not to the end; and therefore have they no fruit of Chriſt's death, reſurrection, and aſcenſion. But ſuch as with heart unfeigned believe, and with mouth boldly confeſs the Lord Jeſus, as before we have ſaid, ſhall moſt aſſuredly receive theſe gifts, *Firſt*, In this life remiſſion of ſins, by faith only in Chriſt's blood, inſomuch, that albeit ſin remain and continually abide in theſe mortal bodies, yet it is not imputed unto us, but is remitted and covered with Chriſt's juſtice. *Secondly*, In the general judgment there ſhall be given to every man and woman reſurrection of the fleſh: for the ſea ſhall give her dead, the earth thoſe that therein be incloſed; yea, the Eternal, our God, ſhall ſtretch out his hand upon the duſt, and the dead ſhall ariſe incorruptible, and that in the ſubſtance of the ſame fleſh that every man now bears, to receive, according to their works, glory or puniſhment: for ſuch as now delight in vanity, cruelty, filthineſs, ſuperſtition, or idolatry, ſhall be adjudged to the fire inextinguiſhable, in the which they ſhall be tormented for ever, as well in their body, as in their ſouls, which they give to ſerve the devil in all abomination; but ſuch as continue in well-doing to the end, boldly profeſſing the Lord Jeſus, to whoſe glorified body all his elect ſhall be like, when he ſhall appear again to judgment, and ſhall render up the kingdom to God his Father, who then ſhall be, and ever ſhall remain, All in all things, God bleſſed for ever; to whom, with the Son, and with the Holy Ghoſt, be all honour and glory, now and for ever. Amen.

'Ariſe, O Lord! and let thine enemies be confounded; let them flee from thy preſence that 'hate thy holy name: give thy ſervants ſtrength 'to ſpeak thy word in boldneſs, and let all nations 'attain to thy true knowledge.'

Theſe acts and articles were read in face of parliament, and ratified by the three eſtates of this realm, at Edinburgh, the 17th day of July, in the year of our Lord 1560.

THIS our Confeſſion was publicly read, firſt in audience of the lords of the articles; and after, in the audience of the whole parliament, where were preſent, not only ſuch as profeſſed Chriſt Jeſus, but alſo a great number of the adverſaries of our religion, ſuch as the forenamed biſhops, and ſome other of the temporal eſtate, who were commanded, in God's name, to object, if they could ſay any thing againſt that doctrine. Some of our miniſters

were preſent, ſtanding upon their feet, ready to have anſwered, in caſe any would have defended Papiſtry, and impugned our affirmatives: but while that no objection was made, there was a day appointed for concurrence in that and other heads.

Our Confeſſion was read every article by itſelf over again, as they were written in order, and the vote of every man was required accordingly. Of the temporal eſtate, only gave their votes on the contrary, the earl of Athol, the lords Somervel and Borthwick: and yet, for their diſſenting, they produced no better reaſon, but, We will believe as our fathers believed. The biſhops, Papiſtical we mean, ſpake nothing. The reſt of the whole three eſtates, by their public votes, affirmed the doctrine; and the rather, becauſe that fain the biſhops would, but durſt ſay nothing on the contrary: for this was the vote of the earl Marſhal, It is long ſince I have had ſome favour unto the truth, and ſince that I have had a ſuſpicion of the Papiſtical religion; but I praiſe my God, who this day hath fully reſolved me in the one and the other: for ſeeing that the biſhops, who for their learning can, and for their zeal that they ſhould bear to the verity would, as I ſuppoſe, have gainſaid any thing that directly repugneth to the verity of God; ſeeing, I ſay, the biſhops here preſent ſpeak nothing in the contrary of the doctrine propoſed, I cannot but hold it for the very truth of God, and the contrary to be deceivable doctrine: and therefore ſo far as in me lieth, I approve the one, and contemn the other; and do further aſk of God, that not only I, but alſo all my poſterity, may enjoy the comfort of the doctrine that this day our ears have heard. And yet more I muſt vote, as it were by way of proteſtation, That if any perſon eccleſiaſtical ſhall after this oppoſe themſelves to this our Confeſſion, that they have no place nor credit; conſidering that they having long advertiſement, and full knowledge of this our Confeſſion, none is now found, in lawful, free, and quiet parliament, to oppoſe themſelves to that which we profeſs: and therefore, if any of this generation pretend to do it after this, I proteſt he be reputed rather one that loveth his own commodity, and the glory of the world, than the truth of God, and the ſalvation of mens ſouls.

After the voting and ratification of this our Confeſſion by the whole body of the parliament, there were alſo pronounced two acts; the one againſt the maſs, and the abuſe of the ſacraments; and the other againſt the ſupremacy of the pope; the tenor whereof followeth:

An ACT againſt the Maſs, and the Sayers and Hearers thereof.

In the parliament holden at Edinburgh, the 10th of July, the year of God 1560, the ſaid parliament being continued to the 1ſt of Auguſt next thereafter following, with continuation of days, upon the 24th day of the ſaid month of Auguſt, the three ſtates then being preſent: the which day, for ſo much as Almighty God, by his moſt true and bleſſed word, hath declared the reverence and honour which ſhould be given to him, and by his Son Jeſus Chriſt hath declared the true uſe of the ſacraments, willing the ſame to be uſed according to his will and word; by the which it is notorious, and perfectly known, that the ſacraments of baptiſm, and of the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt, hath been this long time paſt corrupted by the Papiſtical church, and by their miniſters; and at this preſent time, notwithſtanding the reformation already made according to God's word, yet nevertheleſs there is ſome of the ſame pope's church that ſtubbornly perſevere in their wicked idolatry, ſaying maſs, and baptizing conform to the pope's church, profaning there-through the ſacraments aforeſaid in quiet ſecret places, regarding therein neither God nor his word:

Therefore it is decreed and ordained in this preſent parliament, That no manner of perſon or perſons, in any time coming, adminiſtrate any of the ſacraments ſecretly, in any manner of way, but they that are admitted, and having power to that effect; nor ſay maſs, nor yet hear maſs, nor be preſent thereat, under the pain of confiſcation of all their goods, and puniſhing of their bodies at the diſcretion of the magiſtrates, within whoſe juriſdiction ſuch perſons happen to be apprehended, for the firſt fault; baniſhing out of the realm, for the ſecond fault; and chaſtiſing by death, for the third fault. And ordaineth all ſheriffs, ſtewards, bailies, and their deputies, provoſts, and bailies of burghs, and other judges within this realm, to make diligent ſuit and inquiſition within their bounds, where any ſuch uſurped miniſtry is uſed, maſs-ſaying, or they that be preſent at the doing thereof, ratifying and approving the ſame; and take, and apprehend them, to the effect that the pains above written may be executed upon them.

Extractum de libro parliamenti, per me,

Jacobus Macgill.

The ACT for the aboliſhing of the Pope, and his uſurped Authority in Scotland.

In the parliament holden at Edinburgh, the 10th of July, the year of God 1560, and thereafter continued to the 1ſt day of Auguſt next thereafter following, with continuation of days: upon the 24th of the ſaid month of Auguſt, the three ſtates then being preſent, underſtanding that the juriſdiction and authority of the biſhop of Rome, called the Pope, uſed in this realm in times paſt, hath been very hurtful and prejudicial to our ſovereigns authority and common-weal of this realm; therefore hath decreed and ordained, That the biſhop of Rome hath no juriſdiction nor authority in this realm in times coming; and that none of our ſaid ſovereigns ſubjects claim, and deſire in any time hereafter, title or right by the ſaid biſhop of Rome, or his ſect, to any thing within this realm, under the pains of baratry, that is to ſay, proſcription, baniſhment, and never to bruik and enjoy honour, office, nor dignity, within this realm; and the contraveners hereof to be called before the juſtice, or his deputies, or before the lords of ſeſſion, and puniſhed therefore, conform to the laws of this realm; and the furniſhers of them, by fines; and purchaſers of their title of right, or maintainers or defenders of them, ſhall incur the ſame pains: and that no biſhop, nor other prelate, of this realm, uſe any juriſdiction in time to come, by the ſaid biſhop of Rome's authority, under the pain aforeſaid.

Extractum de libro parliamenti, per me,

JACOBUS MACGILL.

Theſe and other things orderly done in lawful and free parliament, we directed to France, to our ſovereigns, Sir James Sandilands lord of St. John, with the acts of the ſaid parliament, that by them they might be ratified, according to the promiſes of their majeſties commiſſioners made to us, as by the contract of peace may evidently appear. But how the ſaid lord of St. John was received and uſed, we liſt not to rehearſe; but always no ratification brought he unto us: but that we little regarded, or yet do regard; for all that we did, was rather to ſhew our dutiful obedience, than to beg of them any ſtrength to our religion, which from God hath full power, and needed not the ſuffrage of man, but in ſo far as man had need to believe it, if that ever he ſhall have participation of the life everlaſting. But ſomewhat muſt we anſwer to ſuch as ſince have whiſpered, that it was but a pretended parliament, a private convention, and no lawful parliament. Their reaſons are, The king and queen were in France; there was neither ſcepter, ſword, nor crown borne, *&c.* and ſome principal lords were abſent.

We anſwer, That we rather wiſh the Papiſts to be quiet, than too curiouſly to travel in that point; for it may be, while they think to hurt us, they give the queen and her authority a great blow, and yet amend themſelves nothing. For in whoſe default, we pray you, was the queen abſent from this realm? We think they will not be ſo ſhameleſs as that they will blame the Proteſtants thereof. Her perſon was abſent, and that to no ſmall grief of our hearts: but were not the ſtates of her realm aſſembled in her name? yea, had they not her full power and commiſſion, yea, the commiſſion and commandment of her head the king of France, to convocate that parliament, and to do all things that may be done in lawful parliament, even as if our ſovereigns had been there in proper perſons? If they will limit the power of princes to the places only where their bodily preſence is, it will be thought ſtrange; for ſo not only ſhall kings be compelled to content them with one realm, but alſo with one city: for the bodily preſence of kings can no more be in divers cities at one inſtant, than that they can be in divers realms. Hitherto we have underſtood, that whereſoever the great counſellors of the king, with his power and commiſſion, are aſſembled, to do any thing at his juſt commandment, that there is the king's ſufficient preſence and authority, whereſoever his own body be living at freedom and liberty; which, if the Papiſts deny, we will find fault with them, and with the princes whom they have abuſed, that more will annoy them, than any thing that we can loſe by the inſufficiency of that parliament; which, nevertheleſs, we are bold to affirm, to have been more lawful and free, than any parliament that they are able to produce theſe hundred years before it, or yet any that hath enſued ſince it was (he means until 1566, when this Book was written); for in it the votes of men were free, and given in conſcience; in others they were bought, or given at the devotion of the miſled prince. All things in it concluded are able to abide the trial, and not to be conſumed at the proof of the fire; of others the godly may juſtly call in doubt things determined. To the ſword and ſcepter, nor yet to the abſence of ſome lords, we anſwer nothing: for our adverſaries know well

enough, that the one is rather a pomp, and vain-glorious ceremony, than a ſubſtantial point of neceſſity required to a lawful parliament; and the abſence of ſome, pre-judges not the powers of the preſent duly aſſembled, providing that due advertiſement be made unto them. But now we return to our hiſtory.

The parliament diſſolved, conſultation was had, how the church might be eſtabliſhed in a good and godly policy, which by the Papiſts was altogether defaced. Commiſſion and charge was given to Mr. John Winram ſub-prior of St. Andrews, Mr. John Spotiſwood, John Willock, Mr. John Douglas rector of St. Andrews, Mr. John Row, and John Knox, to draw in a volume the policy and diſcipline of the church, as well as they had done the doctrine, which they did, and preſented it to the nobility, who did peruſe it many days. Some approved it, and willed the ſame to have been ſet forth by a law; others perceiving their carnal liberty and worldly commodity ſomewhat to be impaired thereby, grudged, inſomuch that the name of the Book of Diſcipline became odious unto them. Every thing that repugned to their corrupt imaginations, was termed in their mockage, Devout imaginations. The cauſe we have before declared; ſome were licentious, ſome had greedily gripped the poſſeſſions of the church, and others thought that they would not lack their part of Chriſt's coat, yea, and that before that ever he was crucified, as by the preachers they were oft rebuked. The chief great man that had profeſſed Chriſt Jeſus, and refuſed to ſubſcribe the Book of Diſcipline, was the lord Erſkine: and no wonder; for beſides that he had a very evil woman to his wife, if the poor, the ſchools, and the miniſtry of the church had their own, his kitchen would lack two parts, and more, of that which he unjuſtly now poſſeſſeth. Aſſuredly ſome of us have wondered, how men, that profeſs godlineſs, could, of ſo long continuance, hear the threatenings of God againſt thieves, and againſt their houſes, and knowing themſelves guilty in ſuch things as were openly rebuked, and that they never had remorſe of conſcience, neither yet intended to reſtore any thing of that which long they had ſtolen. There were none within the realm more unmerciful to the poor miniſters, than were they which had greateſt rents of the churches: but in that we have perceived the old proverb to be true; 'Nothing 'can ſuffice a wretch.' And again, 'The belly 'hath no ears.'

Yet the ſame Book of Diſcipline was ſubſcribed by a great part of the nobility; *viz.* the duke, the earl of Arran, the earls Argyle, Glencairn, Marſhal, Monteith, Morton, Rothes, lord James after earl of Murray, lord Yeaſter, Boyd, Ochiltrie, maſter of Maxwel, lord Lindſay elder, and the maſter after lord; barons Drumlanrig, Lothingwar, Garleiſs, Bargany, Mr. Alexander Gordon biſhop of Galloway (this biſhop of Galloway, as he renounced Popery, ſo did he Prelacy, witneſs his ſubſcription of the Book of Diſcipline, as the reſt of the prelates did, who did join to the reformation), Alexander Campbell dean of Murray, with a great number more, ſubſcribed and approved the ſaid Book of Diſcipline in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, the 27th day of January, the year of our Lord God 1560, by their approbation, in theſe words:

We who have ſubſcribed theſe preſents, having adviſed with the articles herein ſpecified, and as is above-mentioned, from the beginning of this Book, think the ſame good, and conform to God's word in all points, conform to the additions and notes thereto added, and promiſed to ſet the ſame forward at the uttermoſt of our powers; providing that the biſhops, abbots, priors, and other prelates and beneficed men, who already have joined themſelves to us, enjoy the revenues of their benefices during their lifetimes: they ſuſtaining and upholding the miniſtry and miniſters, as is herein ſpecified, for preaching of the word, and miniſtering of the ſacraments.

What the contents of the whole book are, and how that this promiſe was illuded from time to time, we ſhall after hear.

Shortly after the ſaid parliament, were ſent from the council ambaſſadors to England, the earls Morton and Glencairn, together with William Maitland of Lethington younger. The chief point of their commiſion, was, earneſtly to crave the conſtant aſſiſtance of the queen's majeſty of England, againſt all foreign invaſion and common enemies.

That ſame time was the caſtle of Semple beſieged and taken, becauſe the lord thereof diſobeyed the laws and ordinances of the council in many things, and eſpecially in that, that he would maintain the idolatry of the maſs, and alſo that he beſet the way to the earl of Arran, with a great gathering, as he was riding with his accuſtomed company. The Papiſts were proud, for they looked for a new army from France the next ſpring, and thereof was no ſmall appearance, if God had not otherwiſe provided: for France utterly refuſed

the confirmation of the peace contracted at Leith, would ratify no part of our parliament, diſmiſſed the lord of St. John, without any proper anſwer, began to gather new bands of throat-cutters, and to make great preparation for ſhips. They further ſent before them certain practiſers (amongſt whom the lord Seton, who had departed with the French out of Leith, was one), to raiſe up new troubles within this realm: and all this came partly of the malice of the houſe of Guiſe, who had avowed to revenge the diſpleaſure of their ſiſter, both upon England and Scotland; and partly by inſtigation of proud Beaton, falſly called Biſhop of Glaſgow, of Dury abbot of Dunfermline, and Saulles Seton, and Mr. John Sinclair dean of Reſtalrig, with ſuch others of the French faction, who had openly ſpoken, That they had refuſed all portion of Scotland, unleſs that it were under the government of a Frenchman. 'Recompenſe them, O Lord! as thou knoweſt moſt 'expedient for thine own glory, and for the perpe-'tual ſhame of all traitors to their commonwealth.'

The certain knowledge of all theſe things came to our ears, whereat many were afraid, and divers ſuſpected that England would not be ſo forward in times to come, conſidering that their former expences were ſo great. The principal comfort remained with the preachers; for they aſſured us in God's name, that God would perform in all perfection that work in our hands, the beginning whereof he had ſo mightily maintained, becauſe it was not ours, but his own; and therefore exhorted us, that we ſhould conſtantly proceed to reform all abuſes, and to plant the miniſtry of the church, as by God's word we might juſtify it, and then commit the ſucceſs of all to our God, in whoſe power the diſpoſition of kingdoms ſtandeth; and ſo we began to do, for troubles appearing, made us give ear to the admonitions of God's ſervants: and while that we had ſcarcely begun again to implore the help of our God, and to ſhew ſome ſigns of our obedience unto his meſſengers and holy word, lo! the mighty hand of God from above ſent unto us a wonderful and moſt joyful deliverance: for unhappy Francis, huſband to our ſovereign, ſuddenly periſhed of a rotten ear; but becauſe the death of that young man was not only the cauſe of joy to us in Scotland, but alſo by it were the faithful in France delivered as it were from the preſent death, we think expedient to ſpeak of the ſame ſomewhat more largely.

Theſe cruel and conjured enemies of God, and of all godlineſs, the duke of Guiſe, the cardinal of Lorrain, and their faction, who then at their own appetite played the tyrants in France, had determined the deſtruction of all that profeſſed the true knowledge of Jeſus Chriſt within that realm. What tyranny lately before they had uſed at Amboyſe, the hiſtory of France doth witneſs. Now in Orleans, in the month of November, convened the king, unhappy Francis, the queen our ſovereign, and the queen-mother of the king, the duke of Guiſe, with all his faction, the king of Navarre, and the prince of Conde's brother.

So that great was the confluence of the nobility, but greater was the aſſembly of the murderers, for there was not a hangman in all France which was not there. The priſons were full of the true ſervants of God; the king of Navarre, and the prince of Conde, were conſtituted priſoners; the ſheriff of Orleans, a man fearing God, was taken, and ſo were many others of the town: briefly, there was none that profeſſed God or godlineſs within that town, that looked not for the extremity; for the walls and gates were night and day kept with the garriſons of the Guiſians, miſerable men were daily brought in to ſuffer judgment, but none was ſuffered to depart forth but at the devotion of the tyrants.

And ſo they proceeded till the 10th or 12th of December, when that they thought time to put their bloody counſel in execution; and, for that purpoſe, concluſion was taken, that the king ſhould depart out of the town, and lie at a certain place; which was done to this intent, that there ſhould no ſuit be made to the king for the ſafety of any man's life, whom they thought worthy of death. And ſo was the king's houſe in Orleans broken up, his beds, coffers, and tapiſtry ſent away, his own boots put on, he ſitting at the maſs, immediately thereafter to have departed, and ſo their tyranny to have begun.

When all things, we ſay, were in this readineſs to ſhed the blood of innocents, the Eternal, our God, 'who ever watcheth for the preſervation of 'his own,' began to work, and ſuddenly did put his own work in execution; for as the ſaid king ſat at maſs, he was ſuddenly ſtruck with an apoſthume, in that deaf ear that never would hear the truth of God; and ſo was he carried to a void and empty houſe, laid upon a palliaſe, until ſuch time as a canopy was ſet up unto him, where he lay till the 15th day of December, in the year of God 1560, when his glory periſhed, and the pride of his ſtubborn heart vaniſhed in ſmoke: and ſo was the ſnare broken, and the tyrants diſappointed of their cruelty; thoſe that were appointed to

death, raiſed, as it were, out of their graves; and we, who by our fooliſhneſs had made ourſelves ſlaves to ſtrangers, were reſtored again to the freedom and liberty of a free realm.

'O! that we had hearts deeply to conſider what 'are thy wonderous works, O Lord! that we 'might praiſe thee, in the midſt of this moſt 'obſtinate and wicked generation, and leave the 'memorial of the ſame to our poſterity, which, 'alas! we fear ſhall forget theſe thy ineſtimable 'benefits.'

Some in France, after the ſudden death of Francis II. and calling to mind the death of Charles IX. in blood, and the ſlaughter of Henry II. did remark the tragical ends of theſe three princes, who had perſecuted God's ſervants ſo cruelly by their inſtruments the Guiſians; and by their pens, both in proſe and verſe, did adviſe all other princes not to authorize any perſecution, or wrong done unto God's ſervants, leſt they ſhould have the like end.

An Admonition to Kings, ſet forth by the Godly in France, upon the ſudden Death of Francis the Second.

Ad hujus temporis monarchas protrepticon carmen.

Consiliis Chriſtum oppugnans, et fraudibus ingens,
Regum ille terror Carlos:
Ipſis ridiculus pueris, furioſus, et excors,
Totus repente corruit.
Tuque Henrice malis dum conſultoribus uteris
Sitis piorum ſanguinem:
Ipſe tuo vecors, inopina, cæde peremptus
Terra imbuiſti ſanguine.
Henrici deinceps, ſectans veſtigia patris
Franciſcus infelix puer,
Clamantem Chriſtum ſurda dum negligit aure,
Aure putrefacta corruit.
Verſuti, fatui, ſurdi, hæc ſpectacula, reges,
Vos ſapere vel mori jubent.

Follows a Scottiſh Tranſlation of the above.

Kynge Charles, that tyrane terrible,
Withſtanding Chriſt with witt and craft,
As mocking ſtock moſt miſerable,
Endit at anes ragine and daft.
Then Henrie, through evill cumpany,
Thirſting the blood of godlie men,
With his awin blood ſched ſuddantlie,
Was maid to wait the end ye ken.
Leiſt Frances, that unhappie child,
His father's footſteps following plane,
To Chriſt crying, deafe ears did yeild,
Ane rotten eare then was his baine.
O craftie, deif, and fooliſch kyngs!
Theſe feirfull jugements gone befoir you,
Biddeth you be wyſer in your reignes,
Or ſchamefull death will ſone devour you.

The death of this king made great alteration in France, England, and Scotland: France hoped that the tyranny of the Guiſians ſhould no longer reign above them, becauſe God at unawares had broken the ſtaff whereupon they leaned; but, alas! they were deceived: for the ſimplicity of ſome was ſo abuſed, that, againſt the laws of the realm, to the queen-mother was committed the government, which lifted up as well the duke of Guiſe, as the cruel cardinal, for a ſeaſon.

The queen of England, and the council, ſent back our ambaſſadors with anſwer, That ſhe would not marry haſtily, and therefore willed the council of Scotland, and the earl of Arran forefaid, not to depend upon any hope thereof. What motives ſhe had, we omit.

The pride of the Papiſts of Scotland began to be abated, and ſome that ever had ſhewn themſelves enemies unto us, began to think, and plainly to ſpeak (amongſt whom the old ſheriff of Ayr was one), That they perceived God to fight for us. The earl of Arran having ſuffered repulſe in his deſign to marry the queen of England, he began to fancy unto himſelf, that the queen of Scotland bore unto him ſome favour; and ſo he wrote unto her, and ſent for credit a ring, which the ſaid queen, our ſovereign, knew well enough. The letter and ring were both preſented to the queen, and by her received. Such anſwer was returned to the ſaid earl, after the which he made no further purſuit in that matter: and yet nevertheleſs he did bear it heavily in heart, and more heavily than his friends would have wiſhed: for grief he was troubled in his underſtanding.

The certainty of the death foreſaid was ſignified unto us, both by ſea and land. By ſea received John Knox letters (who then had great intelligence both with the churches abroad, and ſome of the court of France), that the king was mortally ſick, and could not well eſcape death. Which letters received, that ſame day at afternoon he paſſed to the duke, to his own lodging at the Church of Field, with whom he found the lord James in conference alone: the earl of Arran was in Jedburgh, to

whom he opened ſuch news as he had received, and willed them to be of good comfort: For, ſaid he, the advertiſer hath never deceived me; it is the ſame gentleman that firſt gave us knowledge of the ſlaughter of Henry king of France, and ſhewed unto them the letter, but would not expreſs the man's name. While they were reaſoning in divers purpoſes, and he comforting them; for while, we ſay, they three were familiarly communing together, there came a meſſenger from the lord Gray forth of Berwick, aſſuring him of the death of the king of France. Which noiſed abroad, a general convention of the nobility was appointed to be holden at Edinburgh, the 15th day of January following, in the which the Book of Diſcipline was peruſed newly over again; for ſome pretended ignorance, by reaſon that they had not heard it.

In that aſſembly was Mr. Alexander Anderſon, ſub-principal of one of the ſchools of Aberdeen, a man more ſubtile and crafty, than either learned or godly, called; who refuſed to diſpute anent his faith, abuſing a place of Tertullian, to cloak his ignorance. It was anſwered unto him, That Tertullian ſhould not prejudge the authority of the Holy Ghoſt, who, by the mouth of Peter, commandeth us to give reaſon of our faith to every one that requireth the ſame of us: it was further anſwered, That we neither required him, neither yet any man, to diſpute in any point concerning our faith, which was grounded upon God's word, and fully expreſſed in his holy Scriptures, for all that we believed without controverſy: but we required of him, as of the reſt of the Papiſts, that they would ſuffer their doctrine, conſtitutions, and ceremonies, to come to trial; and principally, that the maſs, and the opinion thereof by them taught unto the people, might be laid to the ſquare-rule of God's word, and unto the right inſtitution of Jeſus Chriſt, that they might underſtand, whether that their preachers offended or not, in that, that they affirmed, The action of the maſs to be expreſsly repugning unto the laſt ſupper of the Lord Jeſus; the ſayer of it to commit horrible blaſphemy, in uſurping unto him the office of Chriſt; the hearers to commit damnable idolatry, and the opinion of it conceived to be a derogation, and as it were a diſannulling of Chriſt's death. While the ſaid Mr. Alexander denied, that the prieſt took upon him Chriſt's office, to offer for ſin, as he alledged, a maſs-book was produced, and in the beginning of the canon were theſe words read, *Suſcipe Sancta Trinitas hanc oblationem, quam ego indignus peccator offero tibi vivo Deo et vero, pro peccatis meis, pro peccatis totius eccleſiæ vivorum et mortuorum, i. e.* Holy Trinity, accept this offering, which I, unworthy ſinner, offer to thee, the living and true God, for my ſins, for the ſins of the whole church of the quick and the dead.

Now, ſaid the reaſoner, If to offer for the ſins of the whole church, was not the office of Chriſt Jeſus, yea, that office that to him only might, and may appertain, let the Scripture judge: and if a vile knave, whom ye call Prieſt, proudly taketh the ſame upon him, let your own books witneſs. The ſaid Mr. Alexander anſwered, Chriſt offered the propitiatory, and that could none do but he; but we offer the remembrance. Whereto it was anſwered, We praiſe God that ye have denied a ſacrifice propitiatory to be in the maſs; and yet we offer to prove, that in more than an hundred places of your Papiſtical doctors this propoſition is affirmed, 'The maſs is ſaid to be a ſacrifice propitiatory.' But the ſecond part, where ye alledge that ye offer Chriſt in remembrance; we aſk firſt, Unto whom do ye offer him? and next, By what authority are ye aſſured of well-doing? In God the Father there falleth no oblivion: and if ye will ſhift and ſay, That ye offer it not, as God were forgetful, but as willing to apply Chriſt's merits to his church; we demand of you, What power and commandment have ye ſo to do? We know that our Maſter Chriſt Jeſus commanded his apoſtles to do that which he did, 'in remembrance of him;' but plain it is, 'That 'Chriſt took bread, gave thanks, brake bread, and 'gave it to his diſciples, ſaying, Take ye, eat ye, 'this is my body which is broken for you, do this 'in remembrance of me,' &c. Here we find a commandment, to take, to eat; to take, and to drink; but to offer Chriſt's body, either for remembrance or application, we find not: and therefore, we ſay, To take upon you an office which is not given unto you, is unjuſt uſurpation, and no lawful power. The ſaid Mr. Alexander being more than aſtoniſhed, would have ſhifted; but then the lords willed him to anſwer directly. Whereto he anſwered, That he was better ſeen in philoſophy than in theology.

Then was commanded Mr. John Leſly (who then was parſon of Une, and now abbot of Londors, and after was made biſhop of Roſs) to anſwer to the former argument; and he, with great gravity, began to anſwer, 'If our maſter hath no-'thing to ſay to it, I have nothing; for I know 'nothing but the canon law; and the greateſt rea-'ſon that ever I could find there, is, *Nolumus et*

'*volumus*.' And yet we underſtand, that now he is the only patron of the maſs: but it is no marvel, for we underſtand that he is a prieſt's get and baſtard; and therefore we ſhould not wonder, albeit that the old truan verſe be true, *Patrem ſequitur ſua proles*. The nobility hearing that neither the one nor the other would anſwer directly, ſaid, 'We have been miſerably deceived heretofore; 'for if the maſs may not obtain remiſſion of ſins 'to the quick and to the dead, wherefore were all 'the abbeys ſo richly doted and endowed with 'our temporal lands?'

Thus much we thought good to inſert here, becauſe that ſome Papiſts are not aſhamed now to affirm, That they with their reaſons could never be heard, but that all we did, we did by mere force; when that the whole realm knoweth, that we ever required them to ſpeak their judgments freely, not only promiſing unto them protection and defence, but alſo that we ſhould ſubſcribe with them, if they by God's Scriptures could confute us, and by the ſame word eſtabliſh their aſſertions: 'But who can correct the leaſings of 'ſuch, as in all things ſhew themſelves the ſons 'of the father of all lies? Preſerve us, Lord! 'from that perverſe and malicious generation. 'Amen.'

At this ſame aſſembly was the lord James appointed to go to France to the queen our ſovereign, and a parliament was appointed to begin the 20th of May following; for at that time was the return of the ſaid lord James looked for, and ſo was that convention diſſolved, without any other thing of importance being concluded. The ſaid lord James prepared him for his journey (for albeit he paſt in the public affairs, he ſuſtained the charge of his own expences, and yet there never paſt from this realm in the company of one man ſo many, and ſo honeſt through England to France). Before he departed, he was forewarned, as well of the danger in France, as of the queen's craft (not that we then ſuſpected her nature, but that we underſtood the malice of her friends); he was plainly premoniſhed, that if ever he condeſcended that ſhe ſhould have maſs publicly or privately within the realm of Scotland, that then betrayed he the cauſe of God, and expoſed the religion even to the uttermoſt danger that he could do. That ſhe ſhould have maſs publicly, he affirmed that he would never conſent; but to have it ſecretly in her chamber, who could ſtop her? The danger was ſhewn, and ſo he departed.

The Form and Order of the Election of the Superintendant, and all other Miniſters, at Edinburgh, March 9th, 1560. JOHN KNOX *being then Preacher.*

FIRST was made a ſermon, in which theſe heads were handled: *Firſt*, The neceſſity of miniſters and ſuperintendants, or overſeers. *Secondly*, The crimes and vices that might diſqualify them for the miniſtry. *Thirdly*, The virtues required in them. And, *laſtly*, Whether ſuch as by public conſent of the church were called to ſuch office, might refuſe the ſame.

The ſermon finiſhed, it was declared by the ſame miniſter, maker thereof, that the lords of the ſecret council had given charge and power to the churches of Lothian, to chuſe Mr. John Spottiſwood ſuperintendant or overſeer; and that ſufficient warning was made by public edict to the churches of Edinburgh, Linlithgow, Stirling, Tranent, Haddington, and Dunbar; as alſo, to the earls, lords, barons, gentlemen, and others, that have, or might claim to have vote in election, to be preſent that day, and that ſame hour. And therefore enquiry was made, who were preſent, and who were abſent. After was called the ſaid John, who anſwering, the miniſter demanded, If any man knew any crime or offence to the ſaid Mr. John, that might prevent him from being called to that office? and that he demanded thrice. *Secondly*, Queſtion was moved to the whole multitude, If there was any other whom they would put in election with the ſaid Mr. John? The people were aſked, If they would have the ſaid Mr. John ſuperintendant or overſeer? If they would honour and obey him as Chriſt's miniſter, and comfort and aſſiſt him in every thing pertaining to his charge? They anſwered,

We will; and do promiſe unto him ſuch obedience as becometh ſheep to give unto their paſtor, ſo long as he remaineth faithful in his office.

The anſwers of the people, and their conſent received, the queſtions were propoſed to him that was to be elected.

Queſtion. Seeing that ye hear the thirſt and deſire of this people, do ye not think yourſelf bound in conſcience before God to ſupport them that ſo earneſtly call for your comfort, and for the fruit of your labours?

Anſwer. If any thing were in me able to ſatisfy their deſire, I acknowledge myſelf bound to obey God, calling by them.

Queſt. Do ye ſeek to be promoted to this office and charge, for any reſpect of worldly commodity, riches, or glory?

Anſ. God knoweth the contrary.

Queſt. Believe ye not, that the doctrine of the prophets and apoſtles, contained in the books of the Old and New Teſtaments, are the only true and moſt abſolute foundation of the univerſal church of Chriſt Jeſus, inſomuch that in the ſame Scriptures are contained all things neceſſary to be believed for the ſalvation of mankind?

Anſ. I verily believe the ſame, and do abhor and utterly refuſe all doctrine alledged neceſſary to ſalvation, that is not expreſsly contained in the ſame.

Queſt. Is not Chriſt Jeſus Man of man, according to the fleſh, *viz.* the Son of David, the Seed of Abraham, conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, born of the virgin his mother, and that he is the only Head and Mediator of his church?

Anſ. He is; and without him there is neither ſalvation to man, nor life to angel.

Queſt. Is not the ſame Lord Jeſus the only true God, the eternal Son of the eternal Father, in whom all that ſhall be ſaved were elected before the foundation of the world was laid?

Anſ. I confeſs and acknowledge him in the unity of his Godhead, to be God above all things, bleſſed for ever.

Queſt. Shall not they whom God in his eternal counſel hath elected, be called to the knowledge of his Son our Lord Jeſus Chriſt? and ſhall not they who of purpoſe are called in this life, be juſtified, and juſtification and free remiſſion of ſins is obtained in this life by free grace? Shall not the glory of the ſons of God follow in the general reſurrection, when the Son of God ſhall appear in his glorious majeſty?

Anſ. This I acknowledge to be the doctrine of the apoſtles, and the moſt ſingular comfort of God's children.

Queſt. Will ye not then contain yourſelf in all doctrine within the bounds of this foundation? Will ye not ſtudy to promote the ſame, as well by your life, as by your doctrine? Will ye not, according to the graces and utterance that God ſhall grant unto you, profeſs, inſtruct, and maintain the purity of the doctrine contained in the ſacred word of God? And to the uttermoſt of your power, will ye not gain-ſtand and convince the gain-ſayers and teachers of mens inventions?

Anſ. That do I promiſe, in the preſence of God, and of his congregation here aſſembled.

Queſt. Know ye not that the excellency of this office, to the which God hath called you, requireth that your converſation and behaviour be ſuch, as that ye may be irreprehenſible, yea, even in the eyes of the ungodly?

Anſ. I unfeignedly acknowledge, and humbly deſire the church of God to pray with me, that my life be not ſlanderous to the glorious goſpel of Chriſt Jeſus.

Queſt. Becauſe you are a man compaſſed with infirmities, will you not charitably, and with lowlineſs of ſpirit, receive admonition of your brethren? And if ye ſhall happen to ſlide or offend in any point, will ye not be ſubject to the diſcipline of the church, as the reſt of your brethren?

The anſwer of the Superintendant, or Miniſter, to be elected.

I acknowledge myſelf a man ſubject to infirmity, and one that hath need of correction and admonition; and therefore I moſt willingly ſubject myſelf to the wholeſome diſcipline of the church, yea, to the diſcipline of the ſame church by which I am now called to this office and charge; and here, in God's preſence and yours, do promiſe obedience to all admonitions, ſecretly or publicly given; unto which, if I be found diſobedient, I confeſs myſelf moſt worthy to be rejected, not only from this honour, but alſo from the ſociety of the faithful, in caſe of my ſtubbornneſs. For the vocation of God to bear charge within his church, maketh not men tyrants, nor lords, but appointeth them ſervants, watchmen, and paſtors to the flock.

Thus ended, queſtion muſt be aſked again of the multitude.

Queſt. Require you any further of this your ſuperintendant, or overſeer and miniſter?

If no man anſwer, let the miniſter proceed.

Queſt. Will ye not acknowledge this your brother for the miniſter of Chriſt Jeſus, your overſeer and paſtor? Will ye not reverence the word of God that proceedeth from his mouth? Will ye not receive of him the ſermon of exhortation with patience; not refuſing the wholeſome medicine of your ſouls, although it be bitter and unpleaſing to the fleſh? Will ye not finally maintain and comfort him in his miniſtry and watching over you, againſt all ſuch as wickedly would rebel againſt God and his holy ordinance?

The people anſwered, We will, as we will anſwer to the Lord Jeſus, who hath commanded his miniſters to be had in reverence, as his ambaſſa-

dors, and as men that carefully watch for the ſalvation of our ſouls.

Let the Nobility be urged with this:

Ye have heard the duty and profeſſion of this our brother, by your conſents appointed to this charge; as alſo, the duty and obedience which God requireth of us towards him here in his miniſtry: but becauſe that neither of both are able to perform any thing, without the eſpecial grace of our God in Chriſt Jeſus, who hath promiſed to be with us preſent, even to the conſummation of the world; with unfeigned hearts let us crave of him his benediction and aſſiſtance in this work begun, to his glory, and for the comfort of his church.

THE PRAYER.

O LORD! to whom all power is given in heaven and on earth, thou art the Eternal Son of the Eternal Father, who haſt not only loved thy church, but, for the redemption and purgation of the ſame, haſt humbled thyſelf to the ignominious death of the croſs, and thereupon haſt ſhed thy moſt precious and innocent blood, to prepare to thyſelf a ſpouſe without ſpot; but alſo, to retain this moſt excellent benefit in recent memory, haſt appointed in thy church teachers, paſtors, and apoſtles, to inſtruct, comfort, and admoniſh the ſame: look upon us mercifully, O Lord! thou that only art King, Teacher, and High Prieſt to thine own flock; and ſend unto this our brother, whom in thy name we have charged with the chief care of thy church within the bounds of L. ſuch portion of thy Holy Spirit, as thereby he may rightly divide thy word, to the inſtruction of thy flock, and to the confutation of pernicious errors and damnable ſuperſtitions. Give unto him, good Lord, a mouth and wiſdom, whereby the enemies of thy truth may be confounded, the wolves expelled and driven from thy fold, thy ſheep may be fed in the wholeſome paſtures of thy moſt holy word, the blind and ignorant may be illuminated with thy true knowledge; finally, that the dregs of ſuperſtition and idolatry, which now reſt within this realm, being purged and removed, we may all, not only have occaſion to glorify thee our only Lord and Saviour, but alſo daily to grow in godlineſs and obedience of thy moſt holy will, to the deſtruction of the body of ſin, and to the reſtitution of that image, to the which we were once created, and to the which, after our fall and defection, we are renewed by participation of thy Holy Spirit, which by true faith in thee we do profeſs, as the bleſſed of thy Father, of whom the perpetual increaſe of thy grace we crave, as by thee our Lord, King, and only Biſhop, we are taught to pray. Our Father, *&c.*

The prayer ended, the reſt of the miniſters, if any be, and elders of that church preſent, in ſign of their conſent, ſhall take the elected by the hand. The chief miniſter ſhall give the benediction, as followeth:

God, the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who hath commanded his goſpel to be preached, to the comfort of his elect, and hath called thee to the office of a watchman over his people, multiply his graces with thee, illuminate thee with his Holy Spirit, comfort and ſtrengthen thee in all virtue, govern and guide thy miniſtry, to the praiſe of his holy name, to the propagation of Chriſt's kingdom, to the comfort of his church; and finally, to the plain diſcharge and aſſurance of thine own conſcience in the day of the Lord Jeſus; to whom, with the Father, and with the Holy Ghoſt, be all honour, praiſe, and glory, now and ever. So be it.

The laſt Exhortation to the Elected.

TAKE heed to thyſelf, and unto the flock committed to thy charge; feed the ſame carefully, not as it were by compulſion, but of very love which thou beareſt to the Lord Jeſus. Walk in ſimplicity and pureneſs of life, as it becometh the true ſervant and ambaſſador of the Lord Jeſus. Uſurp not dominion, nor tyrannical authority, over thy brethren: be not diſcouraged in adverſity, but lay before thyſelf the example of the prophets, apoſtles, and of the Lord Jeſus, who, in their miniſtry, ſuſtained contradiction, contempt, perſecution, and death: fear not to rebuke the world of ſin, juſtice, and judgment. If any thing ſucceed proſperouſly in thy vocation, be not puffed up with pride, neither yet flatter thyſelf, as that the good ſucceſs proceedeth from thy virtue, induſtry, or care; but let ever that ſentence of the apoſtle remain in thine heart, 'What haſt thou which thou 'haſt not received? If thou haſt received, why 'glorieſt thou?' Comfort the afflicted, ſupport the poor, and exhort others to ſupport them. Be not careful for things of this life, but be fervent in prayer to God for the increaſe of his Holy Spirit. And finally, behave thyſelf in this holy vocation, with ſuch ſobriety, as God may be glorified in thy miniſtry; and ſo ſhalt thou ſhortly obtain the victory,

and ſhalt receive the crown promiſed, when the Lord Jeſus ſhall appear in his glory, whoſe omnipotent Spirit aſſiſt thee and us to the end.

Then ſing the twenty-third Pſalm.

The Order of the Election of Elders and Deacons in the private Kirk of Edinburgh, in the Beginning, when as yet there was no public Face of a Church, nor open Aſſemblies, but ſecret and private Conventions in Houſes, or in the Fields.

BEFORE that there was any public face of a true religion within this realm, it pleaſed God, of his great mercy, to illuminate the hearts of many private perſons, ſo that they did perceive and underſtand the abuſes that were in the Papiſtical church, and thereupon withdrew themſelves from participation of their idolatry. And becauſe the Spirit of God will never ſuffer his own to be idle and void of all religion, men began to exerciſe themſelves in reading of the Scriptures ſecretly within their own houſes; and variety of perſons could not be kept in good obedience and honeſt fame, without overſeers, elders, and deacons: and ſo began that ſmall flock to put themſelves in ſuch order, as if Chriſt Jeſus had plainly triumphed in the midſt of them, by the power of his goſpel. And they did elect ſome to occupy the ſupreme place of exhortation and reading, ſome to be elders and helpers unto them, for the overſeeing of the flock: and ſome to be deacons, for the collection of alms, to be diſtributed to the poor of their own body. Of this ſmall beginning is that order, which now God, of his great mercy, has given unto us publicly within this realm. Of the principal of them that were known to be men of good converſation and honeſt fame in the private church, were choſen elders and deacons, to rule with the miniſter in the public church: which burden they patiently ſuſtained a year and more. And then becauſe they could not (without neglecting of their own private houſes) longer wait upon the public charge, they deſired that they might be relieved, and that others might be burdened in their room; which was thought a petition reaſonable of the whole church. And therefore it was granted unto them, that they ſhould nominate and give up in election ſuch perſons as they in their conſciences thought moſt apt and able to ſerve in that charge; providing that they ſhould nominate double the perſons that were ſufficient to ſerve in that charge, to the end, that the whole congregation might have their free vote in their election. And this order has been ever obſerved, ſince that time, in the church of Edinburgh; that is, That the old ſeſſion, before their departure, nominate 24 in election for elders, of whom 12 are to be choſen; and 32 for deacons, of whom 16 are to be elected: which perſons are publicly proclaimed in the audience of the whole church, upon the Sunday forenoon, after ſermon; with admonition to the church, that if any man know any notorious crime or cauſe, that might unable any of theſe perſons to enter in ſuch vocation, that they ſhould notify the ſame unto the ſeſſion the next Thurſday: or, if any know any perſons more able for that charge, they ſhould notify the ſame unto the ſeſſion, to the end, that no man, either preſent or abſent (being one of the church), ſhould complain that he was ſpoiled of his liberty in election. The Sunday following, forenoon, in the end of the ſermon, the whole communicants are commanded to be preſent in the afternoon, to give their votes as they will anſwer before God, to ſuch as they eſteem moſt able to bear the charge of the church with the miniſters. The votes of all being received, the ſcrolls of all are delivered to any of the miniſters, who keeps the ſame ſecret from the ſight of all men till the next Thurſday; and then in the ſeſſion he produces them, that the votes may be counted, where the greateſt number of votes, without reſpect of perſons, have the firſt place in the elderſhip, and ſo proceeding till the number of 12 be complete: ſo that if a poor man exceeds the rich man in votes, he precedes him in place; and is called the firſt, ſecond, or third elder, even as the votes anſwer. And this ſame is obſerved in the election of deacons.

The Friday after that judgment is taken, what perſons are elected for elders and deacons to ſerve for that year, the miniſter, after his ſermon, reads the ſame names publicly, and gives commandment openly, that ſuch perſons be preſent the next Sunday at the forenoon ſermon, in the place to be appointed for them to accept that charge, that God, by plurality of votes, had laid upon them. Who being convened, the miniſter, after ſermon, reads the names publicly, the abſent (if any be) are noted, and theſe who are preſent are admoniſhed to conſider the dignity of that vocation, whereunto God has called them; the duty that they owe to the people; the danger that lies upon them, if they be found negligent in their vocation: and, finally, the duty of the people towards the perſons elected. Which being done, this prayer is read:

The Prayer in the Election of the Elders.

O ETERNAL and everlaſting God, Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who, of thy infinite goodneſs and mercy, has choſen to thyſelf a church of the loſt ſeed of Adam, which thou haſt ever ruled by the inſpiration of thy Holy Spirit; and yet not the leſs, haſt always uſed the miniſtry of men, as well in preaching of thy word, and adminiſtration of thy ſacraments, as in guiding of thy flock, and providing for the poor within the ſame, as in the law, prophets, and in thy glorious goſpel, we have witneſſes: which order, O Lord! thou, of thy mercy, has now reſtored unto us again, after that the public face of the church has been deformed by the tyranny of that Roman Antichriſt. Grant unto us, O heavenly Father! hearts thankful for the benefits which we have received, and give unto theſe our brethren, elected unto theſe charges within thy church, ſuch abundance of thy Holy Spirit, that they may be found vigilant and faithful in that vocation, whereunto thou of thy mercy haſt called them. And albeit, O Lord! theſe ſmall beginnings are contemned of the proud world, yet, O Lord! do thou for thy own mercies ſake, bleſs the ſame in ſuch ſort that thy godly name may be glorified, ſuperſtition and idolatry may be rooted out, and virtue may be planted, not only in this generation, but alſo in the poſterity to come. Amen. Grant us this, merciful Father, for Chriſt Jeſus, thy Son's ſake, in whoſe name we call unto thee, as he has taught us, ſaying, Our Father, *&c.*

And ſo after the rehearſal of the Belief, after the which ſhall be ſung this portion of the 103d Pſalm, ver. 19. 'The heavens high are,' and ſo forth to the end of that pſalm. After the which ſhall this ſhort admonition be given to the elected.

Magnify God, who has of his mercy called you to rule within his church: be thankful in your vocation: ſhew yourſelves zealous to promote verity: fear not the faces of the wicked, but rebuke their wickedneſs: be merciful to the poor, and ſupport them to the uttermoſt of your power; and ſo ſhall ye receive the benediction of God, preſent and everlaſting. God ſave the king's majeſty, and give unto him the Spirit of ſanctification in his young age: bleſs his regent, and ſuch as aſſiſt him in upright counſel, and either fruitfully convert, or ſuddenly confound, the enemies of true religion, and of this afflicted commonwealth. Amen.

As the ſervants of God uprightly travelled to have vice puniſhed, and virtue planted, ſo did the devil ever ſtir up ſome in the contrary of both. There was a law made againſt fornicators and adulterers, that the one and the other ſhould be carted through the towns, and ſo baniſhed, till that their repentance was offered and received; and albeit this was not the ſeverity of God's law, eſpecially againſt adulterers, yet was it a great bridle to the malefactors, whereat the wicked did wonderouſly ſtorm. It chanced, that one Sanderſon, a fleſher or butcher, was deprehended to have put away his lawful life (under colour that he was lawfully parted, after the manner of the Papiſtical religion), and had taken to him another in his houſe. The complaint and ſlander propoſed to the church, and trial taken, that he was not married with the ſecond woman, neither that he was able to prove, that he was divorced by any order of the law from the firſt; he was commited to the hands of the magiſtrates, who, according to the laws, commanded him to be carted. But the raſcal multitude, inflamed by ſome ungodly craftſmen, made inſurrection, broke the cart, boaſted and threatened the officers, and took away the malefactor: this was the beginning of farther evils, as we ſhall after hear.

In this mean time, while lord James, we ſay, was in France, there came an ambaſſador from France, ſuborned, no doubt, with all craft that might trouble the ſtate of religion. His demands were, *Firſt*, That the league betwixt us and England ſhould be broken. *Secondly*, That the ancient league betwixt France and Scotland ſhould be renewed. *Thirdly*, And that the biſhops and churchmen ſhould be reſtored in their former places, and be ſuffered to intromit with their livings. The council delayed anſwer, until the parliament appointed in May. In the mean time the Papiſts of Scotland practiſed with him. The earls of Huntly, Athol, Bothwel, and others, intended to have taken Edinburgh before the ſaid parliament. The whole biſhops aſſembled, and held council in Stirling. Some whiſpering there was, that the duke and the biſhop of St. Andrews were too familiar; and ſome feared, that the authority of the queen ſhould have been uſurped, by reaſon of her abſence, and that the duke was the ſecond perſon; for thereat had ſome of his preſſed immediately after the death of the king of France. The Proteſtants thereof advertiſed, prevented them, and came to Edinburgh. The earl of Arran ſtood conſtant with his brethren; there were ſome that

carefully and painfully travelled, that nothing prejudicial to the queen's authority ſhould be done in the abſence of the lord James, to whom the queen hath recompenſed evil for good ſervice. Mr. James Macgill in that point did both ſtoutly and truly; for John Knox and he were then fallen into familiarity, by reaſon that the ſaid Mr. James had embraced the religion, and profeſſed it publicly.

The Papiſts and biſhops, diſappointed of their principal enterpriſe, did yet cauſe diſturbance; for the raſcal multitude were ſtirred up to make a Robin Hood, which enormity was of many years left off, and condemned by ſtatute and act of parliament; yet would they not be forbidden, but would diſobey and trouble the town, eſpecially upon the night: whereat the bailies offended, took from them ſome ſwords, and an enſign; which was the occaſion that they that ſame night made a mutiny, kept the gates of the town, and intended to have purſued ſome men within their own houſes; but that, upon the reſtitution of their ſwords and enſign, was ſtaid: and yet they ceaſed not to moleſt, as well the inhabitants of Edinburgh, as divers countrymen, taking from them money, and threatening ſome with further injuries: wherewith the magiſtrates of the town highly offended, took more diligent heed to ſuch as reforted to the town, and ſo apprehended one of the principal in that riot, named Balon, a ſhoe-maker, whom they put to an aſſize; and being convicted (he could not be abſolved, for he was the chief man that ſpoiled John Moubray of ten crowns of the ſun), they thought to have executed judgment upon him, and ſo erected a gibbet beneath the croſs. But (whether it came by paction with the provoſt, and ſome other, or by inſtigation of the craftſmen, who ever have been bent too much to maintain ſuch vanity and riotouſneſs, we fully know not) ſuddenly there did ariſe a tumult, the tolbooth was broken up, and not only the ſaid Balon, who before was condemned, was violently taken forth, but alſo all other malefactors were ſet at freedom; the gibbet was pulled down, and deſpitefully broken. And thereafter, as the provoſt, and ſome of the council, aſſembled to the clerk's chamber for conſultation, the whole raſcal multitude banded together, with ſome known and honeſt craftſmen, and intended invaſion on the ſaid chamber; which perceived, the provoſt, and ſuch as were in his company, paſt to the tolbooth, not ſuſpecting that they would have been ſo enraged, to make new purſuit, after that they had obtained their intent: but they were ſuddenly deceived; for from the Caſtle-hill they came with violence, and with ſtones, guns, and ſuch other weapons as they had, began to aſſault the ſaid tolbooth, ran at the door of it, till that partly by ſtones caſt from above, and partly by a piſtol ſhot by Robert Norwell, which hurt one Tweedie, they were repulſed from the door, but yet ceaſed they not to caſt and ſhoot in at the windows, threatening death to all that were therein: and, in very deed, the malice of the craftſmen, who were ſuſpected to be the occaſion of that tumult, bore no good-will to divers of thoſe that were with the provoſt.

The arguments that the craftſmen were the cauſe of that uproar, beſides the firſt diſorder, in taking Sanderſon from the execution of puniſhment, are two: The former, Archibald Dewar, Patrick Shangzie, with other ſix deacons, came to John Knox, and willed him to ſolicit the provoſt and the town to delay the execution. Who did anſwer, That he had ſo oft ſolicited in their favours, that his own conſcience accuſed him, that they uſed his labours for no other end, but to be a patron to their impiety; for he had before made interceſſion for William Harlaw, John Friſſel, and others, that were convicted of the former tumult. They proudly ſaid, That if it was not ſtaid, both he and the bailies ſhould repent it. Who anſwered, He would not hurt his conſcience for the fear of any man; and ſo they departed, and the tumult, as is ſaid, immediately thereafter did ariſe. The *ſecond* argument is, The tumult continued from two at afternoon, till after eight at night. The craftſmen were required to aſſemble themſelves together for deliverance of the provoſt; but they paſt to their four-hours penny, or afternoon's pint, and, in their jeſting, ſaid, 'They will be magi-'ſtrates alone, let them rule the multitude alone.' And ſo, contrary to the oath which they had made, they denied their aſſiſtance, counſel, and comfort to the provoſt and bailies; which are arguments very probable, that the ſaid tumult roſe by their procurement. The end thereof was, that the provoſt and bailies were compelled to give their hand-writs, that they ſhould never purſue any of thoſe that were of that tumult, for any crime that was done in that behalf; and this was proclaimed at the croſs, after nine of the clock at night, and ſo was that trouble quieted: but the nobility vowed, that they would not ſpare it, nor forget it; and ſo a great number of that faction were abſent from the town, till the arrival of the queen. The whole multitude were holden excommunicated, and

were admitted to no participation of the ſacraments, until ſuch time as they ſatisfied the magiſtrates, and made humble ſuit unto the church.

Of the death of the queen regent, we have before ſpoken; but of her burial was nothing heard. And it may appear, that ſuch matters are unworthy of remembrance, and if all things ſhould be rightly weighed, we ſhall perceive God's juſt judgments, how ſecret ſoever that they be. Before, we heard the barbarous inhumanity that was uſed at Leith by the French, who expoſed the naked carcaſes of the ſlain as it were in a ſpectacle, deſpiting God. We have heard that the queen regent rejoiced at the ſight, but her joy was ſuddenly turned into ſorrow, as we have heard. The queſtion was moved of her burial: the preachers boldly gainſtood, 'That any ſuperſtitious rites 'ſhould be uſed within that realm, which God of 'his mercy began to repugn;' and ſo concluſion was taken, that her burial ſhould be deferred till farther advertiſement; and ſo was ſhe wrapped in a coffin of lead, and kept in the caſtle, from the 9th of June, until the 19th of October, when ſhe by pioneers was carried to a ſhip, and ſo conveyed to France: what pomp was uſed there, we neither heard, nor yet regard; but in it we ſee, that ſhe that delighted that others lay without burial, got it neither ſo ſoon as ſhe herſelf (if ſhe had been of the council in her life) would have required it; neither yet ſo honourable in this realm, as ſometimes ſhe looked for. 'As men 'do, ſo they receive.'

The Papiſts, a little before the parliament, reſorted in divers bands to the town, and began to brag, as that they would have defaced the Proteſtants; which thing perceived, the brethren aſſembled, and went in ſuch companies, and yet in peaceable manner, that the biſhops and their bands forſook the cauſeway or ſtreet. The brethren underſtanding what the Papiſts meant, convened in council, in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, the 27th day of May, the year of God 1561; and, after conſultation, concluded, That an humble ſupplication ſhould be preſented unto the lords of the ſecret council, and unto the whole aſſembly that then was convened; in the which ſhould theſe ſubſequent heads be required, and a law to paſs thereupon:

1. That idolatry, and all monuments thereof, ſhould be ſuppreſſed throughout the whole realm: that the ſayers, hearers, maintainers, and haunters of the maſs, ſhould be puniſhed according to the act of parliament, as is ſaid.

2. That ſpecial and certain proviſion be made for the maintenance of the ſuperintendants, miniſters, exhorters, and readers: that ſuperintendants and miniſters ſhould be planted where none were: that puniſhment ſhould be appointed for ſuch as diſobeyed, or contemned the ſuperintendants in their function.

3. That puniſhment may be appointed for the abuſers of the ſacraments, and for the contemners of the ſame.

4. That no letters of ſeſſion, or warrant from the judge, be given to anſwer, or pay to any perſon their tenths, without eſpecial proviſion, that the pariſhioners retain ſo much in their own hands, as is appointed for the maintenance of the miniſtry; and that all ſuch as are elſe given, be called in and diſcharged; and likewiſe, that no ſheriffs give precepts to that effect.

5. That neither the lords of ſeſſion, nor any other judges, proceed upon ſuch precepts or warnings, paſt at the inſtance of them that of late have obtained feus of vicarages, and parſons manſes, and church-yards; and that ſix acres (if ſo much there be of the glebe) be always reſerved to the miniſter, according to the appointment of the Book of Diſcipline.

6. That no letters of ſeſſion, nor other warrants, take place, till the ſtipends contained in the Book of Diſcipline, for maintenance of the miniſters, be firſt conſigned in the hands, at the leaſt of the principal of the pariſhioners.

7. That puniſhment be appointed againſt all ſuch as purchaſe, bring home, or execute within this realm, the pope's bulls.

The tenor of the Supplication was this:

PLEASE your honours, and the wiſdoms of ſuch as are preſently convened with you in council, to underſtand. That by many arguments we perceive, what the peſtilent generation of that Roman Antichriſt within this realm pretendeth, *viz.* That they would of new erect their idolatry, take upon them empire above our conſcience, and ſo to command us, the true ſubjects of this realm, and ſuch as God of his mercy hath (under our ſovereign) ſubjected unto us, in all things to obey their appetites. Honeſty craveth, and conſcience moveth us, to make the very ſecrets of our hearts patent to your honours in that behalf, which is this, 'That 'before ever thoſe tyrants and dumb dogs have 'empire above us, and above ſuch as God hath 'ſubjected unto us, that we the barons and gen-

‘ tlemen, profeſſing Chriſt Jeſus within this realm, ‘ are fully determined to hazard life, and whatſo- ‘ ever we have received of God in temporal things.’ Moſt humbly therefore beſeeching your honours, That ſuch order may be taken, that we have not occaſion to take again the ſword of juſt defence into our hands, which we have willingly (after God had given victory both to your honours and us) reſigned over into your hands; to the end that God's goſpel may be publicly preached within this realm, the true miniſters thereof reaſonably maintained, idolatry ſuppreſſed, and the committers thereof puniſhed, according to the laws of God and man; in doing whereof, your honours ſhall find us not only obedient unto you in all things lawful, but alſo ready, at all times, to bring under order and obedience ſuch as would rebel againſt your juſt authority, which, in abſence of our ſovereign, we acknowledge to be in your hands. Beſeeching your honours, with upright judgment and indifference, to look upon theſe our few articles, and by theſe our brethren to ſignify unto us ſuch anſwer again, as may declare your honours worthy of that place, whereunto God (after ſome danger ſuſtained) in his mercy hath called you: and let theſe enemies of God aſſure themſelves, That if your honours put not order unto them, that we ſhall ſhortly take ſuch order, that they ſhall neither be able to do what they liſt, neither yet to live upon the ſweat of the brows of ſuch as are no debtors unto them. Let your honours conceive nothing of us, but all humble obedience in God. But let the Papiſts be yet once again aſſured, That their pride and idolatry we will not ſuffer.

Directed from the aſſembly of the church, the 28th of May 1561, and ſent by theſe brethren, the maſter of Lindſay, the laird of Lochingvar, the laird of Pharniherſt, the laird of Whittingham, Thomas Menzies provoſt of Aberdeen, and George Lowel burgeſs of Dundee.

Upon the which requeſt and articles, the lords and council aforeſaid made an act and ordinance, anſwering to every head of the foreſaid articles; and commanded letters to be anſwered thereupon, which divers miniſters raiſed and copied, as in the books of ſecret council is yet to be found.

And thus got Satan the ſecond fall, after that he had begun to trouble the ſtate of religion, once eſtabliſhed by law. His firſt aſſault was by the raſcal multitude oppoſing themſelves to the puniſhment of vice; the ſecond was the biſhops and their bands, in which he thought utterly to have triumphed; and yet he in the end proſpered worſe than ye have heard. In this mean time returned from France the lord James, who, beſide his great expences, and the loſs of a box wherein was a ſecret purſe, eſcaped a deſperate danger in Paris: for at his returning from our ſovereign (who then was with the cardinal of Lorrain her uncle, in Rheims), underſtood of the Papiſts in Paris, they had conſpired ſome treaſonable act againſt him; for they intended either to have beſet his houſe by night, or elſe to have aſſaulted him and his company as they walked in the ſtreets: whereof the ſaid lord James advertiſed by the Rhinegrave, by reaſon of old familiarity, which was betwixt them in Scotland, he took purpoſe ſuddenly, and in good order, to depart from Paris, as he did the ſecond day after that he arrived there; and yet could not he depart ſo ſecretly, but that the Papiſts had their privy ambuſhes: for, upon the new-decayed Pont of Change, they had prepared a proceſſion, which met the ſaid lord and his company even in the teeth; and knowing that they would not do the accuſtomed reverence to them and their idols, they thought thereupon to have picked a quarrel; and ſo, as one part paſſed by, without moving of hats to any thing that was there, they had ſuborned ſome to cry Huguenots, and to caſt ſtones: but God diſappointed their enterpriſe; for the ſaid Rhinegrave, with other gentlemen, being with lord James, rebuked the fooliſh multitude, and over-rode ſome of the foremoſt, and ſo the reſt were diſperſed, and he and his company ſafely eſcaped, and came with expedition to Edinburgh, while that yet the lords and aſſembly were together, to the great comfort of many godly hearts, and to no little aſtoniſhment of the wicked: for from the queen our ſovereign he brought letters to the lords, praying them to entertain quietneſs, and to ſuffer nothing to be attempted againſt the contract of peace which was made at Leith, till her own home-coming; and to ſuffer the religion, publicly eſtabliſhed, to go forward, *&c.* Whereupon the ſaid lords gave anſwer to the French ambaſſador, a negative to every one of his petitions.

Anſwer of the Lords to the French Ambaſſador.

And *firſt*, THAT France had not deſerved at their hands, that either they or their poſterity ſhould enter with them again in any league or confederacy, offenſive or defenſive; ſeeing that ſo

traiterouſly and cruelly they had perſecuted them, their realm, and liberties, under pretence of amity and marriage.

Secondly, That beſides their conſcience, they could not take ſuch a worldly ſhame, as, without offence committed, to break the league, which in God's name they had made with them, whom he hath made inſtruments to ſet Scotland at freedom from the tyranny of the French, at leaſt of the Guiſians, and of their faction.

And *laſtly*, That ſuch as they called biſhops and churchmen, they knew neither for paſtors of the church, neither yet for any juſt poſſeſſors of the patrimony thereof; but underſtood them perfectly to be wolves, thieves, murderers, and idle-bellies; and therefore, as Scotland hath forſaken the pope, and Papiſtry, ſo could not they be debtors to his foreſworn vaſſals.

With theſe anſwers departed the ſaid ambaſſador; and the lords of the ſecret council made an act, That all places and monuments of idolatry ſhould be deſtroyed: and for that purpoſe was directed to the weſt the earl of Arran, having joined with him the earls of Argyle and Glencairn, together with the Proteſtants of the weſt, who burnt Paiſley (the biſhop of St. Andrews, who was abbot thereof, narrowly eſcaped), caſt down Failfurd, Kilwinning, and a part of Coſraguel. The lord James was appointed to the north, where he made ſuch reformation as nothing contented the earl of Huntly, and yet ſeemed he to approve all things: and thus God ſo potently wrought with us, ſo long as we depended upon him, that all the world might ſee his potent hand to maintain us, and to fight againſt our enemies; yea, moſt to confound them, when that they promiſed to themſelves victory without reſiſtance. O that we would rightly conſider the wonderous works of the Lord our God!

In the treaty of peace contracted at Leith, there were contained certain heads that required ratification of both queens. The queen of England, according to her promiſe, ſubſcription, and ſeal, without any delay performed the ſame, and ſent it to our ſovereign, by her appointed officers. But our ſovereign (whether becauſe her own crafty nature thereto moved her, or that her uncle's chief counſellors ſo would, we know not) with many delays fruſtrated the expectation of the queen of England, as by the copy of a letter, ſent from the ambaſſador of England to his ſovereign, we may underſtand.

The Ambaſſador's Letter.

MADAM,

I SENT Sommer to the queen of Scots for audience, who appointed me to come to her the ſame day after dinner, which I did. To her I did remember your majeſty's hearty commendations, and declared unto her your majeſty's gladneſs for her recovery from her late ſickneſs, whoſe want of health, as it was grievous unto your majeſty, ſo, I told her, did you congratulate, and greatly rejoice of the good terms of health ſhe was in for the preſent. After theſe offices of civility, I put her in remembrance again what had paſſed from the beginning, in the matter of your majeſty's demand of ratification, according to the tenor of the ſaid treaty, as well by me at the firſt, as afterward by my lord of Bedford, at his being here, and alſo followed ſince again by me in open audience, and by my letter to her being in Lorrain; adding hereto your majeſty's further commandment, and re-charge to me again, preſently to renew the ſame demand, as before had been done.

At Paris the 23d of
June 1561.

The ſaid Queen made Anſwer as followeth:

MONSIEUR L' AMBASSADOR,

I THANK the queen, my good ſiſter, for this gentle viſitation and congratulation of this my recovery; and though I be not yet in perfect health, yet, I thank God, I feel myſelf in a very good caſe, and in way of a full recovery. And for anſwer to your demand, ſaid ſhe, of my ratification, I do remember all theſe things that you have recited unto me; and I would the queen, my good ſiſter, ſhould think that I do defer the poſitive anſwer in this matter, and performing thereof, until ſuch time as I might have had the advice of the nobles and ſtates of mine own realm, which I truſt ſhall not be long a-doing, for I intend to make my voyage thither ſhortly: and though this matter, ſaid ſhe, doth touch me principally, yet doth it alſo touch the nobles and ſtates of my realm too; and therefore it ſhall be meet that I uſe their advices therein. Heretofore they have ſeemed to be grieved, that I ſhould do any thing without them; and now they would be more offended, if I ſhould proceed in this matter of myſelf without their advices. I do intend, ſaid ſhe, to ſend monſieur d' Oſel to the queen your miſtreſs, my good ſiſter,

who ſhall declare that unto her from me, that I truſt ſhall ſatisfy her; by whom I will give her to underſtand of my journey into Scotland. I mean to embark at Calais. The king of France hath lent me certain galleys and ſhips to convey me home, and I intend to require of my good ſiſter thoſe favours that princes uſe to do in ſuch caſes. And though the terms wherein we have ſtood heretofore have been ſomewhat hard, yet I truſt, that from henceforth we ſhall accord together as couſins and good neighbours. I mean, ſaid ſhe, to retire all the Frenchmen forth of Scotland, who had given jealouſy to the queen my ſiſter, and diſcontent to my ſubjects, ſo as I will leave nothing undone to ſatisfy all parties; truſting the queen my good ſiſter will do the like, and that from henceforth none of my diſobedient ſubjects, if there be any ſuch, ſhall find aid or ſupport at her hands.

I anſwered, That I was not deſirous to fall into the diſcourſe how theſe hard terms firſt began, nor by what means they were nouriſhed, becauſe therein I muſt charge ſome party with injury and peril offered to the queen my miſtreſs, which was the very ground of theſe matters: but I was well aſſured, there could be no better occaſion offered to put the former unkindneſs in forgetfulneſs, than by ratifying the treaty of peace; for that ſhould repay all injuries paſt. And, madam, ſaid I, where it pleaſed you to ſuſpend and delay the ratification, until you have the advices of the nobles and ſtates of your realm, the queen my miſtreſs doth nothing doubt of their conformity in this matter, becauſe the treaty was made by their conſents.

The queen anſwered, Yea, by ſome of them, but not by all: it will appear, when I come amongſt them, whether they be of the ſame mind that you ſay they were then of: but of this I aſſure you, monſieur l' Ambaſſador, ſaid ſhe, I, for my part, am very deſirous to have the perfect and the aſſured amity of the queen my good ſiſter, and will uſe all the means I can to give her occaſion to think that I mean it indeed. I anſwered, Madam, the queen my miſtreſs, you may be aſſured, will uſe the like towards you, to move you to be of the ſame opinion towards her. Then, ſaid ſhe, I truſt the queen your miſtreſs will not ſupport nor encourage any of my ſubjects to continue in their diſobedience, nor to take upon them things that appertain not to ſubjects. 'This we may anſwer 'her, It appertaineth to ſubjects to worſhip God 'as he hath commanded, and to ſuppreſs idolatry, 'by whomſoever it be erected or maintained.' You know, ſaid ſhe, there is much ado in my realm about matters of religion; and though there be a greater number of a contrary religion unto me than I would there were, yet there is no reaſon that ſubjects ſhould give a law to their ſovereign, and eſpecially in matters of religion, which I fear, ſaid ſhe, my ſubjects ſhall take in hand. (Anſwer for the part of Scotland, 'And if ſo they 'had done, they had eſcaped God's heavy indig-'nation, which hath been felt, and ſtill hangeth 'over this realm, for the idolatry, and other abo-'minations committed in the ſame, which ſhall 'not ceaſe till that it be ſuppreſſed).' I anſwered, Madam, your realm is in no other caſe at this day, than all other realms through Chriſtendom are, the proof whereof you ſee verified in this realm; and you ſee what great difficulty it is to give order in this matter, though the king of France and all his council be very deſirous thereunto. Religion is of the greateſt force that may be; you have been long out of your own realm, ſo as the contrary religion to yours hath won the upper-hand, and the greateſt part of your realm: your mother was a woman of great experience, of deep diſſimulation and policy, as they term it now a-days, and kept that realm in quietneſs, till ſhe began to conſtrain mens conſciences; and as you think it unmeet to be conſtrained by your ſubjects, ſo it may pleaſe you to conſider, the matter is as intolerable to them to be conſtrained by you, in matters of conſcience; for the duty due to God cannot be given to any other, without offence of his Majeſty. Why, ſaid ſhe, God doth command ſubjects to be obedient to their princes, and commandeth princes to read his law, and govern thereby themſelves, and the people committed to their charges. Anſwer; Yea, madam, ſaid I, in thoſe things that be not againſt his commandments.

Well, ſaid ſhe, I will be plain with you, the religion that I profeſs, I take to be moſt acceptable to God; and indeed, neither do I know, nor deſire to know any other. Conſtancy doth become all folks well, but none better than princes, and ſuch as have rule over realms, and eſpecially in matters of religion (the Turk is as conſtant in his Alcoran, as the Pope and his ſect are in his Conſtitutions). I have been brought up, ſaid ſhe, in this religion; and who might credit me in any thing, if I ſhould ſhew myſelf light in this caſe? and though I be young, and not well learned, yet

I have heard this matter oft diſputed by my uncle the cardinal, with ſome that thought they could ſay ſomewhat in the matter; and I found therein no great reaſon to change my opinion. 'Neither 'yet did the high prieſt, when Chriſt Jeſus did 'reaſon in his preſence. But what was the car-'dinal compelled to confeſs at Poyſie?'

Madam, ſaid I, if you will judge well in that matter, you muſt be converſant in the Scriptures, which are the touch-ſtone to try the right from the wrong. Peradventure you are ſo partially affected to your uncle's arguments, that you could not indifferently conſider the other party: yet this, I aſſure you, madam, ſaid I, your uncle the cardinal, in conference with me about theſe matters, hath confeſſed, that there be great errors and abuſes come into the church, and great diſorder in the prieſts and clergy, inſomuch that he deſired and wiſhed that there might be a reformation of the one, and of the other. I have often heard him ſay the like, ſaid ſhe. Then I ſaid, Well, I truſt God will inſpire all you that be princes, that there may be ſome good order taken in this matter, ſo as there may be one unity in religion through all Chriſtendom. God grant, ſaid ſhe, but, for my part, you may perceive, I am none of thoſe that will change my religion every year.

And, as I told you in the beginning, I mean to conſtrain none of my ſubjects, but would wiſh that they were all as I am; and I truſt they ſhall have no ſupport to conſtrain me. I will ſend monſieur d' Oſel, ſaid ſhe, to you before he go, to know whether ye will any thing in England. I pray you ſo order yourſelf in this matter, betwixt the queen my good ſiſter and me, that there may be perfect and aſſured amity betwixt us; for I know, ſaid ſhe, miniſters may do much good and harm. I told her, I would faithfully and truly make declaration of all that ſhe ſaid unto me unto your majeſty, and truſted that ſhe would ſo ſatisfy your majeſty by monſieur d' Oſel in all things, as I ſhould hereafter have no more occaſion to treat with her of any thing, but of the increaſe of amity, of which there ſhould be no want on your behalf. This is the effect of the queen of Scotland's anſwer to your majeſty's demand of her ſaid ratification, and of my negociation with her at this time.

Theſe advertiſements ſomewhat exaſperated the queen of England, and not altogether without cauſe; for the arms of England were before uſurped by our ſovereign, and by her huſband Francis; and Eliſabeth queen of England was, of the Guiſians, reputed little better than a baſtard. It was appointed that this title ſhould be renewed; but hereof had our ill-counſelled and miſled queen no pleaſure, and eſpecially after that her huſband was dead; for, thought ſhe, the ſhew of England ſhall allure many ſuitors to me. The Guiſians, and the Papiſts of both realms, did not a little animate her in that purſuit, the effect whereof will ſooner appear than the godly of England would deſire. Queen Eliſabeth, we ſay, offended with the former anſwer, wrote unto the nobility and ſtates of Scotland, in form as followeth:

The Queen of England's Letter to the States of Scotland.

RIGHT truſty, and right entirely beloved couſins, we greet you. We doubt not, but as our meaning is, and hath always been, ſince our reign, in the ſight of Almighty God, ſtraight and direct towards the advancement of his honour and truth in religion; and conſequently, to procure peace, and maintain concord, betwixt both theſe realms of England and Scotland; ſo alſo our outward acts have well declared the ſame to the world, and eſpecially to you, being our neighbours, who have taſted and proved in theſe our friendſhip and earneſt good-will, more than we think any of your anceſtors have ever received from hence; yea, more than a great number of yourſelves could well have hoped for of us, all former examples being well weighed and conſidered. And this we have to rejoice of, and ſo may ye be glad, That where in the beginning of the troubles in that country, and of our ſuccours meant for you, the jealouſy, or rather the malice of divers, both in that realm and in other countries, was ſuch, both to deprive us in yielding, and you in requiring our aid, that we were noted to have meant the ſurpriſe of that realm, by depriving of your ſovereign the queen of her crown; and you, or the greateſt part of you, to have intended by our ſuccour the like, and either to prefer ſome other to the crown, or elſe to make of that monarchy a commonwealth; matters very ſlanderous and falſe. But the end and determination, yea, the whole courſe and proceſs of the action, on both our parts, have manifeſted, both to the ſlanderous, and to all others, That nothing was more meant and proſecuted, than to eſtabliſh your ſovereign the queen, our couſin and ſiſter, in her ſtate and crown, the poſſeſſion whereof was in the hands of ſtrangers. And although no words could then well

ſatisfy the malicious, yet our deeds declare, that no other thing was ſought, but the reſtitution of that realm to the ancient liberty, and as it were to redeem it from captivity. Of theſe our purpoſes and deeds, there remaineth, among other arguments, good teſtimony by a ſolemn treaty and accord made the laſt year at Edinburgh, by commiſſioners ſent from us, and from your queen, with full authority in writing under both our hands, and the great ſeals of both our realms, in ſuch manner as other princes our progenitors have always uſed; by which treaty and accord, either of us have faithfully accorded with other, to keep peace and amity betwixt ourſelves, our countries and ſubjects. And in the ſame alſo a good accord is made, not only of certain things happened betwixt us, but alſo of ſome differences betwixt the miniſters of the late French king, your ſovereign's huſband, and you the ſtates of that realm, for the alteration of laws and cuſtoms of that country, attempted by them. Upon which accord, there made and concluded, hath hitherto followed, as you know, ſurety to your ſovereign's ſtate, quietneſs to yourſelves, and a better peace betwixt both realms, than ever was heard of in any time paſt. Nevertheleſs, how it happeneth, we know not (we can, for ſhe in her conceit thinketh herſelf queen of both), That your ſovereign either not knowing in this part her own felicity, or elſe dangerouſly ſeduced by perverſe counſel, whereof we are moſt ſorry, being of late at ſundry times required by us, according to her bond with us, ſigned with her own hand, and ſealed with the great ſeal of that realm, and allowed by you, being the ſtates of the ſame, to ratify the ſaid treaty, in like manner as we by writing have done, and are ready to deliver it to her, who maketh ſuch dilatory anſwers thereunto, as what we ſhall judge thereof, we perceive by her anſwer, That it is fit for us to require of you: for although ſhe hath always anſwered, ſince the death of her huſband, That in this matter ſhe would firſt underſtand the minds of certain of you, before that ſhe would make anſwer; and ſo having now of long time ſuſpended our expectation in the end, notwithſtanding that ſhe hath had conference both by meſſengers, and by ſome of yourſelves, being with her; yet ſhe ſtill delayed it, alledging to our ambaſſador in France (who ſaid that this treaty was made by your conſents), it was not by conſent of you all, and ſo would have us to forbear, until ſhe ſhall return into that her country. And now, ſeeing this her anſwer depended, as it ſhould ſeem by her words, upon your opinions, we cannot but plainly let you all underſtand, that this manner of anſwer, without ſome more fruit, cannot long content us. We have meant well to our ſiſter your queen, in time of offence given to us by her. We did plainly, without diſſimulation, charge her in her own doubtful ſtate: while ſtrangers poſſeſſed her realm, we ſtaid it from danger: and now, having promiſed to keep good peace with her, and with you her ſubjects, we have obſerved it, and ſhall be ſorry, if either ſhe or you ſhall give us contrary cauſe. In a matter ſo profitable to both the realms, we think it ſtrange, that your queen hath no better advice: and therefore, we do require you all, being the ſtates of that realm, upon whom the burden reſteth, to conſider this matter deeply, and to make us anſwer, whereunto we may truſt. And if you ſhall think meet ſhe ſhall thus leave the peace imperfect, by breaking of her ſolemn promiſe, contrary to the order of all princes, we ſhall be well content to accept your anſwer, and ſhall be as careleſs to ſee the peace kept, as ye ſhall give us cauſe; and doubt not, by the grace of God, but whoſoever of you ſhall incline thereto, ſhall ſooneſt repent. You muſt be content with our plain writing. And, on the other ſide, if you continue all in one mind, to have the peace inviolably kept, and ſhall ſo by your advice procure the queen to ratify it, we alſo plainly promiſe you, that we will alſo continue our good diſpoſition to keep the ſame in ſuch good terms as now it is; and, in ſo doing, the honour of Almighty God ſhall be duly ſought and promoted in both realms, the queen your ſovereign ſhall enjoy her ſtate with your ſurety, and yourſelves poſſeſs that which you have with tranquillity, to the increaſe of your families and poſterity, which, by the frequent wars heretofore, your anceſtors never had long in one ſtate. To conclude, we require you to advertiſe us of what mind you be, eſpecially if you all continue in that mind, that you mean to have the peace betwixt both the realms perpetually kept; and if you ſhall forbear any longer to advertiſe us, ye ſhall give us ſome occaſion of doubt, whereof more hurt may grow than good. *From*, &c.

Theſe letters received and peruſed, albeit the ſtates could not be convened, yet did the council, and ſome others alſo in particular, return anſwers with reaſonable diligence. The tenor of our Letter was this:

MADAM,

PLEASE your majeſty, that with judgment we have conſidered your majeſty's letters; and, albeit the whole ſtates could not ſuddenly be aſſembled, yet we thought expedient to ſignify ſomewhat of our minds unto your majeſty. Far be it from us, that either we take upon us that infamy before the world, or grudge of conſcience before our God, that we ſhould lightly eſteem the obſervation of that peace lately contracted betwixt theſe two realms. By what motives our ſovereign delayed the ratification thereof, we cannot tell; but of us (of us, we ſay, madam, that have proteſted fidelity in our promiſe) her majeſty had none. Your majeſty cannot be ignorant, that in this realm there are many enemies; and further, That our ſovereign hath counſellors, whoſe judgments ſhe in all ſuch cauſes preferred to ours. Our obedience bindeth us, not only reverently to ſpeak and write of our ſovereign, but alſo to judge and think; and yet your majeſty may be well aſſured, that in us ſhall be noted no blame, if that peace be not ratified to your majeſty's contentment: for, God is witneſs, that our chief care in this earth, next to the glory of God, is, That conſtant peace may remain betwixt theſe two realms; whereof your majeſty and realm ſhall have ſure experience, ſo long as our counſel or votes may ſtop the contrary. The benefit that we have received is ſo recent, that we cannot ſuddenly bury it in forgetfulneſs. We would deſire your majeſty rather to be perſuaded of us, that we to our powers will ſtudy to leave it in remembrance to our poſterity. And thus, with lawful and humble commendation of our ſervice, we commit your majeſty to the protection of the Omnipotent.

At Edinburgh, the 16th
day of July 1561.

There were ſome others that anſwered ſome of the miniſters of England ſomewhat more ſharply, and willed them not to accuſe nor threaten ſo ſharply, till that they were able to convict ſuch as had promiſed fidelity of ſome evident crime, which although they were able to lay to the charge of ſome, yet reſpect would be had to ſuch as long had declared themſelves conſtant procurers of quietneſs and peace. The ſudden arrival of the queen made great alteration, even in the council, as after we will hear. In this mean time, the Papiſts, by ſurmiſing, troubled what they might, their poſts, letters, and complaints, being, from day to day, directed to the pope, ſome to the cardinal of Lorrain, and ſome to our queen. The principal of thoſe couriers were, Mr. Steven Wilſon, Mr. John Leſly, called *Nolumus* and *Volumus*, Mr. James Throgmorton, and others, ſuch as lived by the traffic of that Roman Antichriſt.

The preachers vehemently exhorted us to eſtabliſh the Book of Diſcipline, by an act and public law; affirming, That if they ſuffered things to hang in ſuſpence, when God had given unto them ſufficient power in their hand, they ſhould after ſob for it, but ſhould not get it.

THE END OF BOOK THIRD.

BOOK FOURTH.

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION OF RELIGION, WITHIN THE REALM OF SCOTLAND.

IN the former Books, gentle Reader, you may clearly ſee, how potently God hath performed, in theſe our laſt and wicked days, as well as in the ages that have paſſed before us, the promiſes that are made to the ſervants of God, by the prophet Iſaiah, in theſe words, 'They that wait 'upon the Lord ſhall renew their ſtrength: they 'ſhall mount up with wings as eagles: they ſhall 'run, and not be weary; and they ſhall walk, and 'not faint.' This promiſe, we ſay, ſuch as Satan hath not utterly blinded, may ſee performed in us, the profeſſors of Chriſt Jeſus, within this realm of Scotland, with no leſs evidence than it was in any age that ever paſſed before us. For what was our force? What was our number? Yea, what wiſdom or worldly policy was in us, to have brought to any good end ſo great an enterpriſe? our very enemies can bear witneſs. And yet in how great purity God did eſtabliſh amongſt us his true religion, as well in doctrine as in ceremonies? To what confuſion and fear were idolaters, adulterers, and all public tranſgreſſors of God's commandments, within ſhort time brought, the public orders of the church, yet by the mercy of God preſerved, and the puniſhment executed againſt malefactors, can teſtify unto the world. For, as touching the adminiſtration of the ſacraments uſed in our churches, we are bold to affirm, That there is no realm this day upon the face of the earth, that hath them in greater purity; yea, we can ſpeak the truth, whomſoever we offend, there is none (no realm I mean) that hath them in the like purity; for all others, how ſincere that ever the doctrine be that by ſome is taught, retain in their churches, and in the miniſters thereof, ſome footſteps of Antichriſt, and dregs of Popery; but we (all praiſe to God alone) have nothing within our churches that ever flowed from that man of ſin. And this we acknowledge to be the ſtrength given to us of God, becauſe we eſteem not ourſelves wiſe in our own eyes, but underſtanding our own wiſdom to be mere fooliſhneſs before our God, laid it aſide, and followed only that which we found approved by himſelf.

In this point could never our enemies cauſe us to faint, for our firſt petition was, 'That the 'reverend face of the firſt, primitive, and apoſto-'lic church ſhould be reduced again to the eyes

'and knowledge of men.' And, in that point, we ſay, our God hath ſtrengthened us, till that the work was finiſhed, as the world may ſee. And as concerning the ſuppreſſing of vice, yea, and of the aboliſhing of all ſuch things as might nouriſh impiety within the realm, the acts and ſtatutes of the principal towns reformed, will yet teſtify: for what adulterer, what fornicator, what known maſs-monger, or peſtilent Papiſt, durſt have been ſeen in public, within any reformed town within this realm, before that the queen arrived? And this victory to his word, and terror to all filthy livers, did God work by ſuch as yet live, and remain witneſſes (whether they will or not) of the aforeſaid works of God.

We ſay, our God ſuffered none of theſe, whom he firſt called to the battle, to periſh or to fall, while that he made them victors of their enemies: for even as God ſuffered none of thoſe whom he called from Egypt, to periſh in the Red-Sea, how fearful ſoever the danger appeared; ſo ſuffered he none of us to be oppreſſed, nor yet to be taken from this life, till that more Pharaohs than one were drowned, and we ſet at freedom, without all danger of our enemies; to let both us, and our poſterity underſtand, that ſuch as follow the conducting of God, cannot periſh, albeit they walked in the very ſhadow of death. But from whence, alas! comes this miſerable diſperſion of God's people within this realm this day, in May 1561? And what is the cauſe that now the juſt are compelled to keep ſilence, good men are baniſhed, murderers, and ſuch as are known unworthy of common ſociety (if juſtice were put in execution), bear the whole government and ſway within this realm?

We anſwer, Becauſe that ſuddenly the moſt part of us declined from the purity of God's word, and began to follow the world, and ſo again ſhake hands with the devil, and with idolatry, as in the Fourth Book we will hear.

For while that Papiſts were ſo confounded, that none within the realm durſt more avow the hearing or ſaying of maſs, than the thieves of Niddiſdale durſt avow ſtealing, in the preſence of any upright judge; now are Proteſtants found, who are not aſhamed at tables, and other open places, to aſk, 'Why may not theſe men have 'their maſs, and the form of their religion? 'What can that hurt us or our religion?' And from theſe two, *Why* and *What*, at laſt ſprang out this affirmative, 'The queen's maſs and her prieſts 'will we maintain; this hand and this rapier ſhall 'fight in their defence, &c.

The inconveniences were ſhown both by tongue and pen: but the advertiſers were judged to be men of unquiet ſpirits; their credit was defaced at the hands of ſuch as before were not aſhamed to have uſed their counſel in matters of greater importance, than to have refuſed the maſs.

But then, my lord, my maſter may not be thus uſed; he hath the honour to be the queen's brother, and therefore we will that all men ſhall underſtand, that he muſt tender her as his ſiſter; and whoſoever will counſel him to diſpleaſe her, or the leaſt that pertains unto her, ſhall not find him their friend; yea, they are worthy to be hanged, that would ſo counſel him, &c. Theſe and the like reaſons took ſuch deep root in fleſh and blood, and were (as yet, alas! they are) preferred to God, and to his meſſengers, rebuking vice and vanity, that from thence have all our miſeries proceeded.

For as before, ſo even yet, although the miniſters be ſet to beg, the guard and the men of war muſt be ſerved; though the blood of the miniſters be ſpilt, yet it is the queen's ſervants that did it; although maſs be multiplied in all quarters of the realm, who can ſtop the queen's ſubjects to live in the queen's religion? although innocent men be impriſoned, it is the queen's pleaſure: ſo ſhe is offended at ſuch men, although, under pretence of juſtice, innocents be murdered: the lords ſhall weep, but the queen's mind muſt be ſatisfied; nobles of the realm, barons, and counſellors, are baniſhed, their eſcheats diſpoſed of, and their lives moſt unjuſtly purſued. The queen hath loſt her truſty ſervant David, he was dear unto her; and therefore, for her honour's ſake, ſhe muſt ſhow rigour to revenge his death. And yet further, albeit that ſome knew that ſhe hath plainly purpoſed to wreck and undo the religion within this realm, that to that Roman Antichriſt ſhe hath made her promiſe, and that from him ſhe hath taken money to uphold his pomp within this realm; yet will they let the people underſtand, that the queen will eſtabliſh religion, and provide all things orderly, if ſhe were once delivered.

If ſuch dealing, which is too common amongſt Proteſtants, be not to prefer fleſh and blood to God, to his truth, to religion, and to the oppreſſed liberty of the realm, let the world judge. The plagues have been, and in ſome places are preſent, that were before threatened; the reſt approaches; and yet, Who from the heart crieth, 'I have offended, the Lord knows? In thee only is the truſt 'of the oppreſſed; for vain is the help of man.' But now we return to our hiſtory.

The 19th day of Auguſt 1561, betwixt ſeven and eight o'clock before noon, arrived Mary queen of Scotland, then widow, with two galleys out of France: in her company (beſides her gentlewomen, called the Maries) were her uncles, the duke Aumale, the grand prior, and the marquis d' Albuff. There accompanied her alſo d' Anville, ſon to the conſtable of France, with other gentlemen of inferior condition, beſides ſervants and officers. The very face of the heavens, at the time of her arrival, did manifeſtly ſpeak what comfort was brought into this country with her, *viz.* ſorrow, dolor, darkneſs, and all impiety; for in the memory of man, that day of the year was never ſeen a more dolorous face of the heavens, than was at her arrival, which two days after did ſo continue: for, beſides the ſurface wet, and corruption of the air, the miſt was ſo thick and dark, that ſcarce might any man eſpy another the length of two pair of buts; the ſun was not ſeen to ſhine two days before, nor two days after. That forewarning gave God unto us; but, alas! the moſt part were blind.

At the ſound of the cannon, which the galleys ſhot, the multitude being advertiſed, happy was he or ſhe that firſt muſt have the preſence of the queen: the Proteſtants were not the ſloweſt, and therein they were not to be blamed; becauſe the palace of Holyrood-houſe was not thoroughly put in order (for her coming was more ſudden than many looked for), ſhe remained in Leith, till towards the evening, and then repaired thither. In the way betwixt Leith and the abbey, met her the rebels, the craftſmen, of whom we ſpake before, *viz.* thoſe that had violated the acts of the magiſtrates, and had beſieged the provoſt; but becauſe ſhe was ſufficiently inſtructed that all they did was done in ſpite of their religion, they were eaſily pardoned.

Fires of joy were ſet forth at night, and a company of moſt honeſt men with inſtruments of muſic, and with muſicians, gave their ſalutations at her chamber-window: the melody, as ſhe alledged, ſhe liked well; and ſhe willed the ſame to be continued ſome nights after with great diligence. The lords repaired to her from all quarters; and ſo was nothing underſtood but mirth and quietneſs, till the next Sunday, which was the 24th of Auguſt, when that preparations began to be made for that idol the maſs to be ſaid in the chapel; which perceived, the hearts of all the godly began to be emboldened, and men began openly to ſpeak, 'Shall that idol be ſuffered again to take place 'within this realm? It ſhall not.' The lord Lindſay, then but maſter, with the gentlemen of Fife, and others, plainly cried in the cloſe or yard, 'The 'idolatrous prieſts ſhould die the death, according 'to God's law.' One that carried in the candle was much afraid; but then began fleſh and blood fully to ſhew itſelf. There durſt no Papiſt, neither yet any that came out of France, whiſper: but the lord James, the man whom all the godly did moſt reverence, took upon him to keep the chapel-door: his beſt excuſe was, that he would ſtop all Scotſmen to enter into the maſs; but it was, and is ſufficiently known, that the door was kept that none ſhould have entry to trouble the prieſt; who, after maſs was ended, was committed to the protection of lord John of Coldingham, and lord Robert of Holyrood-houſe, who then were Proteſtants, and had communicated at the table of the Lord: betwixt them was the prieſt conveyed to his chamber. And ſo the godly departed with grief of heart, and in the afternoon repaired to the abbey in great companies, and gave plain ſignification, that they could not abide that the land, which God by his power had purged from idolatry, ſhould in their eyes be polluted again; which underſtood, there began complaint upon complaint. The old Duntebors, and others that had long ſerved in the court, and hoped to have no remiſſion of ſins, but by virtue of the maſs, cried, They would away to France without delay, they could not live without the maſs; the ſame affirmed the queen's uncles: and would to God that they all, together with the maſs, had taken good-night of the realm for ever; for ſo had Scotland been rid of an unprofitable burden of devouring ſtrangers, and of the malediction of God, that hath ſtricken, and yet will ſtrike for idolatry.

The council aſſembled, diſputation was had of the next remedy: politic heads were ſent unto the gentlemen, with theſe and the like perſuaſions; 'Why, alas! will you chaſe our ſovereign from 'us? She will immediately return to her galleys, 'and what then ſhall all realms ſay of us? May 'we not ſuffer her a little while? I doubt not but 'ſhe will leave it. If we were not aſſured that ſhe 'might be won, we ſhould alſo be as great enemies 'to the maſs as ye can be. Her uncles will de-'part, and then ſhall we rule all at our pleaſure. 'Would not we be as ſorry to hurt the religion 'as any of you would be?' With theſe and the like perſuaſions, we ſay, was the fervency of the brethren quenched. And an act was framed, the tenor whereof followeth:

Apud Edinburgh, 25 *Auguſti* 1561.

FORASMUCH as the queen's majeſty hath underſtood the great inconveniences through the diviſion, preſently ſtanding in this realm, for the difference in matters of religion, which her majeſty is moſt deſirous to ſee pacified by any good order, to the honour of God, and tranquillity of her realm, and means to take the ſame by advice of her eſtates, ſo ſoon as conveniently may be, to their ſerious conſideration. And leſt that her majeſty's godly reſolutions therein may be greatly hindered, in caſe any tumult and ſedition be raiſed amongſt the lieges, if any alteration or innovation be preſſed, or attempted, before that good order may be eſtabliſhed; wherefore, for the eſchewing of the ſaid inconveniences, her majeſty ordains letters to be directed, to charge all and ſundry her lieges, by open proclamation at the market-croſs of Edinburgh, and other places needful, that they, and every one of them, contain themſelves in all quietneſs, keep peace and civil ſociety amongſt themſelves in the mean time, till the eſtates of the realm may be aſſembled, and that her majeſty have taken a final order by their advice and public conſent, which her majeſty hopes ſhall be to the contentment of all the law-biding. That none of them ſhould take in hand, privately or openly, any alteration or innovation of the ſtate of religion, or attempt any thing againſt the ſame, which her majeſty found publicly and univerſally ſtanding at her majeſty's arrival in this her realm, under pain of death. With certification, that if any ſubject of the realm ſhall come in the contrary thereof, he ſhall be eſteemed and holden a ſeditious perſon, and raiſer of tumult; and the ſame pain ſhall be executed upon him with all rigour, to the example of others. And her majeſty, with the advice of the lords of the ſecret council, commands and charges all her lieges, that none of them take in hand to moleſt or trouble any of her majeſty's domeſtic ſervants, or perſons whatſoever come forth of France in her company at this time, in word, deed, or countenance, for any cauſe whatſoever, either within her palace, or without, or make any aſſault or invaſion upon any of them, under whatſoever colour or pretence, under the ſaid pain of death; albeit that her majeſty be ſufficiently perſuaded, that her good and loving ſubjects would do the ſame, for the reverence they bear to her perſon and acts, notwithanding no ſuch commandment were publiſhed.

This act and proclamation penned, and put in form by ſuch as before profeſſed Chriſt Jeſus (for in the council then had Papiſts neither power nor voice), it was publicly proclaimed at the market-croſs of Edinburgh, upon Monday the day aforeſaid. No man reclaimed nor made repugnance to it, except the earl of Arran only, who in open audience of the herald proteſted, 'That he diſſented, 'that any protection or defence ſhould be made 'to the queen's domeſtics, or to any that came 'from France, to offend God's majeſty, and to 'violate the laws of the realm, more than any 'other ſubjects: for God's law had pronounced 'death to the idolater; and the laws of the realm 'had appointed puniſhment for the ſayers and 'hearers of the maſs; which, ſaid he, I here proteſt, be univerſally obſerved; and that none be 'exempted, until ſuch time as a law, alſo publicly 'made, and as conſonant to the law of God, have 'diſannulled the former.' Hereupon he took documents and acts, as the tenor of this his proteſtation witneſſeth:

IN ſo far as by this proclamation it is underſtood to the church of God, and members thereof, that the queen is minded that the true religion and worſhip of God already eſtabliſhed, proceed forward, that it may daily increaſe; unto the parliament, that order then may be taken for extirpation of all idolatry out of this realm: we render moſt hearty thanks to the Lord our God, for her majeſty's good mind, earneſtly praying that it may be increaſed in her majeſty, to the honour and glory of his name, and weal of his church within this realm. And as touching the moleſtation of her highneſs's ſervants, we ſuppoſe, that none dare be ſo bold as once to move their finger at them, in doing of their lawful buſineſs: and as for us, we have learned at our Maſter Chriſt's ſchool, To keep peace with all men. And therefore, for our part, we will promiſe that obedience unto her majeſty, as is our duty, that none of her ſervants ſhall be troubled, moleſted, or once touched, by the church, or any member thereof, in doing their lawful buſineſs. But ſince that God hath ſaid, That the idolaters ſhall die the death; we proteſt ſolemnly, in the preſence of God, and in the ears of all the people that hear this proclamation, and eſpecially in the preſence of you, lion-herald, and the reſt of your colleagues, maker of this proclamation, that if any of her ſervants ſhall commit idolatry, eſpecially ſay maſs, participate therewith, or take the defence thereof (which we

are loth ſhould be in her highneſs's company), in that caſe, that this proclamation is not extended to them in that behalf, nor be not a ſafeguard nor girth to them in that behalf, no more than if they commit ſlaughter or murder, ſeeing the one is much more abominable and odious in the ſight of God than is the other: but that it may be lawful to inflict upon them the pains contained in God's word againſt idolaters, where-ever they may be apprehended, without favour. And this our proteſtation we deſire you to notify unto her, and give her the copy hereof, leſt her highneſs ſhould ſuſpect an uproar, if we ſhould all come and preſent the ſame.

At Edinburgh, the day
and year aforeſaid.

This boldneſs did ſomewhat exaſperate the queen, and ſuch as favoured her in that point. As the lords (then called of the Congregation) repaired to the town, at the firſt coming they ſhew themſelves wonderfully offended, that the maſs was permitted; ſo that every man as he came, accuſed them that were before him; but after they had remained a certain ſpace, they were as quiet as were the former. Which perceived, a zealous and godly man, Robert Campbell of Kinzeancleugh, ſaid unto the lord Ochiltrie, My lord, now you are come, and almoſt the laſt of all the reſt; and I perceive by your anger, that the fire-edge is not off you yet; but I fear, that after that the holy water of the court be ſprinkled upon you, that you ſhall become as temperate as the reſt: for I have been here now five days, and at the firſt I heard very many ſay, 'Let us hang the prieſt;' but after that they had been twice or thrice in the abbey, all that fervency paſt. I think there be ſome enchantment, whereby men are bewitched: and in very deed ſo it came to paſs; for the queen's fair words upon the one part, ever ſtill crying, 'Conſcience, conſcience, it is a ſore thing to conſtrain 'the conſcience; and the ſubtile perſuaſions of her ſuppoſts (we mean, even of thoſe who were judged moſt fervent amongſt us), upon the other part, blinded all men, and put them in opinion, ſhe will be content to hear the preaching, and ſo no doubt but ſhe may be won. And thus of all it was concluded, to ſuffer her for a time.

The next Sunday, John Knox inveighing againſt idolatry, ſhewed what terrible plagues God had taken upon realms and nations for the ſame: and added, That one maſs (there were no more ſuffered at firſt) was more fearful unto him than if ten thouſand armed enemies were landed in any part of the realm, of purpoſe to ſuppreſs the whole religion; for, ſaid he, in our God there is ſtrength to reſiſt and confound multitudes, if we unfeignedly depend upon him, whereof heretofore we have had experience: but when we join hands with idolatry, it is no doubt but both God's amiable preſence, and comfortable defence, will leave us; and what ſhall then become of us? Alas! I fear that experience will teach us, to the grief of many. At theſe words the guiders of the court mocked, and plainly ſpake, that ſuch fear was no point of their faith; it was beſides his text, and was a very untimely admonition. But we heard the ſaid John Knox, in the audience of theſe ſame men, recite the ſame words again in the midſt of troubles; and, in the audience of many, aſked of God mercy, that he was not more vehement and upright, in the ſuppreſſing of that idol in the beginning; for, ſaid he, albeit I ſpake that which offended ſome (which this day they ſee and feel to be true), yet did I not that which I might have done; for God hath not only given unto me knowledge and tongue, to make the impiety of that idol known unto the realm, but he hath given me credit with many, who would have put in execution God's judgments, if I would only have conſented thereto: but ſo careful was I, ſaid he, of that common tranquillity, and ſo loth was I to have offended thoſe of whom I had conceived a good opinion, that, in ſecret conference with deareſt and zealous men, I travelled rather to mitigate, yea, to ſlacken, that fervency that God had kindled in others, than to animate or encourage them to put their hands to the Lord's work; wherein I unfeignedly acknowledge myſelf to have done moſt wickedly, and from the bottom of my heart do aſk of my God grace and pardon, for that I did not what in me lay, to have ſuppreſſed that idol in the beginning. Theſe and many other words did many hear him ſpeak in public, in the month of December 1565, when ſuch as, at the queen's arrival, only maintained the maſs, were exiled the realm, ſummoned upon treaſon, and decreet of forfeiture intended againſt them. But to return from whence we have digreſſed.

Whether it was by counſel of others, or of the queen's own deſire, we know not, but the queen ſpake with John Knox, and had long reaſoned with him, none being preſent, except the lord James, and two gentlemen who ſtood in the one end of the room. The ſum of their reaſoning was this: The queen accuſed him, That he had

raiſed a part of her ſubjects againſt her mother and herſelf; that he had written a book againſt her juſt authority (ſhe meant the Treatiſe againſt the Regiment of Women), which ſhe had, and would cauſe the moſt learned in Europe to write againſt it; that he was the cauſe of great ſedition, and great ſlaughter in England; and that it was ſaid to her, that all that he did was by necromancy. To the which the ſaid John anſwered; Madam, it may pleaſe your majeſty patiently to hear my ſimple anſwers: and firſt, ſaid he, if to teach the word of God in ſincerity, if to rebuke idolatry, and to will a people to worſhip God according to his word, be to raiſe ſubjects againſt their princes, then cannot I be excuſed; for it hath pleaſed God of his mercy, to make me one, amongſt many, to diſcloſe unto this realm the vanity of the Papiſtical religion, and the deceit, pride, and tyranny, of that Roman Antichriſt: but, madam, if the true knowledge of God, and his right worſhipping, be the chief cauſe which muſt move men to obey their juſt princeſs from their heart (as it is moſt certain that they are), wherein can I be reprehended? I think, and am ſurely perſuaded, that your majeſty hath had, and preſently hath, as unfeigned obedience of ſuch as profeſs Chriſt Jeſus within this realm, as ever your father or progenitors had of thoſe that were called biſhops. And touching that book that ſeemeth ſo highly to offend your majeſty, it is moſt certain, that if I wrote it, I am content that all the learned of the world judge of it. I hear that an Engliſhman hath written againſt it; but I have not read him: if he hath ſufficiently confuted my reaſons, and eſtabliſhed his contrary propoſitions, with as evident teſtimonies as I have done mine, I ſhall not be obſtinate, but ſhall confeſs mine error and ignorance. But to this hour I have thought, and yet think, myſelf alone more able to ſuſtain the things affirmed in that my work, than any ten in Europe ſhall be able to confute it.

You think, ſaid ſhe, that I have no juſt authority. Pleaſe your majeſty, ſaid he, that learned men in all ages have had their judgments free, and moſt commonly diſagreeing from the common judgment of the world; ſuch alſo have they publiſhed, both with pen and tongue, nothwithſtanding they themſelves have lived in the common ſociety with others, and have bore patiently with the error and imperfections which they could not amend. Plato the philoſopher wrote his book of the Commonwealth, in the which he condemns many things that were maintained in the world, and required many things to have been reformed; and yet notwithſtanding he lived under ſuch politics as then were univerſally received, without further troubling any ſtate: even ſo, madam, am I content to do, in uprightneſs of heart, and with a teſtimony of good conſcience, I have communicated my judgment to the world; if the realm finds no inconveniences in the government of a woman, that which they approve, ſhall I not further diſallow than within my own breaſt, but ſhall be as well content, and ſhall live under your majeſty, as Paul was to live under the Roman emperor: and my hope is, that ſo long as ye defile not your hands with the blood of the ſaints of God, that neither I, nor that book, ſhall either hurt you, or your authority; for in very deed, madam, that book was written moſt eſpecially againſt that wicked Mary of England.

But, ſaid ſhe, you ſpeak of women in general. Moſt true it is, madam, ſaid the other; and yet it plainly appeareth to me, that wiſdom ſhould perſuade your majeſty, never to raiſe trouble for that which to this day hath not troubled your majeſty, neither in perſon, nor in authority: for of late years many things, which before were holden ſtable, have been called in doubt; yea, they have been plainly impugned. But yet, madam, I am aſſured, that neither Proteſtant nor Papiſt ſhall be able to prove, that any ſuch queſtion was at any time moved, in public or in private. Now, madam, ſaid he, If I had intended to trouble your ſtate, becauſe you are a woman, I might have choſen a time more convenient for that purpoſe than I can do now, when your own preſence is within the realm.

But now, madam, ſhortly to anſwer to the other two accuſations, I heartily praiſe my God, through Jeſus Chriſt, that Satan, the enemy of mankind, and the wicked of the world, have no other crimes to lay to my charge, than ſuch as the very world itſelf knoweth to be moſt falſe and vain. For in England I was reſident only the ſpace of five years; the places were, Berwick, where I abode two years; ſo long in Newcaſtle; and a year in London. Now, madam, if in any of theſe places, during the time that I was there, any man ſhall be able to prove, that there was either battle, ſedition, or mutiny, I ſhall confeſs, that I myſelf was the malefactor, and ſhedder of the blood. I am not aſhamed further to affirm, That God ſo bleſſed my weak labours then in Berwick (wherein then commonly uſed to be ſlaughter, by reaſon of quarrels that uſed to ariſe

among ſoldiers), there was as great quietneſs all the time that I remained there, as there is this day in Edinburgh.

And where they ſlander me of magic, necromancy, or of any other art forbidden of God, I have witneſſes (beſides mine own conſcience) all the congregations that ever heard me, what I ſpake, both againſt ſuch acts, and againſt thoſe that uſe ſuch impiety: but ſeeing the wicked of the world ſaid, That my Maſter the Lord Jeſus was poſſeſſed with Beelzebub, I muſt patiently bear; albeit that I, wretched ſinner, be unjuſtly accuſed, of thoſe that never delighted in the verity.

But yet, ſaid ſhe, you have taught the people to receive another religion than their princes can allow: and how can that doctrine be of God? ſeeing that God commandeth ſubjects to obey their princes. Madam, ſaid he, as right religion took neither original nor antiquity from worldly princes, but from the eternal God alone, ſo are not ſubjects bound to frame their religion according to the appetite of their princes; for oft it is that princes are the moſt ignorant of all others, in God's true religion; as we may read in the hiſtories, as well before the death of Chriſt Jeſus, as after. If all the ſeed of Abraham ſhould have been of the religion of Pharaoh, to whom they were long ſubjects, I pray you, madam, what religion ſhould there have been in the world? Or, if all men, in the days of the apoſtles, ſhould have been of the religion of the Roman emperors, what religion ſhould have been upon the face of the earth? Daniel, and his fellows, were ſubjects to Nebuchadnezzar, and unto Darius, and yet, madam, they would not be of their religion, neither of the one, nor of the other; for the three children ſaid, 'We make it known to thee, O king! 'that we will not worſhip thy gods.' And Daniel did pray publicly unto his God, againſt the expreſs commandment of the king: and ſo, madam, ye may perceive that ſubjects are not bound to the religion of their princes, albeit they are commanded to give them obedience. Yea, ſaid ſhe, none of theſe men raiſed their ſword againſt their princes. Yet madam, ſaid he, ye cannot deny but they reſiſted; for thoſe that obey not the commandments given, in ſome ſort reſiſt. But yet, ſaid ſhe, they reſiſted not by the ſword. God, ſaid he, madam, had not given them the power and the means. Think you, ſaid ſhe, that ſubjects, having power, may reſiſt their princes? If princes do exceed their bounds, ſaid he, madam, and do againſt that wherefore they ſhould be obeyed, there is no doubt but they may be reſiſted, even by power: for there is neither greater honour, nor greater obedience, to be given to kings and princes, than God hath commanded to be given to father and mother; but ſo it is, that the father may be ſtricken with a frenzy, in the which he would ſlay his own children: now, madam, if the children ariſe, join themſelves together, apprehend the father, take the ſword or other weapon from him, and finally, bind his hands, and keep him in priſon till that his frenzy be overpaſt, think ye, madam, that the children do any wrong? Or, think ye, madam, that God will be offended with them that have ſtaid their father from committing wickedneſs. It is even ſo, ſaid he, madam, with princes that would murder the children of God, that are ſubject unto them. Their blind zeal is nothing but a very mad frenzy; and therefore, to take the ſword from them, to bind their hands, and to caſt them into priſon, till that they be brought to a more ſober mind, is no diſobedience againſt princes, but juſt obedience; becauſe that it agreeth with the word of God.

At theſe words the queen ſtood as it were amazed, more than a quarter of an hour; her countenance altered, ſo that the lord James began to entreat her, and to demand, What hath offended you, madam? At length ſhe ſaid, Well, then I perceive that my ſubjects ſhall only obey you, and not me; and ſhall do what they liſt, and not what I command; and ſo muſt I be ſubject unto them, and not they to me. God forbid, anſwered he, that ever I take upon me to command any to obey me, or yet to ſet ſubjects at liberty to do whatſoever pleaſe them; but my travel is, that both princes and ſubjects obey God. And think not, ſaid he, madam, that wrong was done unto you, when you are willed to be ſubject unto God; for it is he that ſubjects the people under princes, and cauſes obedience to be given unto them: yea, God craves of kings, that they be, as it were, foſter-fathers to the church, and commands queens to be nouriſhers unto his people. And this ſubjection, madam, unto God, and to his troubled church, is the greateſt dignity that fleſh can get upon the face of the earth; for it ſhall carry them to everlaſting glory.

Yea, ſaid ſhe, but ye are not the church that I will nouriſh: I will defend the church of Rome; for I think it is the true church of God.

Your will, ſaid he, madam, is no reaſon; neither doth your thought make that Roman harlot to be the immaculate ſpouſe of Jeſus Chriſt. And wonder not, madam, that I call Rome an harlot;

for that church is altogether polluted with all kind of ſpiritual fornication, as well in doctrine, as in manners; yea, madam, I offer myſelf further to prove, That the church of the Jews, who crucified Jeſus Chriſt, when that they manifeſtly denied the Son of God, was not ſo far degenerated from the ordinances and ſtatutes which God gave by Moſes and Aaron unto his people, as the church of Rome is declined, and for more than five hundred years hath declined, from that purity of religion which the apoſtles taught and planted. My conſcience, ſaid ſhe, is not ſo. Conſcience, madam, ſaid he, requires knowledge, and I fear that of right knowledge you have but little. But, ſaid ſhe, I have both heard and read. So, madam, ſaid he, did the Jews that crucified Chriſt Jeſus, read both the law and the prophets, and heard the ſame interpreted, after their manner. Have ye heard, ſaid he, any teach, but ſuch as the pope and his cardinals have allowed? and you may be aſſured, that ſuch will ſpeak nothing to offend their own ſtate. You interpret the Scriptures, ſaid ſhe, in one manner, and they in another; whom ſhall I believe, and who ſhall be judge? Believe, ſaid he, God, that plainly ſpeaketh in his word; and further than the word teacheth you, ye ſhall neither believe the one nor the other. The word of God is plain in itſelf; and if there appear any obſcurity in one place, the Holy Ghoſt, who is never contrary to himſelf, explains the ſame more clearly in other places; ſo that there can remain no doubt, but unto ſuch as obſtinately will remain ignorant.

And now, madam, ſaid he, to take one of the chief points, which this day are in controverſy betwixt the Papiſts and us, for example: The Papiſts alledge, and boldly have affirmed, That the maſs is the ordinance of God, and the inſtitution of Jeſus Chriſt, and a ſacrifice for the quick and the dead. We deny both the one and the other, and affirm, That the maſs, as it is now uſed, is nothing but the invention of man; and therefore it is an abomination before God, and no ſacrifice that ever God commanded. Now, madam, who ſhall judge betwixt us two, thus contending? It is not reaſon, that either of the perſons be further believed, than they are able to prove by unſuſpected witneſſing: let them lay down the book of God, and by the plain words prove their affirmatives, and we ſhall give unto them the plea granted. But ſo long as they are bold to affirm, and yet do prove nothing, we muſt ſay, That, albeit all the world believe them, yet believe they not God; but do receive the lies of men for the truth of God. What our Maſter Chriſt Jeſus did, we know by his evangeliſts: what the prieſts do at the maſs, the world ſeeth. Now, doth not the word of God plainly aſſure us, That Chriſt Jeſus neither ſaid, nor yet commanded maſs to be ſaid at his laſt ſupper, ſeeing that no ſuch thing as the maſs is made mention of within the whole Scriptures? You are over hard for me, ſaid the queen; but if they were here whom I have heard, they would anſwer you. Madam, ſaid the other, would to God that the moſt learned Papiſt in Europe, and he that you would beſt believe, were preſent with your majeſty, to ſuſtain the argument; and that ye would abide patiently to hear the matter reaſoned to the end: for then I doubt not, madam, but that you ſhould hear the vanity of the Papiſtical religion, and what ſmall ground it hath within the word of God. Well, ſaid ſhe, ye may perchance get that ſooner than you believe. Aſſuredly, ſaid the other, if ever I get that in my life, I get it ſooner than I believe; for the ignorant Papiſt cannot patiently reaſon, and the learned and crafty Papiſt will never come in your audience, madam, to have the ground of their religion ſearched out; for they know that they are not able to maintain any argument, except by fire and ſword, and their own laws be judges. So ſay you, ſaid the queen. And I believe it hath been to this day, ſaid he; for how oft have the Papiſts, in this and in other realms, been required to come to conference, and yet could it never be obtained, unleſs themſelves were admitted for judges: and therefore I muſt yet ſay again, That they dare never diſpute, but where themſelves are both judges and party; and when you ſhall let me ſee the contrary, I ſhall grant myſelf to be deceived in that point. And with this the queen was called unto dinner; for it was afternoon. At departing, John Knox ſaid unto her, I pray God, madam, that you may be as bleſſed within the commonwealth of Scotland (if it be the pleaſure of God) as ever Deborah was in the commonwealth of Iſrael.

Of this long conference, whereof we only touch a part, were divers opinions: the Papiſts grudged, and feared that which they needed not; the godly, thinking at leaſt that ſhe would have heard the preaching, rejoiced; but they were utterly deceived; for ſhe continued in her maſſing, and deſpiſed, and quickly mocked all exhortation.

John Knox, being by ſome of his intimates demanded what he thought of the queen, ſaid, If

there be not in her a proud mind, a crafty wit, and a hardened heart againſt God and his truth, my judgment faileth me; and this I ſay with a grieved heart, for the good I wiſh unto her, and by her, to the church and ſtate.

When the whole nobility were convened, the lords of privy council were choſen, where were appointed the duke, the earls of Huntly, Argyle, Athol, Morton, Glencairn, Marſhal, Bothwel, lord Erſkine, lord James, after earl of Murray. Of theſe were certain appointed to wait upon the court in courſe: but that order continued not long. Duke d' Anville returned with the galleys to France. The queen entered in her progreſs; and, in the month of September, travelled from Edinburgh to Linlithgow, Stirling, St. Johnſton, Dundee, St. Andrews; all which parts ſhe polluted with the idolatrous maſs: fire followed the court very commonly in that journey; the towns made preſents to the queen liberally, and thereby were the French enriched.

About the beginning of October ſhe returned to Edinburgh, and at the day appointed ſhe was received in the caſtle; whereat preparations were made for her entry into the town, in farces, in maſking, and other prodigalities: fain would our fools have counterfeited France. Whatſoever might ſet forth her glory, that ſhe heard, and gladly beheld. The keys were delivered unto her by a pretty boy, deſcending, as it were, from a cloud: the verſes of her own praiſe ſhe heard, and ſmiled; but when the Bible was preſented, and the praiſe thereof declared, ſhe began to frown; for ſhame ſhe could not refuſe it, but ſhe did no better, for ſhe gave it to the moſt peſtilent Papiſt within the realm, *viz.* to Arthur Erſkine. Edinburgh, ſince that day, hath reaped as it ſowed: it gave her ſome taſte of its prodigality; and, becauſe the liquor was ſweet, ſhe hath licked of that box oftener than twice ſince. All men know what we mean; the queen cannot lack, and the ſubjects have.

In Edinburgh it hath been an ancient and laudable cuſtom, That the provoſt, bailies, and council, after their election, which uſed to be at Michaelmas, cauſed publicly proclaim the ſtatutes and ordinances of the town; and therefore Archibald Douglas provoſt, Edward Hope, Adam Fullerton, *&c.* bailies, cauſed proclaim, according to the former ſtatutes of the town, 'That no adul-'terer, no fornicator, no noted drunkard, no 'maſs-monger, no obſtinate Papiſt that corrupted 'the people, ſuch as prieſts, friars, and others of 'that ſort, ſhould be found within forty-one hours 'thereafter, under the pains contained in the ſta-'tutes.' Which blown in the queen's ears, there began pride and malicioufneſs to ſhew itſelf; for, without further conſidering the cauſe, was the provoſt and bailies charged to ward in the caſtle, and immediately was commandment given, that another provoſt and bailies ſhould be elected.

Some gainſtood for a while the new election, alledging, that the provoſt and bailies, whom they had choſen, and to whom they had given their oath, had committed no offence; therefore, that juſtly they might not be deprived. But while charge was doubled upon charge, and no man found to oppoſe himſelf to impiety, the miſled queen's letter and wicked will is obeyed, as juſt law. And ſo was Mr. Thomas M'Cally choſen provoſt for the other; the man, no doubt, was both diſcreet, and ſufficient for that charge, but the depoſition of the other was againſt all law. God be merciful to ſome of our own: for they were not all blameleſs, that the queen's unreaſonable will was ſo far obeyed.

A contrary proclamation was publicly made, 'That the town ſhould be patent to all the queen's 'lieges:' and ſo murderers, adulterers, thieves, whores, drunkards, idolaters, and all malefactors, got protection under the queen's wings, under colour that they were of her religion; and ſo got the devil freedom again, where that before he durſt not have been ſeen in day-light upon the common ſtreets. 'Lord, deliver us from this 'bondage of ſin.'

The devil finding his reins looſe, ran forward in his courſe, and the queen (evil men abuſing her name and authority) took upon her greater boldneſs, than ſhe and Balaam's bleating prieſts durſt have attempted before; for upon All-hallow-day they bended up their maſs with all miſchievous ſolemnity. The miniſters thereat offended, in plain and public place, declared the inconvenience that thereupon would enſue. The nobility were ſufficiently admoniſhed of their duties: but affection cauſed men to call that in doubt, wherein oft before they ſeemed moſt reſolute; *viz.* 'Whether 'that the ſubjects might have a hand to ſup-'preſs the idolatry of their prince?' And upon this queſtion convened in the houſe of Mr. James Macgill, the lord James, earl of Morton, the earl of Marſhal, ſecretary Lethington, the juſtice-clerk, and the foreſaid Mr. James, clerk of the regiſter; who all reaſoned for the part of the queen, affirming, 'That the ſubjects might not take her maſs 'lawfully from her:' in the contrary judgment

were the principal miniſters, Mr. John Row, Mr. George Hay, Mr. Robert Hamilton, and John Knox. The reaſons of both parties we will omit, becauſe they will be explained after, where the ſaid queſtion, and others concerning the obedience due to princes, were long reaſoned in open aſſembly; the concluſion of that firſt reaſoning was, 'That the queſtion ſhould be formed, and letters 'directed to Geneva for the reſolution of that 'church,' wherein John Knox offered his labour. But ſecretary Lethington, alledging, that there ſtood much in the information, ſaid, 'That he ſhould 'write;' but that was only to put off time, as the truth declared itſelf. The queen's party urged, 'That the queen ſhould have her religion free in 'her own chapel, to do, ſhe and her houſehold, as 'they pleaſed.' The miniſters both affirmed and voted the contrary; adding, 'That her liberty 'ſhould be their thraldom, ere it be long.' But neither could reaſon, nor threatening, move the affections of ſuch as were creeping into credit; and ſo did the votes of the lords prevail againſt the miniſters.

For the puniſhment of theft and robbery, which had increaſed upon the borders, and in the ſouth, from the queen's arrival, was the lord James made lieutenant. Some ſuſpected that ſuch honour and charge proceeded from the ſame heart and counſel that Saul made David captain againſt the Philiſtines; but God aſſiſted and bowed the hearts of men, both to fear and obey him; yea, the lord Bothwel himſelf at that time aſſiſted him (but he had remiſſion for Liddiſdale); ſharp execution was made in Edinburgh, for twenty-eight of one clan, and others, were hanged at that juſtice-court: bribes, or ſolicitation, ſaved not the guilty, if he might be apprehended; and therefore God proſpered him in that his integrity. That ſame time the lord James ſpake with the lord Gray of England at Kelſo, for good rule to be kept on both the borders; and agreed in all things.

Before his returning, the queen, upon a night, took a fright in her bed, as if horſemen had been in the cloſe, and as if the palace had been incloſed about; whether it proceeded of her own womanly fancy, or if men put her in fear, for diſpleaſure of the earl of Arran, and for other purpoſes, as for the electing of the guard, we know not: but the fear was ſo great, that the town was called to the watch; lord Robert of Holyrood-houſe, and John of Coldingham, kept the watch by courſe. Scouts were ſet forth, and centinels, upon pain of death, were commanded to keep their ſtations; and yet they feared where there was no fear, neither yet could ever any appearance or ſuſpicion of ſuch things be tried. Shortly after the returning of the lord James, there came from the queen of England Sir Peter Mewts, with commiſſion, to require the ratification of the peace made at Leith. Her anſwer was, even ſuch as we have heard before; That ſhe behoved to adviſe, and then ſhe ſhould anſwer. In preſence of her council ſhe kept herſelf grave; for under the mourning-weed and apparel ſhe could diſſemble in full perfection: but how ſoon that ever the French people had her alone, they told her, That ſince ſhe came to Scotland, ſhe ſaw nothing there but gravity, which repugned altogether to her breeding, for ſhe was brought up in jovialty; ſo termed ſhe her dancing, and other things thereto belonging.

The general aſſembly of the church approached, holden in December, after the queen's arrival, in the which began the rulers of the court to draw themſelves apart from the ſociety of their brethren, and began to ſtrive and grudge, that any thing ſhould be conſulted upon without their advices. Mr. John Wood, who before had ſhewed himſelf very fervent in the cauſe of God, and forward in giving of his counſel in all doubtful matters, refuſed to aſſiſt the aſſembly again; whereof many did wonder. The courtiers drew unto them ſome of the lords, and would not convene with their brethren, as before they were accuſtomed, but kept themſelves in the abbey. The principal commiſſioners of the church, the ſuperintendants, and ſome miniſters, paſt unto them, where they were aſſembled in the abbot's lodging within Holyrood-houſe. Both the parties began to open their griefs: the lords complained, That the miniſters drew the gentlemen into ſecret council, without their knowledge: the miniſters denied that they had done any thing in ſecret, otherwiſe than the common order commanded them; and accuſed the lords (the flatterers of the queen we mean), that they kept not the convention with their brethren, conſidering that they knew the order, and that the ſame was appointed by their own advice, as the Book of Diſcipline, ſubſcribed with the moſt part of their own hands, would witneſs: ſome began to deny, That ever they knew ſuch a thing as the Book of Diſcipline; and called alſo in doubt, Whether it was expedient, that ſuch aſſemblies ſhould be or not; for gladly would the queen and her ſecret council have had all aſſemblies of the godly diſcharged. The reaſoning was ſharp and quick on either ſide. The queen's faction alledged, That

it gave ſuſpicion to princes, that ſubjects ſhould aſſemble themſelves, and keep conventions without their knowledge. It was anſwered, That without knowledge of the princes the church did nothing; for the princes perfectly underſtood, that within this realm was a reformed church, and that they had their orders and appointed times of convention; and ſo, without knowledge of the princes, they did nothing. Yea, ſaid Lethington, the queen knew, and knoweth well enough; but the queſtion is, Whether that the queen alloweth ſuch convention. It was anſwered, If the liberty of the church ſhould ſtand upon the queen's allowance or diſallowance, we are aſſured, not only to lack aſſemblies, but alſo to lack the public preaching of the goſpel. That affirmative was mocked, and the contrary affirmed. Well, ſaid the other, time will try the truth. But to my former words, this I will add; 'Take from us the freedom of aſſemblies, 'and take from us the goſpel; for without aſſemblies, how ſhall good order and unity in doc-'trine be kept?' It is not to be ſuppoſed, that all miniſters ſhall be ſo perfect but that they ſhall need admonition, as well concerning manners as doctrine; as it may be, that ſome be ſo ſtiff-necked, that they will not admit the admonition of the ſimple: as alſo, it may be, that fault may be found with miniſters without juſt offence committed; and if order be not taken both with the complainer, and with the perſons complained upon, it cannot be avoided, but that many grievous offences ſhall ariſe; for remedy whereof, of neceſſity it is, that general aſſemblies muſt be; in which the judgments and gravity of many may concur, to correct or repreſs the follies or errors of a few. Hereunto conſented the moſt part, as well of the nobility as of the barons, and willed the reaſoners for the queen to be ſent to her majeſty, if that ſhe ſtood in ſuſpicion of any thing that was to be handled in their aſſemblies, that it would pleaſe her majeſty to ſend ſuch as ſhe would appoint, to hear whatſoever was propounded, or reaſoned.

Hereafter was the Book of Diſcipline propoſed, and deſired to have been ratified by the queen's majeſty; but it was ſtopped, and the queſtion demanded, How many of thoſe that ſubſcribed to that book would be ſubject unto it? It was anſwered, All the godly. Will the duke? ſaid Lethington. If he will not, anſwered the Lord Ochiltrie, I would that he were ſcraped out, not only of that book, but alſo out of our number and company; for what purpoſe ſhall labour be taken to put the church in order, and to what end ſhall men ſubſcribe, and then never mean to keep a word of that which they promiſe? Lethington anſwered, Many ſubſcribe there *in fide parentum*, as children are baptized. One, *viz.* John Knox, anſwered, Albeit ye think that ſcoff proper, yet, as it is moſt untrue, ſo it is moſt improper: that book was read in public audience, and, for the ſpace of divers days, the heads thereof were reaſoned on, as all that here ſit know well enough, and yourſelves cannot deny; ſo that no man was required to ſubſcribe that which he underſtood not. Stand content, ſaid one, that book will not be obtained. Let God, ſaid the other, require the lack and want, which this poor commonwealth ſhall have of the things therein contained, from the hands of ſuch as ſtop the ſame.

The barons, perceiving that the Book of Diſcipline was refuſed, preſented unto the council certain articles, requiring idolatry to be ſuppreſſed, their churches to be planted with true miniſters, and ſome certain propoſitions to be made for them, according to equity and conſcience: for unto that time the moſt part of the miniſters had lived upon the benevolence of men; for many had into their own hands the profits that the biſhops and others of that ſect had before abuſed, and ſo ſome part was beſtowed upon the miniſters.

But then the biſhops began to grip again to that which moſt unjuſtly they called their own (for the earl of Arran was diſcharged of St. Andrews and Dunfermline, wherewith before, by virtue of a factory and commiſſion, he had intromitted and meddled; and ſo were many others); therefore the barons required, That order might be taken for the miniſters, or elſe they would no more cauſe rents to be paid unto any, that formerly belonged to the churchmen, nor ſuffer any thing to be collected for the uſe of any whatſoever, after the queen's arrival, than that they did before; for they verily ſuppoſed, that the queen's majeſty would keep promiſe made to them, which was, Not to alter their religion, which could not remain without miniſters, and miniſters could not live without proviſion; and therefore, they heartily deſired the council to provide ſome convenient order in that behalf. This ſomewhat moved the queen's flatterers; for the rod of impiety was not then ſtrengthened in her and their hands; and ſo began they to practiſe how they might pleaſe the queen, and yet ſeem ſomewhat to ſatisfy the faithful: and ſo deviſed they, That the churchmen ſhould have intromiſſion and meddling with two parts of their benefices, and that the third part ſhould be gather-

ed by ſuch men as thereto ſhould be appointed for ſuch uſes; as in theſe ſubſequent acts are more fully expreſſed:

Apud Edinburgh, viceſimo Decembris 1561.

THE which day; foraſmuch as the queen's majeſty, by the advice of the lords of her ſecret council, foreſeeing the imminent troubles, which apparently threaten to ariſe amongſt the lieges of this realm, for matters of religion; to ſtay the ſame, and ſhun all incommodities that might thereupon enſue, having intercommuned and ſpoken with a part of the clergy, or eſtate eccleſiaſtical, with whom then, reaſoning being had, it was thought good and expedient by her highneſs, That a general aſſembly ſhould be appointed the 15th day of December inſtant, whereto the reſt of the eſtates might have appeared; and, by the advice of lawyers, one reaſonable overture be made, and order taken, for ſtaying of the approaching trouble, and quieting of all the country: which aſſembly, being by her majeſty appointed, and ſundry days of council kept, and the ſaid eccleſiaſtical eſtates oftimes required, That the ſaid order might be taken, and overture made, for ſtaying of the trouble, and quieting of the country.

Laſt of all, in preſence of the queen's majeſty, and lords of the council aforeſaid, and others of the nobility of this realm, compeared John archbiſhop of St. Andrews, Patrick biſhop of Murray, Henry biſhop of Roſs, and Robert biſhop of Dunkeld; and for themſelves reſpectively offered unto the queen's majeſty, to be content with two parts of the rents of their benefices, and the third part to be employed, as her majeſty thought expedient. And becauſe the certainty thereof was not known, nor yet what ſums of money would ſuſtain the miniſtry, and the miniſters of God's word within this realm; neither yet how much was neceſſary to ſupport the queen's majeſty above her own rents, for the common affairs of the country: therefore it is ordained, concluded, and determined by the queen's majeſty, and the lords of the council aforeſaid, and others of the nobility preſent, That if the fourth part of the whole benefices within this realm, may be ſufficient to ſuſtain the miniſters throughout this whole realm, and ſupport the queen's majeſty, to maintain and ſet forward the common affairs of the country; failing thereof, the third part of the ſaid profits, and more, if it be found ſufficient for the effect aforeſaid, to be taken up yearly in time coming; that a general order may be taken therewith, and ſo much thereof to be employed to the queen's majeſty's uſe, for entertaining and ſetting forward of the common affairs of the country; and ſo much thereof to the miniſters, and maintenance of the miniſtry, as may reaſonably ſuſtain the ſame, at the ſight and diſcretion of the queen's majeſty, and council aforeſaid; and the excreſcence and overplus to be aſſigned to the old poſſeſſors.

And to the effect that the rents and yearly profits of the whole benefices within this realm may be clearly known to the queen's majeſty and council aforeſaid, it is ſtatuted and ordained, 'That the whole rentals of the benefices of this realm be produced before her majeſty and lords aforeſaid, at the time under-written; that is to ſay, The rentals of the benefices on this ſide of the water, before the 24th of January next coming; and thoſe beyond the water, the 10th of February next thereafter: and ordains letters to be directed to the ſheriffs in that part, to paſs, charge, and require, all and ſundry archbiſhops, biſhops, commendators, abbots, priors, on this ſide of the water, perſonally to be apprehended, and failing thereof, at their dwelling-places, or at the pariſh-churches where they ſhould remain, cathedral-churches or abbeys; and all archdeacons, deans, chanters, ſub-chanters, provoſts, parſons, and vicars, and other beneficed men whatſoever, their chamberlains and factors, perſonally, or at their dwelling-places, or at the pariſh-churches where they ſhould remain, To exhibit and produce before the queen's majeſty and lords aforeſaid, before the ſaid 24th day of January next coming, the juſt and true rentals of the values and rents of their benefices, to the effect aforeſaid: and to charge the prelates, and the other beneficed men, on the other ſide of the water, in manner aforeſaid, to exhibit and produce the juſt and true rentals of their benefices before the queen's majeſty and lords aforeſaid, the ſaid 10th of February, to the effect aforeſaid; with certification to them, That if any fail to appear, the queen's majeſty and council's wills are, That they ſhould be proceeded againſt herein as the matter requires.

And likewiſe to charge the whole ſuperintendants, miniſters, elders, and deacons, of the principal towns and ſhires of this realm, to give in before the queen's majeſty and lords of the council aforeſaid, before the ſaid 24th of January next coming, a formal and ſufficient roll and memorial, of what may be ſufficient and reaſonable to ſuſtain the miniſtry, and whole miniſters of this realm,

that her majeſty, and lords of the council aforeſaid, may rightly and diligently weigh and conſider, what neceſſary ſupport is required, to be taken yearly of the fruits of the ſaid benefices (by her majeſty's own yearly rent), to entertain and ſet forward the common affairs of this realm, againſt the ſaid 24th day of January next coming, that then it may be proceeded in the ſaid matter, all parties ſatisfied, and the whole country and lieges thereof ſet in quietneſs.

Apud Linlithgow, 24 Januarii 1561.

FORASMUCH as the queen's majeſty, with the advice of the lords of her ſecret council, directed her letters, commanding all and ſundry archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, &c. and all other beneficed men, their factors, farmers, and tackſmen, to appear before her highneſs and lords aforeſaid at Edinburgh, or where it ſhould happen them to be for the time, ſo many as dwell upon this ſide of the water, before the 24th day of January inſtant; and them that dwell beyond the water, the 10th of February next coming; that the juſt value of their benefices might be known; ſo that hereafter her highneſs may take order for the maintenance of the miniſtry of the church, and the public buſineſs of the realm. And becauſe the queen's majeſty is preſently buſied with other affairs, and may not herſelf attend upon the receipt of the ſaid rent, therefore her highneſs hath given and granted, and by theſe preſents gives and grants, full power and commiſſion to Mr. James Macgill of Rankellornether, clerk of the regiſter, Sir John Ballenden of Auchinneul knight, juſtice-clerk, to the ſecretary of ſtate, treaſurer, advocate of the crown, and laird of Pittarro, to call before them within the city of Edinburgh, all and ſundry prelates and beneficed men, which are charged by virtue of the ſaid letters, now preſently being in Edinburgh, or ſhall happen hereafter to repair thereto, their factors or farmers, and there enquire of them the rentals of their benefices, and receive the ſame from them, to the effect aforeſaid. And likewiſe, that the ſaid commiſſioners cauſe warn all ſuperintendants, overſeers, miniſters, elders, and deacons, to give unto them the names of all the miniſters of this realm, that the juſt calculation being made, and conſidered by the ſaid commiſſioners, of the value of the ſaid benefices, they may report the ſame unto the queen's majeſty, that her highneſs may take order herein, according to the juſt tenor of the firſt ordinance made thereupon.

Apud Edinburgh, 12 Februarii 1561.

FORASMUCH as by the ſtatute and ordinance made by the queen's majeſty, and lords of the ſecret council, and her highneſs's letters directed thereupon, all and ſundry archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, &c. and other beneficed men, were charged to produce the rentals of their benefices before her majeſty and lords aforeſaid, in manner following; that is to ſay, the ſaid beneficed men dwelling on this ſide of the water, before the four-and-twentieth of January laſt paſt; and on the other ſide of the water, before the tenth of February inſtant; to the effect that order might be taken therein, conform to the ordinance; with certification to them, that if they failed, the queen's majeſty and council aforeſaid, would take order therein, as the ſame ordinance bears. Notwithſtanding of the which, the queen's majeſty and council, and others appointed for receiving of the ſaid rentals, have continually, ſince the ſaid 24th of January aforeſaid, waited upon the receiving of them; yet a very ſmall number of them have produced their rentals, thereby not only contemning her majeſty's ordinance, and proclamation aforeſaid, but alſo herſelf and her authority, as they were princes and not ſubjects, expreſsly againſt equity, reaſon, and juſtice: for remedy whereof, the queen's majeſty ordains, with advice of the lords of her ſecret council, that factors, chamberlains, or ſtewards, be appointed to intromit, gather, uplift, and receive, to our ſovereign lady's uſe, all and ſundry mails, tithes, farms, rents, revenues, emoluments, fruits, profits, and duties, of whatſoever benefices, whereof the rentals are not produced, conform to the ſaid ordinance. And if any rentals already produced, bear not the juſt value, but are fraudulently made, to intromit and uptake as much of the profits and fruits of the ſaid benefices, as are omitted forth of the ſaid rentals; and the in-givers of the rentals, and poſſeſſors of the benefices thereof, ſhall never have action to claim, crave, or receive from the tenants and occupiers, further than is contained in the ſame rentals already produced by them; and the tenants and poſſeſſors ſhall be holden to pay no more than is contained in the ſame rentals already produced, as aforeſaid. And the ſaid chamberlains and factors, to be appointed by the queen's majeſty, ſhall have ſufficient power to intromit and uptake the fruits and profits aforeſaid, in ſuch fulneſs, as if ſpecial letters of factory and chamber-

laincy were granted to them thereupon. And ordains the lords of the ſeſſion to direct forth letters, at the ſaid factors and chamberlains inſtance, either of horning or poinding, as ſhall be thought expedient, for cauſing of them to be anſwered of fruits of the ſaid benefices, to be forthcoming to the queen's majeſty's behalf and uſe, till further order be taken therein.

Apud Edinburgh, 15 Februarii 1561.

FORASMUCH as the queen's majeſty, by the advice of the lords of her ſecret council, and divers others of the nobility had before, upon the 22d day of December laſt paſt, ordained, That if the fourth part of the fruits and rents of all the benefices within this realm, were not ſufficient for the ſupport of her majeſty's preſent wants, and the particular charges under-written, neceſſary to be borne for the weal of the country; then the third of the ſaid fruits, more or leſs, ſhould be taken up to the effect aforeſaid: and ordained letters to be directed, charging all and ſundry beneficed men, on this ſide of the water, to produce their rentals, before the 24th day of January laſt paſt: and the 10th of February inſtant was preſixed by the ſaid letters, for the bringing in all rentals of the benefices beyond the water; with certification, to thoſe who produced not the ſaid rentals, at the days aforeſaid reſpectively, the queen's majeſty and her council would provide remedy: according to which certification, her highneſs, with advice of her council aforeſaid, hath ordained, That they who have not produced their rentals whole and full, intromiſſion ſhall be had of their fruits, by them whom her majeſty ſhall direct thereto; and who have not given their juſt rentals, whatſoever part omitted forth of their ſaid rentals, ſhall be intromitted in like manner.

And further, having conſulted rightly, and diligently adviſed, upon the common affairs and neceſſities concerning the queen's majeſty, and charges to be borne for the common-weal of the realm, and ſuſtentation and maintenance of the preachers and readers, conform to the ſaid ordinance before made thereupon, hath ordained and declared the whole third part of all benefices, of which rentals are produced, to be taken up by the perſon or perſons to be nominated by her majeſty; and to begin upon this laſt crop in the year of God 1561, the ſame to be employed to the effect aforeſaid; together with the whole fruits of the benefices, whereof the rentals are not produced; and alſo, all that is omitted out of the rentals produced: and that order be directed by the queen's majeſty to the lords of the ſeſſion, that the old poſſeſſors may be anſwered of the remanent fruits of the ſaid benefices; providing, that the third part aforeſaid be fully and wholly taken up by the perſons to be deputed to the taking thereof: and this order to continue and ſtand till further order be taken by the queen's majeſty, with the advice of the eſtates.

Moreover, her highneſs, with the advice of the council aforeſaid, hath ſtatuted and ordained, That annuals, mails, and duties, within free burghs, or other towns of this realm, as well pertaining to chaplainries, prebendaries, as to friars, together with the rents of the friars lands, where-ever they be, ſetting and diſpoſing thereupon, be intromitted with, and taken by ſuch as her majeſty ſhall depute thereto; for employing of the ſame by her highneſs to hoſpitals, ſchools, and other godly uſes, as ſhall ſeem beſt to her highneſs, with advice of her council. And knowing that nothing is more commodious for the foreſaid hoſpitality, than the places of friars that are yet undemoliſhed; and alſo to the entertainment of ſchools, colleges, and other uſes aforeſaid; ordains the provoſt and bailies of Aberdeen, Elgin of Murray, Inverneſs, Glaſgow, and other burghs of this realm, where the ſame are not demoliſhed, to entertain and uphold the ſaid friars places, ſtanding in the ſaid towns, upon the common-good thereof, and to uſe the ſame to the common-weal and ſervice of the ſaid towns, until the queen's majeſty be further adviſed, and take final order in ſuch things; notwithſtanding of any gift, title, or entries, given to whatſoever perſons, of the ſaid places, with their yards and orchards, and other pertinents, by our ſovereign lady before.

The lords of ſecret council that were preſent at the voting and making of the foreſaid acts, were, James duke of Chattelarault, George earl of Huntly, Archibald earl of Argyle, William earl of Marſhal, John earl of Athol, William earl of Montroſe, James earl of Morton, Alexander earl of Glencairn, James commendator of St. Andrews, John lord Erſkine, the treaſurer, the juſtice-clerk, the ſecretary, and comptroller.

After the firſt act, the earl of Huntly ſaid jeſtingly, 'Good day, my lords of the two parts.' The whole rentals being gathered, the ſum of the third, according to their own calculation, was found to extend to, &c.

The miniſters, even in the beginning of public ſermons, oppoſed themſelves to ſuch corruption; for they foreſaw the purpoſes of the devil, and clearly underſtood the but whereat the queen and her flatterers ſhot; and ſo, in the chair of Edinburgh, John Knox ſaid, 'Well, if the end of this 'order, pretended to be taken for maintenance of 'the miniſters, be happy, my judgment fails me; 'for I am aſſured, that the Spirit of God is not 'the author of it; for firſt I ſee two parts freely 'given to the devil, and the third muſt be divided between God and the devil.'

Well, ſaid he, bear witneſs to me, that this day I ſaid it, Ere it be long, the devil ſhall have three parts of the third; and judge you then what God's portion will be. This was an unſavoury ſaying in the ears of many; ſome were not aſhamed to affirm, 'That the miniſters being ſuſtained, the 'queen will not get at the year's end to buy her 'a pair of new ſhoes.' And this was ſecretary Lethington.

There were appointed to modify the miniſters ſtipends, the earl of Argyle, Murray, and Morton, Lethington, juſtice-clerk, and clerk of the regiſter. The laird of Pitarro was appointed to pay the miniſters ſtipends, according to their modification. Who would have thought, that when Joſeph ruled Egypt, that his brethren ſhould have travelled for victuals, and have returned with empty ſacks unto their families? Men would rather have thought, that Pharaoh's poſe, treaſure, and girnels, ſhould rather have been diminiſhed, than that the houſehold of Jacob ſhould ſtand in danger to ſtarve for hunger.

But ſo buſy and circumſpect were the modificators (becauſe it was a new office, the term muſt alſo be new), that the miniſters ſhould not be overwanton, that a hundred merks was ſufficient to a ſingle man, being a common miniſter; three hundred merks was the higheſt that was appointed to any, except the ſuperintendants, and a few others: ſhortly, whether it was the ingratitude of their own hearts, or the care that they had to enrich the queen, we know not; but the poor miniſters, readers, and exhorters, cried out to the heavens (as their complaints in all aſſemblies do witneſs), that neither were they able to live upon the ſtipends appointed, neither could they get payment of that ſmall thing that was appointed, ſo fain would the comptroller have played the good valet, and have ſatisfied the queen, or elſe his own profit in every point, that he got this proverb, 'The good laird 'of Pittarro was an earneſt profeſſor of Chriſt, 'but the muckle devil receive the comptroller, for 'he and his collectors are become greedy factors.' To put an end to this unpleaſing matter, when the brethren complained of their poverty, it was diſdainfully anſwered by ſome, 'There are 'many lairds that have not ſo much to ſpend.' When men did reaſon, That the vocation of miniſters craved of them books, quietneſs, ſtudy, and travel, to edify the church of Chriſt Jeſus, when many lairds were waiting upon their worldly buſineſs; and therefore that the ſtipends of miniſters, who had no other induſtry but to live upon that which was appointed, ought not to be modified according to the living of other common men, who might and did daily augment the rents by ſome other induſtry: when ſuch reaſons were laid before them, they got no other anſwer, but 'The queen can ſpare no greater ſums.' Oft was it cried out in their ears, 'O happy ſervants of 'the devil, and miſerable ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt, 'if after this life there were no hell nor heaven!' for to the ſervants of the devil, theſe dumb dogs and horrid biſhops, to one of thoſe idle bellies, I ſay, ten thouſand was not enough; but to the ſervants of Chriſt, that painfully preach the goſpel, a hundred will ſuffice. How can that be ſuſtained?

One day, in reaſoning of this matter, the ſecretary broke out into a paſſion, and ſaid, The miniſters have thus much paid unto them by the year; Who ever yet ſaid to the queen, Grand mercies for it? Was there ever a miniſter that gave thanks to God for her majeſty's liberality towards him? One ſmiled, and anſwered, Aſſuredly, I think, that ſuch as receive any thing *gratis* of the queen, are unthankful, if they acknowledge it not, both in heart and mind; but whether the miniſters be of that rank, or not, I greatly doubt: *gratis*, I am ſure, they receive nothing; and whether they receive any at all from the queen, wiſe men may reaſon: I am aſſured, that neither third, nor two parts, ever appertained to any of her predeceſſors within this realm theſe thouſand years laſt paſt; neither yet have the queen's flatterers better title to that which ſhe uſurps, be it in giving to others, or taking it to herſelf, than the ſoldiers who crucified Jeſus Chriſt, had to divide his garments amongſt them: and if the truth may be ſpoken, ſhe hath not ſo good title as they had, for ſuch ſpoil ought to be the reward of ſuch men: and, in that point, the ſoldiers were more gentle than the queen's flatterers; for they parted not the garments of our Saviour, till that he himſelf was hung upon the croſs; but her flatterers do part the ſpoil, whilſt that Chriſt is yet preach-

ing amongſt you. But the wiſdom of our God maketh trial of us by this means, knowing well enough what the court faction hath purpoſed to do: let the Papiſts, who have the two parts, ſome that have their thirds free, and ſome that have gotten abbeys and feu-lands, thank the queen, and ſing *Placebo Domine*, the poor preachers will not yet flatter for feeding of their bellies. Theſe words were judged proud and intolerable, and engendered no ſmall diſpleaſure to the ſpeaker.

This we put in memory, that the poſterity to come may know that God once made his truth to triumph; but becauſe ſome of ourſelves delighted more in darkneſs than light, God hath reſtrained our freedom, and put the whole body in bondage; yea, the greateſt flatterers have not eſcaped ſo free as they ſuppoſed; yea, the latter plagues appear yet to be worſe than the firſt. 'Be merciful unto 'us, O Lord! and deal not with us according to 'our deſervings, but look thou to the equity of 'the cauſe which thou haſt put in our hands, and 'ſuffer not iniquity to oppreſs thy truth, for thy 'own name's ſake, O Lord!

In this mean while, *viz.* in February 1561, was lord James firſt made earl of Murray, and then married one Agnes Keith, daughter to the earl Marſhal. The marriage was public in the church of Edinburgh; at the bleſſing of the marriage, they both got an admonition to behave themſelves moderately in all things; for, ſaid the preacher to him, the church of God hath received comfort by you, and by your labours unto this day; in the which, if hereafter you ſhall be found fainter than you have been formerly, it will be ſaid, That your wife hath changed your nature. The greatneſs of the banquet, and the vanity uſed thereat, offended many godly: there began the maſking, which from year to year hath continued ſince. Mr. Randolph, agent for the queen of England, was then, and ſome time after, in no ſmall eſteem with our queen; for his miſtreſs's ſake ſhe did drink to him in a cup of gold, which he poſſeſſed with great joy, more for the favour of the giver, than of the gift and value thereof, and yet it was honourable. The things that then were in handling betwixt the two queens, whereof Lethington, ſecretary Cecil, and Mr. Randolph, were miniſters, were of great weight, as we will after hear.

This winter the earl of Bothwel, the marquis d' Albuff, and lord John of Coldingham, raiſed a riot in Edinburgh, diſordered the whole town, broke Cuthbert Ramſay's gates and doors, ſearched his houſe for his daughter-in-law, Aliſon Craigie; and this was done in deſpite of the earl of Arran, who was ſuſpected to have been in love with the ſaid Aliſon. The horror of this fact, and the verity of it, greatly moved all godly hearts; the aſſembly, and alſo the nobility, for the moſt part were in the town; and ſo they concluded to crave juſtice; which they did, as by this ſubſequent ſupplication doth appear:

To the Queen's Majeſty, and her ſecret Council, her Highneſs's faithful and obedient Subjects, the Profeſſors of Chriſt Jeſus's holy Goſpel, wiſh the Spirit of righteous Judgment.

THE fear of God conceived of his holy word; the natural and unfeigned love we bear unto your majeſty; the duty which we owe to the quietneſs of our country; and the terrible threatenings which our God pronounceth againſt every realm and city, in the which horrible crimes are openly committed, and then by the committers obſtinately defended; compel us, a great part of your ſubjects, humbly to crave of your majeſty upright and true judgment againſt ſuch perſons as have done what in them lay to kindle God's wrath againſt this whole realm. The impiety by them committed is ſo heinous, and ſo horrible, that as it is a fact moſt vile and rare to be heard of within this realm, and principally within the bowels of this city, ſo ſhould we think ourſelves guilty of the ſame, if negligently, or yet for worldly fear, we paſs it over with ſilence: and therefore your majeſty may not think that we require any thing (while that we crave open malefactors condignly to be puniſhed), but that which God hath commanded us to crave, and alſo hath commanded your majeſty to give to every one of your ſubjects; for by this link hath God knit together the prince and people, that as he commands honour, fear, and obedience, to be given to the powers eſtabliſhed by him; ſo doth he in expreſs words command and declare what the prince oweth unto the ſubjects, *viz.* That as he is the miniſter of God, bearing the ſword for vengeance to be taken on evil-doers, and for the defence of peaceable and quiet men, ſo ought he to draw the ſword without partiality, ſo oft as in God's name he is required thereto. Seeing ſo it is, madam, that this crime, ſo recently committed, and that in the eyes of the whole realm now publicly aſſembled, is ſo heinous; for who heretofore hath heard within the bowels of Edinburgh, gates and doors under ſilence of night broken, houſes riped or ſearched, and that with hoſtility, ſeeking a woman, as ap-

peareth, to oppreſs her. Seeing, we ſay, that this crime is ſo heinous, that all godly men fear, not only God's diſpleaſure to fall upon you and your whole realm, but alſo that ſuch licentiouſneſs breed contempt, and in the end ſedition, if remedy in time be not provided, which in our judgment is impoſſible, if ſevere puniſhment be not executed for the crime committed; therefore we moſt humbly beſeech your majeſty, that, all affection ſet aſide, you declare yourſelf ſo upright in this caſe, that ye may give evident demonſtration to all your ſubjects, that the fear of God, joined with the love of common tranquillity, hath principal ſeat in your majeſty's heart. This further, madam, in conſcience we ſpeak, That, as your majeſty, in God's name, doth crave of us obedience, which to render, in all things lawful, we are moſt willing; ſo, in the ſame name, do we, the whole profeſſors of Chriſt's goſpel within this your majeſty's realm, crave of you and your council ſharp puniſhment of this crime: and, for performance thereof, that without delay the principal actors of this heinous crime, and the perſuaders of this public villainy, may be called before the chief juſtice of this realm, to ſuffer an aſſize, and to be puniſhed according to the laws of the ſame. Your majeſty's anſwer moſt humbly we beſeech.

Theſe ſupplications were preſented by divers gentlemen. The flatterers of the court at firſt ſtormed, and aſked, Who durſt avow it? To whom the maſter, after lord Lindſay, anſwered, A thouſand gentlemen within Edinburgh. Others were aſhamed to oppoſe themſelves thereto in public; but they ſuborned the queen to give a gentle anſwer, until ſuch time as the convention was diſſolved; and ſo ſhe did: and then, in fair words, ſhe alledged, That her uncle was a ſtranger, and that he had a young company with him; but that ſhe ſhould give ſuch orders unto him, and unto all others, that hereafter they ſhould have no occaſion to complain; and ſo eluded ſhe the juſt petition of her ſubjects. And no wonder; For how ſhall ſhe puniſh in Scotland that vice, which in France ſhe did ſee ſo free from puniſhment? and which kings and cardinals uſe moſt commonly; as the maſk and dancing of Orleans can witneſs; wherein virgins and mens wives were made common to king Henry, Charles, the cardinal, and to their courtiers and pages, as common women in brothels are unto their companions.

The manner was thus: At the entry of king Henry of France into the town of Orleans, the matrons, virgins, and mens wives, were commanded to preſent themſelves in the king's palace to dance: and they obeyed; for commonly the French nation is not very hard to be entreated to vanity. After fiddling and flinging, and when the cardinal of Lorrain had eſpied his prey, he ſaid to the king, *Sire, le premiere eſt a vous, et fault que je ſoy le ſecond;* that is, 'Sir, the firſt choice is yours, and 'I muſt be the ſecond.' And ſo the king got the pre-eminence, having his firſt election; but, becauſe cardinals are companions to kings, the cardinal had the next. And thereafter the torches were put out, and every man commanded to provide for himſelf the beſt he might.

What cry there was of huſbands for their wives, and wives for their huſbands, of ancient matrons for their daughters, of virgins for their friends, or for ſome honeſt men to defend their chaſtity, Orleans will remember, more kings days than one.

This horrible villainy, a fruit of the cardinal's good catholic religion, we ſhortly touch, to let the world underſtand, what ſubjects may look for of ſuch magiſtrates; for ſuch paſtime to them is jollity. It had been good for our queen, that ſhe had been brought up in better company; both for her credit, and for the courſe of her life: and it may be, that her excellent natural endowments had been better employed for her reputation and happineſs, than they were to her great misfortune, and to the grief of thoſe that wiſhed her truly well. But puniſhment of that enormity, and fearful attempt, we could get none; yea, more and more they preſumed to do violence, and frequented nightly maſking; and we began to bear the matter very heavily. At length the duke's friends began to aſſemble in the night-time, on the cauſeway or ſtreet. The abbot of Kilwinning, who then was joined to the church, was the principal man at the beginning. To him repaired many faithful, and amongſt others came Andrew Stuart lord Ochiltrie, a man rather born to make peace, than to brag upon the cauſeway: he demanded the quarrel, and being informed of the former enormity, ſaid, 'Nay, ſuch 'impiety ſhall not be ſuffered, ſo long as God 'ſhall aſſiſt us: the victory that God hath in his 'own mercy given us, we will by his grace main-'tain.'

And ſo he commanded his ſon Andrew Stuart, then maſter, and his ſervants, to put themſelves in order, and to bring forth their ſpears and long weapons; and ſo did others. The word came to the earl Bothwel and his, that the Hamiltons were upon the ſtreet: vows were made, that the

Hamiltons ſhould be driven not only out of the town, but alſo out of the country. Lord John of Coldingham had married the earl Bothwel's ſiſter (a ſufficient woman for ſuch a man); alliance drew lord Robert, and ſo they joined both with the earl Bothwel. But the ſtoutneſs of the marquis le Beuf (d' Albuff they call him) is moſt to be commended; for, in his chamber in the abbey, he ſtarted to an halbert, and ten men were ſcarcely able to hold him that night: the danger was betwixt the Croſs and Trone, and ſo he was a long quarter of a mile from the ſhot and ſklenting of bolts. The maſter of Maxwel, after lord Herries, gave declaration to the earl of Bothwel, that if he ſtirred forth of his lodging, he, and all that would aſſiſt him, ſhould reſiſt him in the face; whoſe words did ſomewhat beat down that blaſt. The earls of Murray and Huntly, being in the abbey, where the marquis was, came with their companies ſent from the queen, to ſtay that tumult, as they did; for Bothwel and his were commanded, under pain of treaſon, to keep their lodgings.

It was whiſpered by many, That the earl of Murray's diſpleaſure was as much ſought, as any hatred that the Hamiltons did bear againſt the earl of Bothwel, or yet he againſt them. And in very deed, either had the duke very falſe ſervants, or elſe, by Huntly and the Hamiltons, the earl of Murray's death was conſpired more than once; the ſuſpicion whereof burſt forth ſo far, that upon a day the ſaid earl being on horſeback, to have come to the ſermon, was charged, by one of the duke's own ſervants, to turn and abide with the queen: the fame whereof ſpread over all: what ground it had, we cannot ſay; but ſhortly after, the duke, and ſome of the lords, remained at Glaſgow; their concluſion was not known. The earl of Arran came to Edinburgh, where the earl Bothwel lay. The queen, and the court, went to Fife, and remained ſometimes in St. Andrews, and ſometimes in Falkland.

The earl Bothwel, by means of James Barron burgeſs, and then merchant in Edinburgh, deſired to ſpeak with John Knox ſecretly, which the ſaid John gladly granted, and ſpake with him upon a night, firſt in the ſaid James's lodging, and after in his own ſtudy: the ſum of all their conference and communication was, The ſaid lord lamented his inordinate life; and eſpecially, that he was provoked, by the enticements of the queen regent, to do that which he ſore repented, as well againſt the laird of Ormiſton, whoſe blood was ſpilt, albeit not by his fault: but his chief grief was, that he had miſbehaved himſelf towards the earl of Arran, whoſe favour he was moſt willing to redeem, if poſſible it were that ſo he might: For, ſaid he, if I might have my lord Arran's favour, I would always wait upon the court, with a page and a few ſervants, to ſpare my expence; whereas, now I am compelled to keep, for my own ſafety, a number of wicked and unprofitable men, to the utter deſtruction of my eſtate that is left. To which the ſaid John anſwered, My lord, would to God that in me were counſel and judgment, that might comfort and relieve you; for albeit that to this hour it hath not happened to me to ſpeak with your lordſhip face to face, yet have I borne a good mind to your houſe, and have been ſorry from my heart for the trouble that I have heard you to be involved in: for, my lord, my great-grandfather, grandfather, and father, have ſerved your lordſhip's predeceſſors, and ſome of them have died under their ſtandards, and this is a part of the obligation of our Scots kindneſs: but this is not the chief; but as God hath made me his public meſſenger of glad tidings, ſo it is my earneſt deſire that all men may embrace it, which perfectly they cannot, ſo long as there remaineth in them rancour, malice, or envy. I am ſorry that you have given occaſion unto men to be offended with you; but more ſorrowful, that you have offended the majeſty of God, wherefore he often puniſheth the other ſins of man: and therefore my counſel is, That you begin at God, with whom, if you enter into perfect reconciliation, I doubt not but he ſhall bow the hearts of men to forget all offences; and as for me, if you will continue in godlineſs, your lordſhip ſhall command me as boldly as any that ſerves your lordſhip. The ſaid lord deſired him, that he would try the earl of Arran's mind, if he would be content to accept him in his favour; which he promiſed to do.

And ſo earneſtly he travelled in that matter, that it was once brought to ſuch an end, as all the faithful praiſed God for ſuch agreement: the greateſt ſtay ſtood upon the ſatisfaction of the laird of Ormiſton, who, beſide his former hurt, as is before declared, was even at that time of the communing purſued by the ſaid earl Bothwel, and his ſon Mr. Alexander Cockburn was taken by him, and carried by him to Berwick, but courteouſly enough ſent back again. That new trouble ſo greatly diſpleaſed John Knox, that he almoſt gave over further travelling for amity: but yet, upon excuſe of the ſaid earl, and upon declaration of his mind, he re-entered into labour; and ſo

brought it to paſs, that the laird of Ormiſton referred his ſatisfaction, in all things, to the judgment of the earls of Arran and Murray, to whom the ſaid earl ſubmitted himſelf on that head: and thereupon delivered his hand-writing; and ſo was conveyed, by certain of his friends, to the lodging of the Kirk of Field, where the earl of Arran was with his friends, and the ſaid John Knox with him, to bear witneſs and teſtification of the end of the agreement.

As the earl of Bothwel entered the chamber, and would have done thoſe honours that friends had appointed (Mr. Gavin Hamilton abbot of Kilwinning, and the laird of Rickarton, were the chief friends that communed), the ſaid earl of Arran gently paſt unto him, embraced him, and ſaid, 'If 'the heart be upright, few ceremonies will ſerve, 'and content me.' The ſaid John Knox, in audience of them both, and of their friends, ſaid, 'Now, my lords, God hath brought you together 'by the labour of ſimple men, in reſpect of ſuch 'as would have travelled therein: I know my la-'bours are already taken in evil part, but becauſe 'I have the teſtimony of a good conſcience before 'God, that whatſoever I have done, it is in his 'fear, for the profit of you both, for the hurt of 'none, and for the tranquillity of this realm: ſee-'ing therefore that my conſcience beareth witneſs 'to me what I have ſought, and do continually 'ſeek, I the more patiently bear the miſreports 'and wrong judgments of men. And now I 'leave you in peace, and deſire you who are the 'friends, to ſtudy that amity may increaſe, all 'former offences being forgot.' The friends of either party embraced each other; and the two earls departed to a window, and talked by themſelves a reaſonable ſpace. And thereafter the earl of Bothwel departed for that night, and upon the next day, in the morning, returned with ſome of his honeſt friends, and came to the ſermon with the ſaid earl, whereat many rejoiced. But God had another work to do than the eyes of men could eſpy.

The Thurſday next they dined together; and thereafter the ſaid earl of Bothwel, and Mr. Gavin Hamilton, rode to the duke, who then was in Kinneil. What communication was betwixt them, is not certainly known, but by the report which the ſaid earl of Arran made to the queen, and unto the earl of Murray, by his writings: for upon the third day after their reconciliation, the ſermon being ended, the ſaid earl of Arran came to the houſe of the ſaid John Knox, and brought with him Mr. Richard Strang and Alexander Guthry, to whom he opened the grief of his mind, before that John Knox was called; for he was buſy, as commonly he uſed to be after his ſermon, in directing of writings: which ended, the ſaid earl called the three together, and ſaid, 'I am treaſonably 'betrayed,' and with theſe words began to weep. John Knox demanded, My lord, who hath betrayed you? One Judas or other, ſaid he: I know it is but my life that is ſought; I regard it not. The other ſaid, My lord, I underſtand no ſuch dark manner of ſpeech: if I ſhall give you any anſwer, you muſt ſpeak more plainly. Well, ſaid he, I take you three to witneſs, that I open this unto you, and I will write it unto the queen: an act of treaſon is laid to my charge. The earl Bothwel hath ſhown to me in council, that he ſhall take the queen, and put her into my hands, in the caſtle of Dunbarton; and that he ſhall ſlay the earl of Murray, Lethington, and others, that now miſguide her, and ſo ſhall he and I rule all. But I know this is deviſed to accuſe me of treaſon, for I know he will inform the queen of it: but I take you to witneſs, that I open it here unto you; and I will immediately write to the queen's majeſty, and unto my brother the earl of Murray.

John Knox demanded, Did you conſent, my lord, to any part of that treaſon? He anſwered, No. Then, ſaid he, in my judgment, his words, although they were ſpoken, can never be treaſon to you; for the performance of the fact depends upon your will, whereunto, you ſay, ye have diſſented; and ſo ſhall that purpoſe vaniſh and die of itſelf, unleſs you awake it: for it is not to be ſuppoſed, that he will accuſe you of that which he himſelf hath deviſed, and whereunto you would not conſent. Oh! ſaid he, you underſtand not what craft is uſed againſt me: it is treaſon to conceal treaſon. My lord, ſaid he, treaſon muſt import conſent and determination, which I hear on neither of your parts: and therefore, my lord, in my judgment, it will be more ſure, and more honourable unto you, to depend upon your innocence, and to abide the unjuſt accuſation of any other (if any follow thereof, as I think there ſhall not), than to accuſe, eſpecially after ſo late reconciliation. I know, ſaid he, that he will offer the combat unto me, but that would not be ſuffered in France; but I will do that which I have purpoſed.

And ſo he departed, and took with him to his lodging the ſaid Mr. Alexander Guthry, and Mr. Richard Strang, from whence was written and indited a letter to the queen's majeſty, according

to the former purpoſe; which letter was directed with all diligence unto her majeſty, who then was in Falkland. The earl himſelf rode after to Kinneil, to his father the duke; but how he was uſed, we have but the common report. But from thence he wrote a letter, with his own hand, in cyphers, to the earl of Murray, complaining of his rigorous handling and treatment, by his own father and friends; and affirmed further, That he feared his life, in caſe he got not ſudden reſcue. But there he remained not, for he broke the chamber wherein he was put, and with great toil paſſed to Stirling, and from thence was conveyed to the Hallyards, where he was kept, till that the earl of Murray came unto him, and conveyed him to the queen, then being in Falkland, who then was ſufficiently inſtructed in the whole matter; and, upon ſuſpicion conceived, had cauſed to apprehend Mr. Gavin Hamilton and the earl Bothwel aforeſaid, who, knowing nothing of the former advertiſements, came to Falkland, which augmented the former ſuſpicion.

But yet the letters of John Knox made all things to be uſed more circumſpectly; for he did plainly forewarn the earl of Murray, that he eſpied the earl of Arran to be ſtricken with a frenzy, and therefore willed not over great credit to be given unto his words and inventions: and, as he advertiſed, ſo it came to paſs, for within a few days his ſickneſs increaſed; he talked of wonderous ſigns that he ſaw in heaven; he alledged that he was bewitched; he would have been in the queen's bed, and affirmed that he was her huſband; and finally, he behaved himſelf ſo fooliſhly in all things, that his frenzy could not be hid.

And yet were the earl Bothwel and Mr. Gavin abbot of Kilwinning kept in the caſtle of St. Andrews, and convened before the council, with the earl of Arran, who ever ſtood firm, that the earl of Bothwel propoſed to him ſuch things as he advertiſed the queen's majeſty of; but ſtiffly denied, that his father, the ſaid abbot, or his friends, knew any thing thereof, either yet that they intended any violence againſt him; but alledged, that he was inchanted ſo to think and write. Whereat the queen, highly offended, committed him to priſon, with the other two, firſt in the caſtle of St. Andrews, and thereafter cauſed them to be conveyed to the caſtle of Edinburgh. James Stuart of Cardonneal, called captain James, was ſpoke againſt, for the rigorous treatment that he gave to the ſaid earl in his ſickneſs, being appointed keeper unto him.

To conſult upon theſe accuſations, the whole council was aſſembled at St. Andrews, the 18th of April 1562: in which it was concluded, That, in conſideration of the former ſuſpicion, the duke ſhould render to the queen the caſtle of Dunbarton; the cuſtody whereof was granted unto him by appointment, till that lawful ſucceſſion ſhould be ſeen of the queen's body: but will prevailed againſt reaſon and promiſe, and ſo was the caſtle delivered to captain Anſtruther, as having power from the queen and council to receive it.

Things ordered in Fife, the queen returned to Edinburgh, and then began mirth to grow hot, for her friends began to triumph in France: the certainty hereof came to the ears of John Knox; for there were ſome that then told him from time to time the ſtate of things; and, amongſt others, he was aſſured, that the queen had danced exceſſively till after midnight, becauſe that ſhe had received letters, that perſecution was begun again in France, and that her uncles were beginning to ſtir their tails, and to trouble the whole realm of France. Upon occaſion whereof, from this text, 'And now underſtand, O ye kings! and be learned, ye judges of the earth,' he began to tax the ignorance, the vanity, and deſpite of princes againſt all virtue, and againſt all thoſe in whom hatred of vice and love of virtue appeared: the report hereof made unto the queen, the ſaid John Knox was ſent for: Mr. Alexander Cockburn, who before had been his ſcholar, and was very familiar with him, was the meſſenger who gave him ſome knowledge, both of the report and of the reporters.

The queen was in her bed-chamber, and with her (beſides the ladies and common ſervants) were the lord James, the earl of Morton, ſecretary Lethington, and ſome of the guard that had made the report. He was accuſed as one that had irreverently ſpoken of the queen, and had travelled to bring her into the people's hatred and contempt; and that he had exceeded the bounds of his text: and upon theſe three heads made the queen a long oration. Whereunto the ſaid John anſwered as followeth: 'Madam, This is oftentimes the juſt 'recompence which God gives the ſtubborn of the 'world, that becauſe they will not hear God 'ſpeaking to the comfort of the penitent, and for 'amendment of the wicked, they are oft compelled to hear the falſe report of others, to their 'great diſpleaſure. I doubt not but that it came 'to the ears of Herod, that our Maſter Jeſus 'Chriſt called him a fox; but they told him not

‘ how odious a thing it was before God to mur-
‘ der an innocent, as he had lately done before,
‘ cauſing to behead John the Baptiſt, to reward
‘ the dancing of an harlot’s daughter. Madam,
‘ if the reporters of my words had been honeſt
‘ men, they would have reported my words, and
‘ the circumſtances of the ſame; but becauſe they
‘ would have credit in court, and wanting virtue
‘ worthy thereof, they muſt have ſomewhat to
‘ pleaſure your majeſty, if it were but flatteries
‘ and lies: but ſuch pleaſure (if your majeſty takes
‘ any in ſuch perſons) will turn to your everlaſting
‘ diſpleaſure: for, madam, if your own ears had
‘ heard the whole matter that I treated, if there
‘ be in you any ſpark of the Spirit of God, yea of
‘ honeſty and wiſdom, you would not juſtly have
‘ been offended with any thing that I ſpake.’

And becauſe you have heard their report, pleaſe your majeſty to hear myſelf rehearſe the ſame, ſo near as memory will ſerve (it was even upon the next day after that the ſermon was made). My text, ſaid he, madam, was this, ‘ And now, O ‘ kings! underſtand; be learned, ye judges of the ‘ earth.’ After, madam, ſaid he, that I had declared the dignity of kings and rulers, the honour whereunto God hath placed them, the obedience that is due unto them, being God’s lieutenants: I demanded this queſtion, But, oh! alas! what account ſhall the moſt part of princes make before that ſupreme Judge, whoſe throne and authority ſo manifeſtly and ſhamefully they abuſe? That the complaint of Solomon is this day moſt true, *viz.* ‘That violence and oppreſſion do occupy the ‘ throne of God here in this earth:’ for whilſt that murderers, blood-thirſty men, oppreſſors, and malefactors, dare be bold to preſent themſelves before kings and princes, and that the poor ſaints of God are baniſhed and exiled, What ſhall we ſay but that the devil hath taken poſſeſſion in the throne of God, which ought to be fearful to all wicked doers, and a refuge to the innocent who are oppreſſed? And how can it otherwiſe be? For princes will not underſtand, they will not be learned, as God commands them: but God’s law they deſpiſe, his ſtatutes and holy ordinances they will not underſtand: for in fiddling and flinging they are more exerciſed, than in reading and hearing God’s moſt bleſſed word; and fidlers and flatterers (which commonly corrupt the youth) are more precious in their eyes, than men of wiſdom and gravity, who, by wholeſome admonitions, may beat down in them ſome part of that vanity and pride wherein we all are born, but in princes take deep root and ſtrength by wicked education. And of dancing, madam, I ſaid, That albeit in Scriptures I found no praiſe of it, and in profane writers, that it is termed the geſture rather of thoſe that are mad, and in a frenzy, than of ſober men; yet do I not utterly condemn it, providing that two vices be avoided. The *former*, That the principal vocation of thoſe that uſe that exerciſe, be not neglected for the pleaſure of dancing. *Secondly*, That they dance not as the Philiſtines their fathers, for the pleaſure that they take in the diſpleaſure of God’s people: for if they do theſe, or either of them, they ſhall receive the reward of dancers (and that will be to drink in hell, unleſs they ſpeedily repent); ſo ſhall God turn their mirth into ſudden ſorrow; for God will not always afflict his people, neither will he always wink at the tyranny of tyrants. If any, madam, ſaid he, will ſay that I ſpake more, let him publicly accuſe me; for I think I have not only touched the ſum, but the very words as I ſpake them. Many that ſtood by did bear witneſs with him, that he had recited the very words that publicly he ſpake.

The queen looked about to ſome of the reporters, and ſaid, ‘ Your words are ſharp enough, as ‘ you have ſpoken them; but yet they were told ‘ me in another manner. I know, ſaid ſhe, that my ‘ uncles and you are not of one religion, and there-
‘ fore I cannot blame you, to have no good opi-
‘ nion of them; but if you hear any thing of my-
‘ ſelf that you diſlike, come to myſelf, and tell
‘ me, and I ſhall hear.’ Madam, ſaid he, I am aſſured that your uncles are enemies to God, and unto his Son Jeſus Chriſt, and for maintenance of their own pomp and worldly glory, that they ſpare not to ſpill the blood of many innocents; and therefore I am aſſured, that their enterpriſes ſhall have no better ſucceſs than others have had, that before them have done as they do now. But as to your own perſon, madam, I would be glad to do all that I could to your majeſty’s contentment, providing that I exceed not the bounds of my vocation: I am called, madam, to a public function within the church of God, and appointed by God to rebuke the vices and ſins of all: I am not appointed to come to every man in particular, to ſhew him his offence, for that labour would be endleſs: if your majeſty pleaſeth to frequent the public ſermons, then I doubt not but that you ſhall fully underſtand both what I like and diſlike, as well in your majeſty, as in all others: or if your majeſty will aſſign unto me a certain day and hour, when it will pleaſe you to hear the form and ſubſtance of doctrine

which is propoſed in public to the church of this realm, I will moſt gladly wait upon your majeſty's pleaſure, time, and place; but to come to wait at your chamber-door, or elſewhere, and then to have no further liberty but to whiſper my mind in your majeſty's ear, or to tell you what others think and ſpeak of you, neither will my conſcience, nor the vocation whereto God hath called me, ſuffer it; for albeit at your majeſty's commandment I am here now, yet I cannot tell what other men will judge of me, that at this time of the day I am abſent from my book, and waiting at the court. You will not always, ſaid ſhe, be at your book, and ſo turned her back: and the ſaid John departed, with a reaſonable merry countenance; whereat ſome Papiſts offended, ſaid, 'He is not afraid;' which heard by him, he anſwered, 'Why ſhould the 'pleaſant face of a lady fright me? I have looked 'in the faces of many angry men, and yet have 'not been frightened above meaſure;' and ſo left he the queen and the court for that time.

In the mean time the negociation was great betwixt the queen of England and our ſovereign: letters, couriers, and poſts, ran frequent: great report there was of the interview and meeting at York, and ſome preparation was made therefore in both the realms; but that failed upon the part of England, and that by occaſion of the troubles moved in France, as was alledged, which cauſed the queen of England, and the council attend upon the ſouth parts of England, for avoiding of inconveniences.

That ſummer came there an ambaſſador from the king of Sweden, requiring marriage of our ſovereign to his maſter the king: his entertainment was honourable; but his petitions were not liked by the queen; for as yet ſhe could not reſolve to be wife to the king of Sweden, having been lately queen of France; and yet ſhe refuſed not one far inferior to a virtuous king.

The earl of Lennox and his wife were committed to the tower of London, for trafficking with Papiſts: the young laird of Barr was a ſtickler in that buſineſs, and was apprehended with ſome letters, which was the cauſe of his and their trouble.

The earl of Murray made a private journey to Hawick, upon the fair-day thereof, and apprehended fifty thieves, of which number were ſeventeen drowned, others were executed in Jedburgh; the principal were brought to Edinburgh, and there ſuffered, according to their merits, upon the Burrow-muir.

The queen was not content with the proſperity and ſucceſs that God gave to the earl of Murray in all his enterpriſes; for ſhe hated his upright dealing, and the image of God that evidently did appear in him; but at that time ſhe could not well have been ſerved without him.

The aſſembly of the church at midſummer, the 24th day of June 1562, approached, in which were many notable heads handled, concerning good order to be kept in the church; for the Papiſts, and the idolatry of the queen, began to trouble the former good order: ſome miniſters, ſuch as Mr. John Sharp, had left their charges, and entered into other vocations, more profitable for the belly; againſt whom were acts made, although to this day they have not put them in execution.

The tenor of the Supplication, read in open audience, and approved by the whole aſſembly, to be preſented to the queen's majeſty, was this:

To the Queen's Majeſty, and the moſt honourable Privy Council,

The Superintendants and Miniſters of the Goſpel of Chriſt Jeſus within this Realm, together with the Commiſſioners of the whole Churches, deſire Grace and Peace, from the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, with the Spirit of righteous Judgment.

HAVING in mind that fearful ſentence, pronounced by the Eternal God, againſt the watchmen, that ſee the ſword of God's puniſhment approach, and do not in plain words forewarn the people, yea, the princes and rulers, that they may repent; we cannot but ſignify unto your highneſs, and to your council, That the ſtate of this realm is ſuch for this preſent, that, unleſs redreſs and remedy be ſhortly provided, God's hand cannot long ſpare in his anger, to ſtrike the head and the tail; the diſobedient prince, and ſinful people: for, as God is unchangeable and true, ſo muſt he puniſh, in theſe our days, the grievous ſins which before, we read, he hath puniſhed in all ages, after that he hath long called for repentance, and none is ſhown. And that your majeſty and council may underſtand what are the things we deſire to be reformed, we will begin at that which we know aſſuredly to be the fountain and ſpring of all other evils that now abound in this realm, *viz.* That idol and baſe ſervice of God, the maſs, the fountain (we call it) of all impiety; not only becauſe many take boldneſs to ſin, by reaſon of that opinion which they have conceived of that idol, *viz.* That by virtue of

it they get remiſſion of their ſins: but alſo, becauſe that under this colour of the maſs, are whores, adulterers, drunkards, blaſphemers of God, of his holy ſacraments, and ſuch other manifeſt malefactors, maintained and defended: for let any maſs-ſayer, or earneſt maintainer thereof, be deprehended in any of the fore-named crimes, no execution can be had; for all is done in hatred of his religion: and ſo are wicked men permitted to live wickedly, cloaked and defended by that wicked idol. But ſuppoſing that the maſs were the occaſion of no ſuch evils, yet in itſelf it is ſo odious in God's preſence, that we cannot ceaſe with all earneſtneſs to deſire the removing of the ſame, as well from yourſelf, as from all others within this realm; taking heaven and earth, yea, and your own conſcience to record, that the obſtinate maintenance of that idol ſhall, in the end, be to you deſtruction of ſoul and body, if you do not repent.

If your majeſty demand, Why we are now more earneſt than we have been heretofore? We anſwer, (our former ſilence nowiſe excuſed), Becauſe we find ourſelves fruſtrated of our hope and expectation; which was, That, in proceſs of time, your majeſty's heart ſhould have been mollified, ſo far, as ye would have heard the public doctrine taught within this realm; by the which our farther hope was, That God's Holy Spirit ſhould ſo have moved your heart, that you would have ſuffered your religion (which before God is nothing but abomination and vanity) to be tried by the true touch-ſtone, the written word of God; and that your majeſty, finding it to have no ground nor foundation in the ſame, ſhould have given that glory unto God, that you would have preferred his truth to your own pre-conceived vain opinion, of what antiquity ſoever it hath been; whereof we in part now diſcharged, can no longer keep ſilence, unleſs we would make ourſelves criminal before God of your blood, periſhing in your own iniquity; for we plainly admoniſh you of the danger to come.

The ſecond thing that we require, is puniſhment of horrible vices, ſuch as adultery, fornication, open whoredom, blaſphemy, contempt of God, of his word and ſacraments; which in this realm do even ſo abound, that ſin is reputed to be no ſin. And therefore, as we ſee the preſent ſigns of God's wrath now manifeſtly appear, ſo do we forewarn, that he will ſtrike ere it be long, if his law, without puniſhment, be permitted thus manifeſtly to be contemned. If any object, That puniſhments cannot be commanded to be executed without a parliament; we anſwer, That the eternal God, in his parliament, hath pronounced death to be the puniſhment of adultery, and for blaſphemy; whoſe act, if ye put not in execution (ſeeing that kings are but his lieutenants, having no power to give life, where he commands death) as he will repute you, and all others that foſter vice, patrons of impiety, ſo will he not fail to puniſh you, for neglecting the execution of his judgments.

Our third requeſt is concerning the poor, who are of three ſorts: the poor labourers of the ground; the poor deſolate beggars, orphans, widows, and ſtrangers; and the poor miniſters of Chriſt Jeſus's holy goſpel; who are ſo cruelly uſed by this laſt pretended order taken for ſuſtentation of miniſters, that their latter miſery far ſurmounteth the former; for now the poor labourers of the ground are ſo oppreſſed by the cruelty of thoſe that pay their hire, that they for the moſt part encroach upon the poor, in whatſoever they pay unto the queen, or to any other. As for the very indigent and poor, to whom God commands a ſuſtentation to be provided of the tenth, they are ſo deſpiſed, that it is a wonder that the ſun giveth heat and light to the earth, where God's name is ſo frequently called upon, and no mercy (according to his commandment) ſhown to his creatures. And alſo for the miniſters, their livings are ſo appointed, that the moſt part ſhall live but a beggar's life; and all cometh of that impiety, that the idle bellies of Chriſt's enemies muſt be fed in their former delicacy. We dare not conceal from your majeſty and honours our conſcience, which is this, That neither by the law of God, neither yet by any juſt law of man, is due unto them, who now moſt cruelly do exact of the poor and rich the two parts of their benefices, as they call them: and therefore we moſt humbly require, That ſome other order may be taken with them, that they be not ſet up again to have empire above the people of God; for we fear, that ſuch uſurpation of their former ſtate will be neither in the end pleaſant to themſelves, nor profitable to them that would place them in that tyranny. If any think that a competent living is to be aſſigned to them, we oppoſe it not, provided that the labourers of the ground be not oppreſſed, the poor be not utterly neglected, and the miniſters of the word ſo hardly uſed, as now they are. And finally, That thoſe idle bellies, who by law can crave nothing, ſhall confeſs, that they receive their ſuſtentation and maintenance, not of debt, but of benevolence. Our humble requeſt is therefore, That in every pariſh ſome part of the tithes may be

aſſigned to the ſuſtentation and maintenance of the poor within the ſame; and likewiſe, that ſome public relief may be provided for the poor within burghs; that collectors may be appointed to gather; and that ſtrict account may be taken, as well of their receipts, as of their diſburſements. The further conſideration to be had of our miniſters, we in ſome part remit to your wiſdoms, and to their particular complaints.

Our fourth petition is, for the manſe-yards and glebes juſtly appertaining to the miniſters, without which it is impoſſible for them quietly to ſerve their charges; and therefore we deſire that order be taken without delay.

Our fifth, concerns the diſobedience of certain wicked perſons, who not only trouble, and have troubled miniſters in their functions, but alſo diſobey the ſuperintendants in their viſitation: whereof we humbly crave remedy; which we do not ſo much for any fear that we and our miniſters have of the Papiſts, but for the love that we bear to the common tranquillity. For this we cannot hide from your majeſty and council, That if the Papiſts think to triumph where they may, and to do what they liſt, where there is not a party able to reſiſt them, that ſome will think, that the godly muſt begin where they left; who heretofore have borne all things patiently, in hope that the laws ſhould have bridled the wicked; whereof if they be fruſtrated (albeit that nothing is more odious to them than tumults, and domeſtic diſcord), yet will men attempt the uttermoſt, before that in their own eyes they behold the houſe of God demoliſhed, which, with travel and danger, God hath within this realm erected by them.

Sixthly, We deſire, That ſuch as have received remiſſion of their thirds, be compelled to ſuſtain the miniſters within their bounds; or elſe we forewarn your majeſty and council, that we fear that the people ſhall retain the whole in their hands, until ſuch time as their miniſters be ſufficiently provided.

Seventhly, We deſire the churches to be repaired, according to an act ſet forth by the lords of the ſecret council, before your majeſty's arrival into this country: that judges be appointed to hear the cauſes of divorcement; for the church can no longer ſuſtain that burden, becauſe there is no puniſhment for the offenders: that ſayers and hearers of maſs, prophaners of the ſacraments, ſuch as have entered into benefices by the pope's bulls, and ſuch other tranſgreſſors of the law made at your majeſty's arrival within this realm, may be ſeverely puniſhed; otherwiſe men will think there is no truth meant in making of ſuch laws.

Eighthly, We moſt humbly deſire of your majeſty and your honourable council, a poſitive anſwer to every one of theſe heads before-written, that the ſame being known, we may ſomewhat ſatisfy ſuch as are grievouſly offended at manifeſt iniquity now maintained; at oppreſſion, under pretext of law, done againſt the poor; and at the rebellious diſobedience of many wicked perſons, againſt God's word, and holy ordinance.

God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, ſo rule your hearts, and direct your majeſty and council's judgments, by the illumination of his Holy Spirit, that you may anſwer ſo, as your offences may be abſolved in the preſence of that righteous Judge, the Lord Jeſus: and then we doubt not but yourſelves ſhall find felicity, and this poor realm, that hath long been oppreſſed by wicked men, ſhall enjoy tranquillity and reſt, with the true knowledge of God.

Theſe things read in public aſſembly, as is ſaid, were approved of all; and ſome wiſhed that more ſharpneſs had been uſed, becauſe that the time ſo required. But the minions of the court, and ſecretary Lethington above others, could not abide ſuch hard ſpeaking; for who ever ſaw it written to a prince, 'That God would ſtrike the head 'and the tail: That, if Papiſts did what they 'liſt, men would begin where they left:' but above all others, that was moſt offenſive, that the queen was accuſed, as that ſhe would raiſe up Papiſts and Papiſtry again; to put that in the people's heads, was no leſs than treaſon: yea, oath was made, that ſhe never meant ſuch thing. To whom it was anſwered, That the prophet Iſaiah uſed ſuch manner of ſpeaking; and there was no doubt but that he was well acquainted in the court; for it was ſuppoſed that he was of the king's ſtock: but howſoever it was, his words make it manifeſt that he ſpoke to the court and the courtiers, to judges, ladies, princes, and prieſts; and yet, ſaith he, 'The Lord ſhall cut away the head and the 'tail,' &c. And ſo, ſaid the firſt writer, I find that ſuch a phraſe was once uſed before us; and if this offend you, that we ſay, 'Men muſt begin where 'they left, in caſe the Papiſts do as they do,' we would deſire you to teach us, not ſo much how we ſhall ſpeak, but rather what we ſhall do, when our miniſters are ſtricken, our ſuperintendants diſobeyed, and a plain rebellion decreed againſt all good order. Complain, ſaid Lethington. To

whom? ſaid the other. To the queen, ſaid he. How long ſhall we do ſo? ſaid the other. Till that you get remedy, ſaid the juſtice-clerk: give me their names, and I ſhall give you letters. If the ſheep, ſaid one, complain to the wolf, that the wolf's whelps have devoured their lambs, the complainer may ſtand in danger, but the offender, we fear, ſhall have leave to hunt after his prey. Such compariſons, ſaid Lethington, are very unſavoury; for I am aſſured, that the queen will neither erect nor maintain Papiſtry. Let your aſſurance, ſaid the other, ſerve yourſelf, but it cannot aſſure us: for her manifeſt proceedings ſpeak the contrary. After ſuch cautious reaſoning on both ſides, the plurality concluded, That the ſupplication, as it was conceived, ſhould be preſented, unleſs that the ſecretary would make one more agreeable to the preſent neceſſity: he promiſed to keep the ſubſtance of ours, but he would uſe other terms, and aſk things in a more gentle manner. The firſt writer anſwered, That he ſerved the church at their commandment, and was contented, that, in what he dictated, men ſhould uſe the liberty that beſt pleaſed them; provided that he was not compelled to ſubſcribe to the flattery of ſuch, as more regarded the perſons of men, than the ſimple truth of God: and ſo was this former ſupplication given to be reformed, as Lethington's wiſdom thought beſt. And in very deed he framed it ſo, that when it was delivered by the ſuperintendants of Lothian and Fife, and when the queen had read ſomewhat of it, ſhe ſaid, Here are many fair words, I cannot tell what the hearts are; and ſo for our painted oratory, we were termed Flatterers and Diſſemblers; but for that ſeſſion, the church received no other anſwer.

Shortly after the convention of the church, chanced that unhappy purſuit, which John Gordon, laird of Finlater, made upon the lord Ogilvie, who was much hurt: the occaſion was for certain lands and rights, which old Finlater had reſigned to that lord, which he was purſuing at law, and was in appearance obtaining his purpoſe: whereat the ſaid John and his ſervants were offended, and therefore made the ſaid purſuit, upon a Saturday night, betwixt nine and ten. The friends of the ſaid lord were either not with him, or elſe not willing to fight that night; for they took ſtrokes, but gave few that left marks.

The ſaid John was taken and put into the tolbooth, where he remained certain days, and then broke the priſon: ſome judged, at his father's commandment; for he was making preparation for the queen's coming to the north, as we will after hear.

The interview and meeting of the two queens delayed till the next year, our ſovereign reſolving to viſit the north, departed from Stirling in the month of Auguſt. Whether there was any paction and confederacy betwixt the Papiſts in the ſouth, and the earl of Huntly and his Papiſts in the north, or (to ſpeak more plainly) betwixt the queen herſelf and Huntly, we cannot certainly affirm; but the ſuſpicions were wonderous vehement, that there was no good-will borne to the earl of Murray, nor yet to ſuch as depended upon him at that time. The hiſtory we ſhall faithfully declare, and ſo leave the judgment free to the Readers.

That John Gordon broke the priſon, we have already heard, who immediately repaired to his father George earl of Huntly; and underſtanding the queen's coming, made great proviſion in Strathbogie, and in other parts, as it were to receive the queen. At Aberdeen the queen and court remained certain days, to deliberate upon the affairs of the country; where ſome began to ſmell, that the earl of Huntly was privately gathering men, as hereafter ſhall be declared.

Whilſt things were ſo working in the north, the earl of Bothwel broke his priſon, and came forth of the caſtle of Edinburgh, the twenty-eight day of Auguſt; ſome ſay he broke the ſtenchers of the window, others whiſpered that he got eaſy paſſage by the gates: one thing is certain, *viz.* The queen was little offended at his eſcaping. There paſſed with him a ſervant of the captain's, named James Porterfield. The ſaid earl ſhewed himſelf not very much afraid, for his common reſidence was in Lothian. The biſhop of St. Andrews, and the abbot of Croſrainel, kept ſecret convention that ſame time in Paiſley, to whom reſorted divers Papiſts; yea, the ſaid biſhop ſpoke to the duke, unto whom alſo came the lord Gordon from the earl of Huntly, requiring him, To ſtir his hands in the ſouth, as he ſhould do in the north; and ſo it ſhould not be Knox's crying and preaching that ſhould ſtay that purpoſe. The biſhop, be he never ſo cloſe, could not altogether hide his mind, but at his own table ſaid, The queen is gone into the north, belike to ſeek diſobedience: ſhe may perchance find the thing ſhe ſeeks. It was conſtantly affirmed, That the earl of Bothwel and the ſaid lord Gordon ſpoke together, but of their purpoſe we heard no mention.

That ſame year, and at the ſame time, were appointed commiſſioners, by the general aſſembly: to Carrick and Cunningham, Mr. George Hay, who, with great profit, preached the ſpace of a month in all the churches of Carrick; to Kyle, and to the parts of Galloway, was appointed John Knox, who, beſide the doctrine of the goſpel ſhewn to the common people, forewarned ſome of the nobility and barons of the dangers that he feared, and that were appearing ſhortly to follow; and exhorted them to put themſelves in ſuch order, as that they might be able to ſerve the authority, and yet not to ſuffer the enemies of God's truth to have the upper hand. Whereupon a great part of the barons and gentlemen of Kyle, Cunningham, and Carrick, profeſſing the true doctrine of the goſpel, aſſembled at Ayr, and, after the exhortation made, and conference had, ſubſcribed this bond; the tenor whereof followeth:

We whoſe names are under-written, do promiſe, in the preſence of God, and in the preſence of his Son, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that we, and every one of us, ſhall, and will maintain the preaching of his holy goſpel, now of his mercy offered and granted unto this realm; and alſo will maintain the miniſters of the ſame againſt all perſons, power, and authority, that will oppoſe themſelves to the doctrine propoſed, and by us received. And further, with the ſame ſolemnity, we proteſt and promiſe, That every one of us ſhall aſſiſt another, yea, and the whole body of the Proteſtants within this realm, in all lawful and juſt occaſions, againſt all perſons; ſo that whoſoever ſhall hurt, moleſt, or trouble any of our bodies, ſhall be reputed enemies to the whole, except that the offender will be content to ſubmit himſelf to the government of the church, now eſtabliſhed amongſt us. And this we do, as we deſire to be accepted and favoured of the Lord Jeſus, and accounted worthy of credit and honeſty in the preſence of the godly. At the burgh of Ayr, the 4th day of September, in the year of God 1562. Subſcribed by all theſe with their hands, as followeth:

The earl Glencairn, lord Boyd, lord Ochiltrie, Failfurd, Matthew Campbell of Lowdon knight, Allan lord Cathcart, Caprington elder and younger, Cunningham-head, Rowallan, Waterſton, Craigie, Lefnoreis, Auchenharvie, Middleton, Mr. Michael Wallace provoſt of Ayr, with forty more of the honeſteſt burgeſſes of that town. The maſter of Boyd, Gathgirth, Bar, Carnel, Dreghorn, Heſted, Skeldon, Wolſton, Carſland, Fergushill, Polquhairn, Stair, Barſkyning, Kinzeancleugh, with a hundred more gentlemen of worth. John Dunbar of Blantyre, Carleton, and his brother, Halrig, Kers, Kirkmichael, Dalyaroich, Croſclays, Horſcleugh, Carbiſton, Kelwood, Ternganoth, &c.

Theſe things done at Ayr, the ſaid John paſſed to Niddiſdale and Galloway, where, in conference with the maſter of Maxwel, a man of great judgment and experience, he communicated with him ſuch things as he feared; who, by his motion, wrote to the earl of Bothwel, to behave himſelf as it became a faithful ſubject, and to keep quietneſs in the places committed to his charge, and ſo would his crime of breaking the ward be more eaſily pardoned. John Knox wrote unto the duke, and earneſtly exhorted him, neither to give ear to the biſhop his baſtard-brother, nor yet to the perſuaſions of the earl of Huntly; for, if he did, he aſſured him, that he and his houſe ſhould come to ſudden ruin. By which means was the ſouth parts kept in reaſonable quietneſs, during the time that the troubles were a-brewing in the north; and yet the biſhop and the abbot of Corſrainel did what in them lay to have raiſed ſome trouble; for, beſides the fearful reports that they ſpread abroad, ſometimes that the queen was taken, ſometimes that the earl of Murray and all his were ſlain, and ſometimes that the queen had given herſelf to the earl of Huntly: beſides ſuch reports, the biſhop, to break the country of Kyle, where quietneſs then was greateſt, raiſed the Crawfords againſt the Reids, for the payment of the biſhop's Paſch-fines; but that was pacified by the labour of indifferent men, who favoured peace. The abbot of Corſrainel required diſputation of John Knox, for maintenance of the maſs, which was granted unto him; and the diſpute held in Maybole three days: the abbot had the advantage that he required, *viz.* He took in hand to prove, That Melchizedec offered bread and wine unto God, which was the ground that the maſs was built upon to be a ſacrifice, *&c.* But, in the work of three days, there could no proof be produced for Melchizedec's oblation, as in the diſputation (which was afterwards printed) clearly may appear. The Papiſts looked for a revolt, and therefore they would make ſome brag of reaſoning: the abbot further preſented himſelf to the pulpit, but the voice of Mr. George Hay ſo frightened him, that after once he was wearied of that exerciſe.

After that the queen was ſomewhat ſatisfied of hunting, and other paſtimes, ſhe came to Aber-

deen, where the earl of Huntly met her, and his lady, with no ſmall train, who remained in court, and was ſuppoſed to have the greateſt credit; departed with the queen to Buchan, met her again at Rothemay, looking that ſhe ſhould have paſſed with him to Strathbogie: but in the journey certain word came to her, that John Gordon had broken promiſe, in not re-entering in ward; for his father the earl had promiſed, that he ſhould enter again within the caſtle of Stirling, and there abide the queen's pleaſure: but whether with his father's knowledge and conſent, or without the ſame, we know not; but he refuſed to enter; which ſo offended the queen, that ſhe would not go to Strathbogie, but paſſed through Strathlaw to Inverneſs, where the caſtle thereof was denied unto her: the captain was commanded to keep it, and looked for relief; for ſo had John Gordon promiſed: but being thereof fruſtrated, the caſtle was rendered, and the captain, called Gordon, was executed upon the place; the reſt were condemned, and the hands of ſome bound, but eſcaped.

This was the beginning of further trouble; for the earl of Huntly thereat offended, began to aſſemble his folks, and threatened that he would be revenged: but always his wife bore a fair countenance to the queen; and it is verily ſuppoſed, that no other harm than the queen herſelf could eaſily have ſtood content with, was meant unto her own perſon. But the whole matter lay upon the earl of Murray, ſecretary Lethington, and the laird of Pittarro; yet the queen began to be afraid, and, by proclamation, cauſed to warn Stirlingſhire, Fife, Angus, Mearns, and Strathern, charging all ſubſtantial men, to be in Aberdeen the fifth day of October, there to remain the ſpace of twenty days. In her return from Inverneſs, ſhe required the caſtle of Finlater, which was likewiſe denied, and ſo was Auchindown, which more enraged the queen. The earl of Huntly was charged to deliver the ſaid houſe, under pain of treaſon: to ſhew ſome obedience, he cauſed the keys of both to be preſented by his ſervant Mr. Thomas Keir: but before had the queen ſent young captain Stuart, ſon to James (who was neither ſtout, happy, nor true), with ſix ſcore of ſoldiers, to lie about the place of Finlater: they lodged in Cullen, not far diſtant from the ſaid place. But upon a night, John Gordon came with a company of horſemen, took the captain, ſlew ſeveral of the ſoldiers, and diſarmed the reſt.

This fact done, as the queen alledged, under truſt, ſo inflamed her, that all hope of reconciliation was paſt; and ſo the earl of Huntly was charged, under the pain of putting him to the horn, to preſent himſelf and the ſaid John before the queen and council within ſix days; which charge he diſobeyed, and ſo was denounced a rebel. Whether it was law or not, we diſpute little thereof; but it was a preparative to others, that after were ſerved with the ſame meaſure: he was ſought at his place of Strathbogie, but eſcaped. The evil increaſed; for the earl aſſembled his folks out of all parts of the north: he marched forwards towards Aberdeen, and, upon the 22d of October 1562, came to the loch of Skene.

His army was judged to be ſeven or eight hundred men; the queen's army, both in number and manhood, far ſurmounting his: and yet he took no fear; for he was aſſured of the moſt part of them which were with the queen, as the iſſue did witneſs. Within the town they ſtood in great fear, and therefore it was concluded, that they ſhould eſſay the uttermoſt upon the fields. The Forbeſes, Hays, and Leſlies, took the van-guard, and promiſed to fight with the ſaid earl, without any other help. They paſſed forth of the town before ten o'clock in the morning; they put themſelves in array, but they approached not the enemy, till that the earl of Murray and his company were come to the fields, and that was after two in the afternoon; for he was appointed with his company only to have beheld the battle: but all things turned out otherwiſe than the moſt part of men ſuppoſed.

The earl of Huntly was, the night before, determined to have retired himſelf and his company; but that morning he could not he awaked before it was ten o'clock; and when he was upon his feet, his ſpirits failed him, by reaſon of his corpulency; ſo that for a long time he could do nothing rightly. Some of his friends, fearing the danger, left him. When he looked upon both the companies, he ſaid, 'This great company, that approacheth neareſt to us, will do us no harm; they are our friends: I only fear that ſmall company that ſtands on the hill-ſide; they are our enemies: but we are enough for them, if God be with us.' And when he had thus ſpoken, he fell upon his knees, and made his prayer in this form:

O Lord! I have been a blood-thirſty man, and by my means hath much innocent blood been ſpilt: but wilt thou give me victory this day, and I ſhall ſerve thee all the days of my life.

Note and obſerve, good Reader, he confeſſed that he had been a blood-thirſty man, and that he had been the cauſe of the ſhedding of much innocent blood, but yet he would have had victory; and what was that elſe, but to have had power to have ſhed more? and then would he have ſatisfied God for altogether: wherein is expreſſed the nature of hypocrites, who neither fear nor love God further than preſent danger or profit perſuadeth. But to our hiſtory.

The Leſlies, Hays, and Forbeſes, eſpying the earl of Murray and his to have lighted upon their feet, came forward againſt the earl of Huntly and his, who ſtood in Correthieburn (ſome call it Farabank); but ere they approached near the ſpace of the ſhot of an arrow, they caſt from them their ſpears and long weapons, and fled directly in the face of the earl of Murray and his company: the danger eſpied, the laird of Pittarro (a man both ſtout, and of a ready wit), with the maſter, after lord Lindſay, and tutor of Pitcur, ſaid, 'Let us caſt down ſpears to the foremoſt, and let them not come in amongſt us; for there is no doubt but this flying is but treachery:' and ſo they did; ſo that they that fled kept themſelves apart from the ſmall number that were marching upon foot in order. The earl of Huntly ſeeing the van-guard fly, ſaid unto his company, 'Our friends are honeſt men, they have kept promiſe; let us now encounter the reſt:' and ſo he and his, as ſure of victory, marched forward. The ſecretary, in few words, made an earneſt prayer; and willed every man to call upon his God, to remember his duty, and not to fear the multitude: and, in the end, concluded thus; 'O Lord! thou that ruleſt the heavens and the earth, look upon thy ſervants, whoſe blood this day is moſt unjuſtly ſought, and, to man's judgment, are ſold and betrayed. Our refuge is now unto thee, and our hope is in thee: judge thou, O Lord! this day betwixt us and the earl of Huntly, and the reſt of our enemies; if ever we have unjuſtly ſought his or their deſtruction and blood, let us fall by the ſword. And, O Lord! as thou knoweſt our innocence, maintain thou and preſerve us, for thy great mercies ſake.'

Shortly after the ſpeaking of theſe and the like words, the former ranks joined; for Huntly's company made great haſte: they were repulſed by the maſter of Lindſay, and the companies of Fife and Angus: ſome of them that had fled, returned, and followed the earl of Murray, but gave no ſtroke, till that Huntly's company gave back. In the front there were ſlain about eighteen, or twenty-four men; and in the flying there fell near an hundred. There were taken an hundred, and the reſt were ſpared: the earl himſelf was taken alive; his two ſons, John aforeſaid, and Adam Gordon, were taken with him. The earl, immediately after being taken, departed this life without any wound, or yet appearance of any ſtroke, whereof death might have enſued; and becauſe it was late, he was caſt upon a pair of creels, and ſo was carried to Aberdeen, and laid in the tolbooth thereof, that the anſwer which his wife's witches had given might be fulfilled; who all affirmed (as the moſt part ſay), that ſame night he ſhould be in the town of Aberdeen, without any wound upon his body. When his lady got knowledge thereof, ſhe blamed her principal witch, called Janet; but ſhe ſtoutly defended herſelf (as the devil can do), and affirmed, that ſhe gave a true anſwer, albeit ſhe ſpake not all the truth; for ſhe knew that he ſhould be there dead; but that could not profit my lady. She was angry and ſorry for a ſeaſon; but the devil, the maſs, and witches, had great credit with her.

The earl of Murray ſent a meſſage unto the queen, of the marvellous victory; and humbly prayed her to ſhew that obedience to God, as publicly to convene with them, to give thanks unto God for his notable deliverance. She frowned both at the meſſage and at the requeſt, and ſcarcely would give a good word, or ſhow a blithe and merry countenance to any that ſhe knew earneſt favourers of the earl of Murray, whoſe proſperity was very venom to her boldened heart: for many days ſhe bore no better countenance; whereby it might have been eaſily eſpied, that ſhe rejoiced not greatly for the ſucceſs of that matter: and albeit ſhe cauſed to execute John Gordon, and divers others, yet it was the deſtruction of others that ſhe fought.

Upon the day after the diſcomfiture, the lady Forbes, a woman both wiſe and fearing God, came, amongſt many others, to viſit the corpſe of the ſaid earl; and ſeeing him lying upon the cold ſtones, having only upon him a doublet of canvas, a pair of Scots gray hoſe, and covered with an arras work, ſhe ſaid, 'What ſtability ſhall we judge to be in this world? There lieth he that yeſterday, in the morning, was eſteemed the wiſeſt, the richeſt, and a man of the greateſt power that was within Scotland.' And in very deed ſhe lied not; for, in man's opinion, under a prince, there was not ſuch a one theſe three hundred years

in this realm produced: but felicity and worldly wiſdom ſo blinded him, that in the end he periſhed in them, as ſhall all thoſe that deſpiſe God, and truſt in themſelves.

John Gordon, at his death, confeſſed many horrible things, deviſed by his father, by his brother, and by himſelf. There were letters found in the earl's pocket, that diſcloſed the treaſon of the earl of Sutherland, and of divers others. Mr. Thomas Keir, who before was the counſellor of the ſaid earl, diſcloſed whatſoever he underſtood might hurt the Gordons and their friends, and ſo was the treaſon plainly diſcloſed; which was, that the earl of Murray, with certain others, ſhould have been murdered in Strathbogie; the queen ſhould have been taken, and kept at the devotion of the ſaid earl of Huntly. Theſe things, we ſay, revealed, the queen left the north, and came to Dundee, St. Johnſton, Stirling, and then to Edinburgh: the earl of Huntly's body was carried about in a boat, and laid without burial in the abbey of Holyrood-houſe, till the day of his forfeiture, as after ſhall be declared. The duke apprehended the lord Gordon, his ſon-in-law, becauſe that the queen had ſtrictly commanded him ſo to do, if he repaired within his bounds. Before he delivered him, the earl of Murray laboured, at the queen's hands, for the ſafety of his life, which hardly was granted; and ſo was he delivered within the caſtle of Edinburgh, the twenty-eight day of November 1562, where he remained till the eight of February, when he was put to an aſſize, accuſed and convicted of treaſon; but was reſtored again, firſt to the caſtle aforeſaid, and afterwards was tranſported to Dunbar, where he remained priſoner till the month of Auguſt, in the year of God 1565, as we will after hear.

In the mean time the troubles were hot in France, and the intelligence and outward familiarity betwixt the two queens was great; Lethington was directed with large commiſſion, both to the queen of England, and to the Guiſians.

The marriage of our queen was in all mens mouths; ſome would have the Infant of Spain, ſome the Emperor's brother, ſome lord Robert Dudley, ſome duke Denemours, and ſome truly gueſſed at the lord Darnley.

What Lethington's credit was, we know not; but ſhortly after there began much to be talked of the earl of Lennox, and of his ſon the lord Darnley. It was ſaid, That Lethington ſpoke to the lady Margaret Douglas; and that Robert Melvil received a horſe for the ſecretary's uſe, from the earl of Lennox, or from his wife. However it was, Mr. Fouller, ſervant to the ſaid earl, came with letters to the queen, by which licence was permitted to the earl of Lennox to come to Scotland, to travel in his lawful buſineſs. That ſame day the queen's licence was granted, the ſecretary ſaid, 'This day I have taken upon me the deadly 'hatred of all the Hamiltons within Scotland, and 'have done unto them no leſs diſpleaſure than if 'I had cut their throats.' The earl Bothwel, who before had broken ward, fearing apprehenſion or taking, prepared to paſs to France; but by a ſtorm was driven into England, where he was ſtaid, and was offered to have been rendered by the queen of England: but our queen's anſwer was, 'That he was no rebel, and therefore ſhe requeſt-'ed, that he ſhould have liberty to paſs whether 'he pleaſed.' And thereto Lethington helped not a little, for he travelled to have friends in every faction of the court; and ſo obtained the ſaid earl licence to paſs to France.

The winter after the death of the earl of Huntly, the court remained for the moſt part at Edinburgh. The preachers were wonderous vehement in reprehenſion of all manner of vice, which then began to abound; and eſpecially avarice, oppreſſion of the poor, exceſs, riotous cheer, banqueting, immoderate dancing, and whoredom, that thereof enſues. Whereat the courtiers began to ſtorm and to pick quarrels againſt the preachers, alledging, that all their preaching was turned to railing: whereunto one of them gave anſwer as followeth; It comes to our ears, that we are called railers, whereof albeit we wonder, yet we are not aſhamed, ſeeing that the moſt worthy ſervants of God, that before us have travelled in this vocation, have ſo been ſtyled: but unto you do I ſay, That the ſame God, who from the beginning hath puniſhed the contempt of his word, and hath poured forth his vengeance upon ſuch proud mockers, ſhall not ſpare you; yea, he ſhall not ſpare you before the eyes of this ſame wicked generation, for the pleaſure whereof ye deſpiſe all wholeſome admonition: have you not ſeen greater than any of you ſitting where preſently you ſit, pick his nails, and pull down his bonnet over his eyes, when idolatry, witchcraft, murder, oppreſſion, and ſuch vices, were rebuked? Was not this his common talk? When theſe knaves have railed their fill, then will they hold their peace. Have ye not heard it affirmed to his own face, That God ſhould revenge that his blaſphemy, even in the eyes of ſuch as were witneſſes to his iniquity?

Then was the earl of Huntly accuſed by you, as the maintainer of idolatry, and only hinderer of all good order; him hath God puniſhed, even according to the threatenings that his and your ears heard, and by your hands hath God executed his judgments: but what amendment can be eſpied in you? idolatry was never in greater quiet; virtue and virtuous men were never in more contempt; vice was never more bold, nor puniſhment leſs feared. And yet, who guides the queen and court? Who but the Proteſtants. O horrible ſlanderers of God, and of his holy goſpel! Better it were unto you plainly to renounce Chriſt Jeſus, than thus to expoſe his bleſſed goſpel to mockery: if God puniſheth not you, that this ſame age ſhall ſee and behold your puniſhment, the Spirit of righteous judgment guides me not.

This vehemency provoked the hatred, not only of the courtiers, but alſo of divers others, againſt the ſpeaker, who was John Knox; for ſuch as are in credit never want flatterers. 'Their brethren 'of the court were irreverently handled.' What was that but to raiſe the hearts of the people againſt them? They did what they could: ſuch ſpeaking would cauſe them to do leſs. And this was the fruit that the preachers gathered of their juſt reprehenſions.

The general aſſembly of the church, held on the 25th of December 1562, approached, in which great complaints were made, that churches wanted miniſters; that miniſters lacked their ſtipends; that wicked men were permitted to be ſchool-maſters, and ſo to infect the youth: among whom one Mr. Robert Cuming, ſchool-maſter in Aberbrothwick, was complained againſt by the laird of Dun, and ſentence pronounced againſt him. It was further complained, That idolatry was erected in divers parts of the realm: for redreſs whereof, ſome thought beſt, that a new ſupplication ſhould be preſented to the queen; others demanded, what anſwer was received of the former? The ſuperintendant of Lothian confeſſed the delivery of it; but, ſaid he, I received no anſwer. It was anſwered for the part of the queen (for her ſuppoſts were ever there), That it was well known to the whole realm what troubles had occurred ſince the laſt aſſembly; and therefore, that they ſhould not wonder, albeit that the queen had not anſwered; but betwixt that and the parliament, which was appointed to be in May, they doubted not but ſuch order ſhould be taken, as all men ſhould have occaſion to be contented with. This ſatisfied, for that time, the whole aſſembly. And this was the practice of the queen and her council, with fair words, to put off time, as before we have ſaid.

The aſſembly notwithſtanding proceeded forward in eſtabliſhing of ſuch order, as vice might be puniſhed, and virtue might be maintained. And becauſe there was a great ſlander riſen upon Paul Meffan, of whom mention is made in the Second Book of the Hiſtory, commiſſion and charge was given unto John Knox miniſter of Edinburgh, and unto certain of the elders of the church of Edinburgh, to paſs to the town of Jedburgh, where the ſlander was raiſed, and to be found: the third of January next, was the trial to be taken of the ſlander raiſed, and to hear the articles and complaint of the ſaid Paul; and, after the trial, to report the truth to the ſeſſion of the church of Edinburgh, to whom, with the aſſiſtance of the ſuperintendant of Lothian, commiſſion was given to decern therein. The trial and examination of that crime was difficult; the ſlander was univerſal in that town and country: the ſervant-woman of the ſaid Paul had, betwixt that and Chriſtmas, left his houſe, and born a child: no father to it could ſhe find; but alledged herſelf to have been oppreſſed late in an evening. The ſaid Paul conſtantly affirmed himſelf innocent, and would have given his public purgation; but becauſe his accuſers had taken on them to prove their accuſation, that was denied. Many witneſſes were produced, of whom ſome deponed ſo clearly, that the commiſſioners ſuſpected that they had been ſuborned; and therefore they required to have inſpection of the place where ſome ſaid they ſaw, and ſome ſaid they heard them, in the very act of iniquity. The ſight and conſideration of the place augmented greatly the ſuſpicion: but one thing was moſt ſuſpicious of all other, for the wife of the ſaid Paul, an ancient matron, was abſent from him the ſpace of eight or nine weeks in Dundee; which time, or at leaſt a great part thereof, the ſuſpected woman and he lay nightly in one houſe, without other company than a child of ſix or ſeven years of age. The judges, notwithſtanding theſe ſuſpicions, having a good opinion of the honeſty and godlineſs of the man, travelled what they could, conſcience not hurt, to purge him of the ſlander: but God, who would not that ſuch a villainy ſhould be cloaked and concealed within his kirk, otherwiſe had decreed; for he brought the brother of the guilty woman to the town, having no mind of ſuch matters, who being produced by the accuſers, as one that was privy to the fact, and knew the verity of

all circumſtances; his witneſs, we ſay, which could not be ſuſpected, being produced, made the matter ſo plain and clear, that all ſuſpicion was removed: for he it was that conveyed the woman away; he it was that cauſed the child to be baptized, alledging it to be his own; he it was that carried frequent meſſages betwixt them, and from Paul carried money and clothes ſeveral times. How ſoon ſoever the ſaid Paul ſaw that man produced as witneſs, he withdrew himſelf, and left the town, by that means plainly taking upon him the crime; and ſo the commiſſioners, with full information, returned to Dundee, and notified the ſame unto the kirk, who cauſed publicly to ſummon the ſaid Paul, to hear the ſentence pronounced; who not appearing, in the end, for his odious crime and contumacy, was publicly excommunicated, and was deprived of all functions within the kirk of Scotland, and ſo left the realm.

For two cauſes we inſert this horrible fact, and the order kept in puniſhing the ſame: the former, to forewarn ſuch as travel in that vocation, that, according to the admonition of the apoſtles, 'Such 'as ſtand, take heed leſt they fall.' No man, in the beginning of the goſpel, was judged more fervent and more upright, and yet we have heard how far Satan prevailed againſt him; God grant that we may hear of his repentance. Neither yet ſhould this fall do any thing to prejudge the authority of the doctrine which he taught; for the doctrine of God hath its authority of no creature, but hath the aſſurance of God himſelf, how weak or imperfect ſoever the inſtruments be, by whom it pleaſeth God to publiſh the ſame. The treaſon of Judas, the adultery of David, and denial of Peter, did derogate nothing from the glory of Chriſt's goſpel, nor yet the doctrine which before they had taught; but declared the one to be a reprobate, and the other to be inſtruments in whom mercy muſt ſurmount judgment. The other cauſe is, that the world may ſee what difference there is betwixt the uprightneſs of the kirk of God, and the corruption that reigns in the ſynagogue of Satan, the Papiſtical rabble; for how many of that ſort have been, and ſtill remain, openly known whoremongers, adulterers, violators of virgins, yea, and committers of ſuch abominations as we will not name? and yet are they called and permitted to be biſhops, archbiſhops, cardinals, and popes themſelves: for what ſins can diſqualify the ſworn ſervants of ſimony, and of their father the devil? for brag what they will of Chriſt, of Peter, and of Paul, their lives and converſation bear witneſs to whom they belong. But we return to our hiſtory, of things done in court.

Amongſt the minions of the court, there was one named monſieur Chattelet, a Frenchman, who at that time paſſed all others in credit with the queen, in dancing of the Purpoſe; ſo term they that dance, in which man and woman talk ſecretly: wiſe men would judge ſuch faſhions not agreeable to the gravity of honeſt women. In this dance the queen choſe Chattelet, and Chattelet took the queen, for he had the beſt dreſs. All this winter Chattelet was ſo familiar with the queen, that the nobility, being by this means ſtopped from having ſo free acceſs as they thought fit and due unto them, were highly offended. At length Chattelet conveyed himſelf privately under the queen's bed; but being eſpied, was commanded away: the report ariſing, the queen called the earl of Murray, and burſting forth into a womanly affection, charged him, 'That, as he loved her, he ſhould ſlay 'Chattelet, and let him never ſpeak a word.' The other, at the firſt, made promiſe ſo to do; but after calling to mind the judgment of God, pronounced againſt the ſhedders of innocent blood, and alſo that none ſhould die without the teſtimony of two or three witneſſes, returned, and fell upon his knees before the queen, and ſaid, 'Madam, I beſeech 'your majeſty, cauſe me not to take the blood of 'this man upon me; your majeſty hath uſed him 'ſo familiarly before, that you have offended all 'your nobility; and now if he ſhall be ſecretly 'ſlain at your own commandment, what ſhall the 'world judge of it? I ſhall bring him to the pre-'ſence of juſtice, and let him ſuffer by law, ac-'cording to his deſerving.' Oh! ſaid the queen, you ſhall not let him ſpeak. I ſhall do, ſaid he, madam, what in me lieth, to give your majeſty content.

Poor Chattelet was brought back from Kinghorn to St. Andrews, examined, put to an aſſize, and ſo beheaded the 22d day of February, *anno* 1562. He begged licence to write to France the cauſe of his death, which, ſaid he, in his tongue was, *Pour eſtre trouve en lieu trop ſuſpect*; that is, 'Becauſe I was found in a place too much ſuſpect-'ed.' At the place of execution, when he ſaw that there was no remedy but death, he made a godly confeſſion; and granted, that his declining from the truth of God, and following of vanity and impiety, was juſtly repaid unto him: but, in the end, he concluded, looking unto the heavens, with theſe words, 'O cruel dame!' What that complaint imported, I leave it to conjecture. And

ſo received Chattelet the reward of his dancing; for he loſt his head, that his tongue ſhould not utter the ſecrets of our queen. 'Deliver us, O Lord! 'from the rage of ſo inordinate a court.'

The year of God 1563, there was an univerſal dearth in Scotland; but in the north, where (the harveſt before) the queen had been, there was a great famine, of which many died in that country: the wheat, the bear or barley, the meal, the oats, beef, mutton, *&c.* were exceedingly dear and ſcarce; yea, all things appertaining to the ſuſtentation of man, three times, and more, exceeded their accuſtomed prices. And ſo did God, according to the threatening of the law, puniſh the idolatry of our wicked rulers, and our ingratitude, that ſuffered them to defile the land with that abomination again, that God ſo potently had purged by the power of his word: for the riotous feaſting and exceſſive banqueting uſed in city and country, whereſoever the profane court repaired, provoked God to ſtrike the ſtaff of bread, and to give his maledictions upon the fruits of the earth. But, alas! who looked to the true cauſe of our calamity?

Lethington was abſent, as before we have heard, in the queen's affairs: The Papiſts at that Paſch, *anno* 1563, in divers parts of the realm, had erected that idol the maſs; amongſt whom the biſhop of St. Andrews, the prior of Quhithorn, with divers others of that faction, would avow it. Beſides the firſt proclamation, there had letters paſt in the contrary, with certification of death to the contravener.

The brethren univerſally offended, and eſpying that the queen by proclamation did but delude them, determined to put to their own hands, and to puniſh for example of others; and ſo ſome prieſts in the weſt country were apprehended: intimation made unto others, as to the abbot of Coſraguel, the parſon of Sanquhair, and ſuch, that they ſhould neither complain to the queen nor council, but ſhould execute the puniſhment that God hath appointed to idolaters in his law, by ſuch means as they might, where-ever they ſhould be apprehended.

The queen ſtormed at ſuch freedom of ſpeaking, but ſhe could not amend it; for the Spirit of God, of boldneſs, and of wiſdom, had not left the moſt part of ſuch as God had made inſtruments in the beginning: they were of one mind to maintain the truth, and to ſuppreſs idolatry. Particularities had not divided them; and therefore could not the devil, working in the court, and in Papiſts, do then what they would: and therefore the court began to invent a new craft. The queen ſent for John Knox, when ſhe lay at Lochleven: ſhe dealt with him earneſtly two hours before ſupper, that he would be the inſtrument to perſuade the people, and principally the gentlemen of the weſt, not to put hand to puniſh men for the uſing of themſelves in their religion as pleaſed them. The other perceiving her craft, willed her majeſty to puniſh malefactors according to the laws, and he durſt promiſe quietneſs upon the part of all them that profeſſed the Lord Jeſus within Scotland; but if her majeſty thought to elude the laws, he ſaid, He feared ſome would let the Papiſts underſtand, that without puniſhment they ſhould not be ſuffered ſo manifeſtly to offend God's majeſty. Will ye, ſaid ſhe, allow, that they ſhall take my ſword in their hand?

The ſword of juſtice, ſaid he, madam, is God's, and is given to princes and rulers for one end; which, if they tranſgreſs, ſparing the wicked, and oppreſſing the innocent, they that, in the fear of God, execute judgment, where God hath commanded, offend not God, although kings do it not; neither yet ſin they, that bridle kings from ſtricking innocent men in their rage. The examples are evident; for Samuel ſpared not to ſlay Agag, the fat and delicate king of Amalek, whom king Saul had ſaved: neither ſpared Elias Jezebel's falſe prophets, and Baal's prieſts, albeit that king Ahab was preſent: Phinehas was no magiſtrate, and yet feared he not to ſtrike Zimri and Cozbi, in the very act of filthy fornication. And ſo, madam, your majeſty may ſee that others than chief magiſtrates may lawfully puniſh, and have puniſhed, the vice and crimes that God commands to be puniſhed: for power, by act of parliament, is given to all judges within their own bounds, to ſearch the maſs-mongers, or hearers of the ſame, and to puniſh them according to the law: and therefore it ſhall be profitable to your majeſty to conſider, what is the thing your majeſty's ſubjects look to receive of your majeſty, and what it is you ought to do unto them, by mutual contract. They are bound to obey you, and that not but in God; ye are bound to keep laws unto them: ye crave of them ſervice; they crave of you protection and defence againſt evil doers. Now, madam, if ye ſhall deny your duty unto them, who eſpecially crave, that ye puniſh malefactors, think ye to receive full obedience of them? I fear, madam, ye ſhall not. Herewith ſhe, being ſomewhat offended, paſt to her ſupper.

The ſaid John left her, and informed the earl of Murray of the whole reaſoning, and ſo departed, of final purpoſe to have returned to Edinburgh, without any further communication with the queen; but next day, before ſun-riſing, were two directed (Walter Melvil was one) to him, commanding him not to depart till he had ſpoken with the queen's majeſty; which he did, meeting her at the hawking, weſt of Kinroſs. Whether it was the night's ſleep, or a deep diſſimulation locked in her breaſt, that made her to forget the former anger, wiſe men may doubt: but thereof ſhe never ſaid a word, but ſpoke of divers other purpoſes; ſuch as the offering of a ring to her by the lord Ruthven, whom, ſhe ſaid, I cannot love, for I know him to uſe enchantment; and yet he is one of my privy council. Whom blameth your majeſty, ſaid the other, thereof? Lethington, ſaid ſhe, was the whole cauſe. That man is abſent for this preſent, ſaid he, madam, and therefore I will ſpeak nothing in that behalf.

I underſtand, ſaid the queen, that ye are appointed to go to Dumfries, for the election of a ſuperintendant, to be eſtabliſhed in thoſe countries. Yes, ſaid he, thoſe quarters have great need, and ſome of the gentlemen ſo require. But I hear, ſaid ſhe, that the biſhop of Caithneſs would be ſuperintendant. He is one, ſaid the other, madam, that is put in election. If ye knew him, ſaid ſhe, as well as I do, ye would never promote him to that office, nor yet to any other within your kirk. What he hath been, ſaid he, madam, I never knew, nor yet will I enquire; for, in time of darkneſs, what could we do but grope and go wrong, even as darkneſs carried us? but if he fear not God now, he deceives many more than me: and yet, ſaid he, madam, I am aſſured, God will not ſuffer his church to be ſo far deceived, as that an unworthy man ſhall be elected, where free election is, and the Spirit of God is earneſtly called upon, to decide betwixt the two. Well, ſaid ſhe, do as ye will, but that man is a dangerous man. Therein was not the queen deceived; for he had corrupted the moſt part of the gentlemen, not only to nominate him, but alſo to elect him: which perceived by the ſaid John, commiſſioner, he delayed the election, and left it with the maſter of Maxwel. Mr. Robert Pont was put in election (with the foreſaid biſhop), to the end that his doctrine and converſation might be the better tried of thoſe that had not known him before; and ſo was this biſhop fruſtrated of his purpoſe for that time; and yet was he at that time the man that was moſt familiar with the ſaid John, in his houſe, and at table.

But now to the former conference: when the queen had long talked with John Knox, and he being oft willing to take his leave, ſhe ſaid, I have one of the greateſt matters that have touched me ſince I came into this realm, to open unto you, and I muſt have your help in it. She began to make a long diſcourſe of her ſiſter, the lady Argyle, how that ſhe was not ſo circumſpect in all things as ſhe wiſhed her to be; and yet, ſaid ſhe, my lord, her huſband, whom I love, uſeth her not in many things ſo honeſtly, and ſo godly, as I think ye yourſelf would require. Madam, ſaid he, I have been troubled with that matter before, and once I put ſuch an end to it (and that was before your majeſty's arrival), that both ſhe and her friends ſeemed fully to ſtand content; and ſhe herſelf promiſed before her friends, that ſhe would never complain to any creature, till that I ſhould firſt underſtand the controverſy by her own mouth, or elſe by an aſſured meſſenger: I now have heard nothing on her part, and therefore I think there is nothing but concord. Well, ſaid the queen, it is worſe than ye believe; but do this much for my ſake, as once again to bring them into unity; and if ſhe behave not herſelf ſo as ſhe ought to do, ſhe ſhall find no favour of me; but in any wiſe, ſaid ſhe, let my lord know, that I have requeſted you in this matter; for I would be very ſorry to offend him in that, or in any other thing. And now, ſaid ſhe, as touching our reaſoning yeſternight, I promiſe to do as ye required; I ſhall cauſe to ſummon all offenders, and ye ſhall know that I ſhall miniſter juſtice. I am aſſured then, ſaid he, that ye ſhall pleaſe God, and enjoy reſt and tranquillity within your realm, which, to your majeſty, is more profitable than all the pope's power can be. And thus they departed.

This conference we have inſerted, to let the world ſee how deeply Mary queen of Scotland can diſſemble, and how that ſhe could cauſe men to think that ſhe bare no indignation for any controverſy in religion, while that yet in her heart was nothing but venom and deſtruction, as ſhortly after did appear. John Knox departed, and prepared himſelf for his appointed journey to Dumfries. And from Glaſgow, according to the queen's commandment, he wrote this Letter to the earl of Argyle; the tenor whereof follows:

The Lord cometh, and ſhall not tarry.

MY LORD,

AFTER commendation of my ſervice unto your lordſhip: if I had known of your lordſhip's ſudden departing, the laſt time it chanced me to ſee and ſpeak with you, I had opened unto you ſome of my grief; but ſuppoſing that your lordſhip ſhould have remained ſtill with the queen, I delayed at that time to utter any part of that, which now my conſcience compelleth me to do. Your behaviour towards your wife is very offenſive unto many godly; her complaint is grievous, that ye altogether withdraw your converſation from her: if ſo, ye have great need to look well to your own ſtate; for albeit that ye, within yourſelf, felt no more repugnancy, than any fleſh this day on the earth, yet, by promiſe made before God, are ye debtor unto her in all due benevolence; but if that ye burn on the one ſide, albeit ye do no worſe, and ſhe in your default on the other, ye are not only manſworn before God, but alſo doth what in you lieth, to kindle againſt yourſelf his wrath and heavy diſpleaſure. The words are ſharp; and, God is witneſs, in dolour of heart I write them: but becauſe they are true, and pronounced by God himſelf, I dare not but admoniſh you, perceiving you as it were ſleeping in ſin. The proud ſtubbornneſs, whereof your lordſhip oft complained, will nothing excuſe you before God; for if ye be not able to convict her of any crime, ye ought to bear with her imperfections, as that ye would ſhe ſhould bear with you likewiſe. In the bowels of Chriſt Jeſus, I exhort you, my lord, to have reſpect for your own ſalvation, and not to abuſe the lenity and long-ſuffering of God; for that is a fearful treaſure that ye heap up upon your own head, while that he calleth you to repentance, and ye obſtinately continue in your own impiety; for impiety it is, that ye abſtract your comfort and company from your lawful wife. I write nothing in defence of her miſbehaviour towards your lordſhip in any ſort; but, I ſay, if ye be not able to convict her of any crime committed ſince your laſt reconciliation, which was in my preſence, that ye can never be excuſed before God, of this rude and ſtrange uſage of your wife. And if by you ſuch impiety be committed, as is reported, then, before God, and unto your own conſcience, I ſay, That every moment of that filthy pleaſure ſhall turn to you into a year's diſpleaſure; yea, it ſhall be the occaſion and cauſe of everlaſting damnation, unleſs ſpeedily ye repent; and repent ye cannot, except ye deſiſt from that impiety. Call to mind, my lord, that the ſervant knowing his maſter's will, and doing the contrary, ſhall be plagued with many plagues. Sin, my lord, is ſweet in drinking; but in digeſting, more bitter than the gall. The Eternal move your heart earneſtly to conſider, how fearful a thing it is, ever to have God to be enemy. In the end, I pray your lordſhip not to be abſent from Edinburgh the 19th of this inſtant, for ſuch cauſes as I will not write. This much only I warn your lordſhip, that it will not be profitable for the common quietneſs of this realm, that the Papiſts brag, and juſtice be mocked that day. And thus I ceaſe further to trouble your lordſhip, whom God aſſiſt.

In haſte, from Glaſgow, the
7th of May 1563.

Your lordſhip's to command in godlineſs,

Sic ſubſcribitur,

JOHN KNOX.

This letter was not well accepted of the ſaid earl, and yet did he utter no part of his diſpleaſure in public; but contrarily, ſhewed himſelf moſt familiar with the ſaid John Knox: he kept the diet, and ſat in judgment himſelf, where the biſhop and the reſt of the Papiſts were accuſed, as after follows.

The ſummonſes were directed againſt the maſsmongers with expedition, in the ſtricteſt form. The day was appointed, the 19th of May, a day only before the parliament. Of the pope's knights compeared, the biſhop of St. Andrews, the prior of Quhithorn, the parſon of Sanquhair, William Hamilton of Cambuſkenneth, John Gordon of Barſkuch, with divers others. The Proteſtants convened to crave for juſtice. The queen aſked counſel of the biſhop of Roſs, and of the old laird of Lethington (for the younger was abſent, and ſo the Proteſtants had fewer friends), who affirmed, that ſhe muſt ſee her laws kept, or elſe ſhe would get no obedience; and ſo were preparations made for their accuſations. The biſhop, and his band of the exempted ſort, made it nice to enter before the earl of Argyle, who ſat in judgment; but at laſt he was compelled to enter within the bar. A merry man (who now ſleeps in the Lord), Robert Norwell, inſtead of the biſhop's croſs, bore before him a ſteel hammer; whereat the biſhop and his band were not a little offended, becauſe the biſhop's privileges were not then current in Scot-

land (which day God grant our poſterity may ſee of longer continuance than we poſſeſſed it). The biſhop and his fellows, after much ado, and long delay, came in the queen's will, and were committed to ward, ſome to one place, and ſome to another: the lady Erſkine got the biſhops for her part. All this was done of a moſt deep craft, to abuſe the ſimplicity of the Proteſtants, that they ſhould not preſs the queen with any other thing concerning the matters of religion.

At that parliament, which began within two days thereafter, ſhe obtained of the Proteſtants whatſoever ſhe deſired; for this was the reaſon of many, We ſee what the queen hath done, the like of this was never heard of within this realm; we will bear with the queen, we doubt not but all ſhall be well. Others were of contrary judgment, and foretold things which after came to paſs; *viz.* that nothing was meant but deceit; and that the queen, as ſoon as ever the parliament was paſt, ſhould ſet the Papiſts at freedom; and therefore willed the nobility not to be abuſed. But becauſe many had their private buſineſs to be handled at that parliament, the common cauſe was the leſs regarded.

The earl of Huntly, whoſe corpſe had been unburied till the time it was brought to the tolbooth, was accuſed, and his arms rent off; himſelf, the earl of Sutherland, and eleven barons and earls, bearing the ſirname of Gordon, were that day forfeited. The lady Huntly craftily proteſted, and aſked the ſupport of a man of law, or counſellor.

Such pride of women, as was ſeen at that parliament, was never ſeen before in Scotland. Three ſundry days the queen rode to the tolbooth: the firſt day ſhe made a painted oration; and there might have been heard amongſt her flatterers, *Vox Dianæ*, The voice of a goddeſs (for it could not be *Dei*), and not of a woman. God ſave that ſweet face. Was there ever orator ſpake ſo properly and ſo ſweetly? *&c.*

Theſe things were diſliked by the preachers: they ſpake boldly againſt the ſuperfluities of their clothes, and againſt the reſt of their vanity, which, they affirmed, ſhould provoke God's vengeance, not only againſt theſe fooliſh women, but againſt the whole realm; and eſpecially againſt thoſe that maintained them, in that odious abuſing of things that might have been better beſtowed. Articles were preſented, for order to be taken for apparel, and for reformation of other enormities; but all was winked at.

The earldom of Murray needed confirmation, and many things were to be ratified, that concerned the help of friends and ſervants, and therefore they might not urge the queen; for if they did ſo, ſhe would hold no parliament: and what then ſhould become of them that had meddled with the ſlaughter of the earl of Huntly? Let that parliament paſs over, and when the queen ſhall aſk any thing of the nobility, as ſhe muſt do, before her marriage, then ſhall religion be the firſt thing that ſhall be eſtabliſhed. It was anſwered, That the poets and painters erred not altogether, that feigned and painted Occaſion with a bald hind-head; for the firſt, when it is offered, being loſt, is hard to be recovered again. The matter was ſo warmly diſputed betwixt the earl of Murray, and ſome others of the court, and John Knox, that familiarly, after that time, they ſpake not together for more than a year and a half; for the ſaid John, by his letter, gave a diſcharge to the ſaid earl, of all further intromiſſion or care with his affairs. He made unto him a diſcourſe of their firſt acquaintance; in what eſtate he was, when that firſt they ſpoke together in London; how God had promoted him, and that above man's judgment; and, in the end, made this concluſion, But ſeeing that I perceive myſelf fruſtrated of my expectation, which was, that ye ſhould ever have preferred God to your own affection, and the advancement of his truth to your own commodity, I commit you to your wit, and to the conducting of thoſe who can better pleaſe you. I praiſe my God, I leave you this day victor of your enemies, promoted to great honour, and in credit and authority with your ſovereign. If ſo ye long continue, none ſhall be more glad than I ſhall be; but if after this ye decay, as I fear ye ſhall, then call to mind by what means God exalted you; which was, neither by bearing with impiety, neither yet by maintaining of peſtilent Papiſts.

This letter and diſcharge was ſo pleaſing to the flatterers of the ſaid earl, that they triumphed in it, and were glad to have occaſioned it; for ſome envied, that ſo great familiarity was betwixt them: and therefore, from the time they got once that occaſion to ſeparate, they ceaſed not to caſt oil into the burning flame; which ceaſed not to burn, till that God, by water of affliction, began to extinguiſh it, as we ſhall after hear. But leſt that they ſhould altogether have been ſeen to have forſaken God (as, in very deed, both God and his word were very far from the hearts of the moſt part of the courtiers of that age, a few excepted), they began a new ſhift, *viz.* to ſpeak of the

punishment of adultery, of witchcraft, and to seek the restitution of glebes and manses to the ministers of the church, and of the reparation of the churches; and thereby they thought to have pleased the godly, that were highly offended at their slackness.

The act of oblivion passed, because some of the lords had interest; but the acts against adultery, and for the manses and glebes, were so modified, that no law, and such a law, might stand *in eodem prædicamento*. To speak plainly, no law, and such acts, were both alike: the acts are in print; let wise men read, and then accuse us, if without cause we complain.

In the progress of this corruption, and before the parliament was dissolved, John Knox in his sermon, before the most part of the nobility, began to enter into a deep discourse of God's mercies which that realm had felt, and of that ingratitude which he espied almost in the whole multitude, which God had marvellously delivered from the bondage and tyranny both of body and soul. And now, my lords, said he, I praise my God through Jesus Christ, that, in your own presence, I may pour forth the sorrows of my heart; yea, yourselves shall be witnesses, if I make any lie in things bypast, from the beginning of God's mighty works within this realm. I have been with you in your most desperate temptations: ask your own consciences, and let them answer you before God, if that I (not I, but God's Spirit by me), in your greatest extremity, willed you not, ever to depend upon your God, and, in his name, promised unto you victory and preservation from your enemies; so that only ye would depend upon his protection, and prefer his glory before your lives, and worldly commodity. In your most extreme danger I have been with you: St. Johnston, Coupar-muir, and the charges of Edinburgh, are yet recent in my heart; yea, that dark and dolorous night, wherein all you, my lords, with shame and fear left this town, is yet in my mind; and God forbid that ever I forget it. What was, I say, my exhortation unto you; and what is fallen in vain of all that ever God promised unto you by my mouth, ye yourselves yet live to testify. There is not one of you, against whom death and destruction was threatened, perished in that danger; and how many of your enemies hath God plagued before your eyes? Shall this be the thankfulness that ye shall render unto your God, to betray his cause, when ye have it in your own hands to establish it as you please? The queen says, Ye will not agree with us. Ask ye of her that which by God's word ye may justly require; and if she will not agree with you in God, you are not bound to agree with her in the devil. Let her plainly understand so far of your minds, and steal not from your former stoutness in God, and he will prosper you in your enterprises: but I can see nothing but such a recoiling from Christ Jesus, that the man that first and most speedily fleeth from Christ's ensign, holdeth himself most happy; yea, I hear some say, that we have nothing of our religion established, neither by law nor parliament. Albeit the malicious words of such, can neither hurt the truth of God, nor yet us that thereupon depend; yet the speaker of this treason, committed against God and this poor commonwealth, deserves the gallows; for our religion being commanded, and so established by God, is received within this realm in public parliament: and if they will say, that it was no parliament, we must, and will say, and also prove, that that parliament was as lawful as ever any that passed before it in this realm. I say, If the king then living was king, and the queen now in this realm be lawful queen, that parliament cannot be denied.

And now, my lords, to put an end to all, I hear of the queen's marriage: dukes, brethren to emperors, and kings, strive all for the best gain: but this, my lords, will I say (note the day, and bear witness after), Whenever the nobility of Scotland, who profess the Lord Jesus, consent, that an infidel (and all Papists are infidels) shall be head to our sovereign, ye do, so far as in you lieth, banish Christ Jesus from this realm: yea, you bring God's vengeance upon the country, a plague upon yourselves, and perchance you shall do small comfort to your sovereign.

These words, and this manner of speaking, was judged intolerable: Papists and Protestants were both offended; yea, his most familiar acquaintance disdained him for that speaking. Placeboes and flatterers posted to the court, to give advertisement, that John Knox had spoken against the queen's marriage. The provost of Glencludan, Douglas by surname, of Drumlanerk, was the man that gave the charge, that the said John should present himself before the queen; which he did immediately after dinner. The lord Ochiltrie, and divers of the faithful, bare him company to the abbey; but none past with him into the cabinet to the queen, but John Erskine of Dun, then superintendant of Angus and Mearns.

The queen, in a vehement rage, began to cry out, That never prince was used as she was.

have, ſaid ſhe, borne with you in all your rigorous manner of ſpeaking, both againſt myſelf and againſt my uncles; yea, I have fought your favour by all poſſible means: I offered unto you preſence and audience, whenſoever it pleaſed you to admoniſh me, and yet I cannot be quit of you; I vow to God I ſhall be once revenged. And with theſe words ſcarce could Marnock, one of her pages, get handkerchiefs to hold her eyes dry; for the tears and weeping ſtaid her ſpeech. The ſaid John did patiently abide all this fume, and at opportunity anſwered, True it is, madam, your majeſty and I have had divers controverſies, and I never perceived your majeſty to be offended at me; but when it ſhall pleaſe God to deliver you from that bondage of darkneſs and error, wherein ye have been nouriſhed, for the want of true doctrine, your majeſty will find the liberty of my tongue nothing offenſive. Without the preaching-place, madam, I think few have occaſion to be offended at me, and there, madam, I am not maſter of myſelf, but muſt obey him who commands me to ſpeak plain, and to flatter no fleſh upon the face of the earth.

But what have you to do, ſaid ſhe, with my marriage?

If it pleaſe your majeſty, ſaid he, patiently to hear me, I ſhall ſhew the truth in plain words. I grant your majeſty offered unto me more than ever I required; but my anſwer was then, as it is now, that God hath not ſent me to wait upon the courts of princes, or upon the chamber of ladies; but I am ſent to preach the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, to ſuch as pleaſe to hear: it hath two points, *repentance* and *faith*. Now, madam, in preaching repentance, of neceſſity it is, that the ſins of men be noted, that they may know wherein they offend; but ſo it is, that the moſt part of your nobility are ſo addicted to your affections, that neither God's word, nor yet their commonwealth, are rightly regarded; and therefore it becometh me to ſpeak, that they may know their duty.

What have you to do, ſaid ſhe, with my marriage? Or what are you in this commonwealth?

A ſubject born within the ſame, ſaid he, madam, and albeit I be neither earl, lord, nor baron within it, yet hath God made me (how abject ſo ever I be in your eyes) a profitable and uſeful member within the ſame; yea, madam, to me it appertaineth, no leſs to forwarn of ſuch things as may hurt it, if I foreſee them, than it doth to any one of the nobility; for both my vocation and office craveth plainneſs of me; and therefore, madam, to yourſelf I ſay, that which I ſpake in public, Whenſoever the nobility of this realm ſhall conſent, that you be ſubject to an unlawful huſband, they do as much as in them lieth to renounce Chriſt, to baniſh the truth, to betray the freedom of this realm, and perchance ſhall in the end do ſmall comfort to yourſelf.

At theſe words complaining was heard, and tears might have been ſeen in greater abundance than the matter required. John Erſkine of Dun, a man of meek and gentle ſpirit, was preſent, and did what he could to mitigate her anger, and gave unto her many pleaſant words, of her beauty, of her excellency; and how that all the princes in Europe would be glad to ſeek her favour. But all that was to caſt oil into the flaming fire. The ſaid John ſtood ſtill, without any alteration of countenance, for a long time, till the queen gave place to her inordinate paſſion; and, in the end, he ſaid, Madam, in God's preſence I ſpeak, I never delighted in the weeping of any of God's creatures; yea, I can ſcarcely well abide the tears of mine own boys, when my hands correct them, much leſs can I rejoice in your majeſty's weeping: but ſeeing I have offered unto you no juſt occaſion to be offended, but have ſpoken the truth, as my vocation craves of me, I muſt ſuſtain your majeſty's tears, rather than I dare hurt my conſcience, or betray the commonwealth, by ſilence. Herewith was the queen more offended, and commanded the ſaid John to go out of the cabinet, and wait her further pleaſure in the chamber.

The laird of Dun tarried, and lord John of Coldingham came into the cabinet; and ſo they both remained with her near the ſpace of an hour. The ſaid John ſtood in the chamber, as one whom men had never ſeen, ſo were all afraid, except that the lord Ochiltrie bore him company; and therefore he began to diſcourſe with the ladies, who were there ſitting in all their gorgeous apparel: which when he eſpied, he merrily ſaid, Fair ladies, how pleaſant were this life of yours, if it ſhould ever abide; and then in the end, that we might paſs to heaven with this gear? But fy upon that knave Death, who will come whether we will or not; and when he hath laid on the arreſt, then foul worms will be buſy with this fleſh, be it never ſo fair and ſo tender; and the ſilly ſoul, I fear, ſhall be ſo feeble, that it can neither carry with it gold, garniſhing, targating, pearl, nor precious ſtones. And by ſuch diſcourſe entertained he the ladies, and paſt the time, till that the laird of Dun deſired him to go to his houſe, till new advertiſement.

The queen would have had the opinion of the lords of the articles, if that ſuch manner of ſpeaking deſerved not puniſhment. But ſhe was counſelled to deſiſt; and ſo that ſtorm was quieted in appearance, but never in the heart.

Shortly after the parliament, Lethington returned from his negociation in England and France. God, in the February before, had ſtricken that bloody tyrant the duke of Guiſe, which ſomewhat broke the heat of our queen for a ſeaſon: but ſhortly after the returning of Lethington, pride and malice began to ſhew themſelves again. The queen ſet at liberty the biſhop of St. Andrews, and the reſt of the Papiſts, who before were put in priſon for violating of the laws.

Lethington, at his returning, ſhewed himſelf not a little offended, that any report ſhould have been raiſed of the queen's marriage with the king of Spain; for he took upon him to affirm, that ſuch a thing had never entered into her heart: but how true that was, we ſhall hereafter hear. The end of his acquittance and complaint was to diſcredit John Knox, who had affirmed, that ſuch a marriage was both propoſed, and, upon the part of the queen, by the cardinal accepted. Lethington, in his abſence, had obtained a very evil report among the nobility, for too much ſerving the queen's affections againſt the commonwealth; and therefore had he, as one that wanted not worldly wiſdom, made proviſion both in England and Scotland: for in England he travelled for the freedom of the earl of Bothwel, and by that means obtained promiſe of his favour; he had there alſo taken order for the coming home of the earl of Lennox, as we ſhall after hear. In Scotland he joined with the earl of Athol; him he promoted and ſet forward in court, and ſo began the earl of Murray to be injured; and yet to the ſaid earl, Lethington at all times ſhewed a fair countenance. The reſt of that ſummer the queen ſpent in her progreſs through the weſt country, where in all towns, and gentlemens places, ſhe had her maſs; which coming to the ears of John Knox, he began that form of prayer, which ordinarily he ſaid after thankſgiving at his table. (1.) 'Deliver us, O Lord! from the bondage of idolatry. (2.) Preſerve and keep us from the tyranny of ſtrangers. (3.) Continue us in peace and concord among ourſelves, if thy good pleaſure be, O Lord! for a ſeaſon.' Whilſt that divers of the friends of the ſaid John aſked of him, Why he prayed for quietneſs to continue for a ſeaſon, and not rather abſolutely, that we ſhould continue in quietneſs? his anſwer was, 'That he durſt not 'pray but in faith; and faith in God's word aſſured him, that conſtant quietneſs would not continue in that realm, wherein idolatry had been ſuppreſſed, and then was permitted to be erected again.'

From the weſt country the queen paſt into Argyle to the hunting, and after returned to Stirling. The earl of Murray, the lord Robert of Holyrood-houſe, and lord John of Coldingham, paſt to the north country, where juſtice-courts were holden, thieves and murderers were puniſhed, and two witches were burnt: the eldeſt was ſo blinded with the devil, that ſhe affirmed, that no judge had power over her. The ſame time lord John of Coldingham departed this life in Inverneſs: it was affirmed, that he commanded ſuch as were beſide him to ſay to the queen, that, unleſs ſhe left her idolatry, God would not fail to plague her. He aſked God mercy, that he had ſo far borne with her in her impiety, and had maintained her in the ſame, and that no one thing gave him more grief, than that he had flattered, foſtered, and maintained her, in her fury againſt God and his ſervants. And, in very deed, great cauſe had he to have lamented his wickedneſs: for beſides all his other infirmities, he, in the end, for the queen's pleaſure, became enemy to virtue, and all virtuous men, and a patron to impiety, to the uttermoſt of his power; yea, his venom was ſo kindled againſt God and his word, that in his rage he burſted forth theſe words, 'Ere I ſee the queen's majeſty 'ſo troubled with the railing of theſe knaves, I 'ſhall leave the beſt of them ſticked in the pulpit. What further villainy he uttered, modeſty will not ſuffer us to write; whereof, if he had grace unfeignedly to repent, it is no ſmall document of God's mercies: but however God wrought with him, the queen regarded his words as wind, or elſe thought them to have been forged by others, and not to have proceeded from himſelf; and affirmed plainly, they were invented by the laird of Pittarro, and Mr. John Wood, both of whom ſhe hated, becauſe they flattered her not in her dancing, and other things. One thing, in plain words, ſhe ſpoke, That God took always from her thoſe perſons in whom ſhe had greateſt pleaſure; and that ſhe repented: but of further ſins no mention.

Whilſt the queen lay at Stirling, with her idolatry in her chapel, in the palace of Holyrood-houſe were left certain Duntibers, and others of the

French domeſtics, who raiſed up their maſs more publicly than they had done at any time before; for upon the ſame Sunday that the church of Edinburgh had the miniſtration of the Lord's table, the Papiſts, in a great number, went to the abbey to their abomination; which underſtood, divers of the brethren, being much offended, conſulted how to redreſs that enormity: and ſo were appointed certain of the moſt zealous, and moſt upright in religion, to wait at the abbey, that they might note ſuch perſons as reſorted to the maſs; and perceiving a great number to enter into the chapel, ſome of the brethren thruſt in alſo: whereat the prieſts and French dames being afraid, made the ſhout to be ſent to the town; and madam Baillie, miſtreſs to the queen's Duntibers (for maids that court would not then well bear), poſted on with all diligence to the comptroller, the laird of Pittarro, who then was in St. Giles's church at the ſermon, and cried for his aſſiſtance to ſave her life, and to ſave the queen's palace; who, with greater haſte than need required, obeyed her deſire, and took with him the provoſt and bailies, and a great part of the faithful: but when they came where the fear was reported to have been, they found all things quiet, (except the tumult they brought with themſelves), and peaceable men talking to the Papiſts, forbidding them to tranſgreſs the law.

True it is, a zealous brother, named Patrick Cranſton, paſt into the chapel, and finding the altar covered, and the prieſt ready to go to his abominable maſs, ſaid, 'The queen's majeſty is not 'here; How dare you then be ſo forward as openly to act againſt the law?' No further was done or ſaid, and yet report thereof was poſted to the queen (with ſuch information as the Papiſts could give, which found as much credit as their hearts could have wiſhed for), which was ſo heinous a crime in her eyes, that ſatisfaction for that ſin was there none without blood; and therefore, without delay, were ſummoned Andrew Armſtrong and Patrick Cranſton, to find ſurety to ſtand trial, for forethought felony, having made violent invaſion of the queen's palace, and for ſpoiling of the ſame. Theſe letters publiſhed, and the extremity feared, the few brethren that were within the town, conſulted upon the next remedy, and in the end concluded, That John Knox (to whom the charge was given, to make advertiſements, whenſoever danger ſhould appear) ſhould write to the brethren in all quarters, giving information as the matter ſtood, and requiring their aſſiſtance; which he did, in manner as here enſueth:

THE SUPERSCRIPTION.

Whereſoever two or three are gathered together in my Name, there am I in the midſt of them.

IT is not unknown unto you, dear brethren, what comfort and tranquillity God gave unto us in times moſt dangerous, by our Chriſtian aſſemblies, and godly conference, as oft as any danger appeared to any member or members of our own body; and how that ſince we have neglected, or at leaſt not frequented our conventions and aſſemblies, the adverſaries of Chriſt Jeſus's holy goſpel have enterpriſed and boldened themſelves, publicly and ſecretly to do many things odious in God's preſence, and moſt hurtful to the true religion, now of God's great favour granted unto us: the holy ſacraments are abuſed by profane Papiſts; maſſes have been, and yet are ſaid openly, and maintained; the blood of ſome of our deareſt miniſters hath been ſhed, without fear of puniſhment, or correction craved by us. And now laſt are two of our dear brethren, Patrick Cranſton and Andrew Armſtrong, ſummoned to ſtand trial in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, the 24th of this inſtant October, for forethought felony, pretended murder, and for invading the queen's majeſty's palace of Holyrood-houſe, with unlawful convocation, &c. Theſe terrible ſummonſes are directed againſt our brethren, becauſe that they, with two or three more, paſſed to the abbey upon Sunday, the 25th of Auguſt, to behold and note what perſons repaired to the maſs. And becauſe that upon the Sunday before, the queen being abſent, there reſorted to that idol a raſcal multitude, having openly the leaſt deviliſh ceremony (yea, even the conjuring of their accurſed water) that ever they had in the time of greateſt blindneſs: but becauſe, I ſay, our ſaid brethren paſt, and that in moſt quiet manner, to note ſuch abuſers, theſe fearful ſummonſes are directed againſt them, to make, no doubt, a preparation upon a few, that a door may be opened to execute cruelty upon a greater multitude. And if ſo it come to paſs, God, no doubt, hath juſtly recompenſed our former negligence and ingratitude towards him and his benefits, in our own boſoms. God gave us a moſt notable victory of his and our enemies; he broke their ſtrength, and confounded their counſels; he ſet us at freedom, and purged the realm, for the moſt part, of open idolatry, to the end that we, ever mindful of ſo wonderous a deliverance, ſhould have kept this realm clean

from ſuch vile filthineſs, and damnable idolatry. But, we, alas! preferring the pleaſure of fleſh and blood to the pleaſure and commandment of God, have ſuffered that idol the maſs publicly to be erected again: and therefore, juſtly ſuffers he us now to fall into that danger, that to look to an idolater going to his idolatry, ſhall be reputed a crime little inferior to treaſon: God grant that we fall not farther. And now I, whom God of his mercy hath made one, amongſt many, to travel in ſetting forward his true religion within this realm, ſeeing the ſame in danger of ruin, cannot but in conſcience crave of you, my brethren of all eſtates, that have profeſſed the truth, your preſence, comfort, and aſſiſtance, at the ſaid day, in the town of Edinburgh, even as ye tender the advancement of God's glory, the ſafety of your brethren, and your own aſſurance, together with the preſervation of the church, in theſe apparent dangers. It may be, perchance, that perſuaſions be made to the contrary, and that ye may be informed, that either your aſſembly is not neceſſary, or elſe that it will offend the higher powers: and my good hope is, that neither flattery nor fear ſhall make you ſo far decline from Chriſt Jeſus, as that, againſt your public promiſe, and ſolemn bond, you will leave your brethren in ſo juſt a cauſe: and albeit there was no great danger, yet cannot our aſſembly be unprofitable, for many things require conſultation, which cannot be had, unleſs the wiſeſt and godlieſt convene. And thus, doubting nothing of the aſſiſtance of our God, if that we uniformly ſeek his glory, I ceaſe further to trouble you, committing you heartily to the protection of the Eternal.

From Edinburgh, 8th of
October 1563.

JOHN KNOX.

The brethren advertiſed by this letter, prepared themſelves, ſo many as were thought expedient for every town and province, to keep the day appointed; but by the means of ſome falſe brethren, the letter came to the hands of the queen: the manner was this; It was read in the town of Ayr, where was preſent Mr. Robert Cunningham, ſtyled miniſter of Failfurd, who then was held a profeſſor of the goſpel (by what means we know not), got the ſaid letter, and ſent, it with his token, to Mr. Henry Sinclair, then preſident of the ſeat and college of juſtice, ſtyled biſhop of Roſs, a perfect hypocrite, and a conjured enemy to Chriſt Jeſus, whom God after ſtruck according to his deſerts. The ſaid Mr. Henry being enemy to all that unfeignedly profeſſed the Lord Jeſus, but chiefly to John Knox, for the liberty of his tongue; for he had affirmed, That a biſhop who receives profit, and feeds not the flock (even by his own labours), is both a thief and a murderer: the ſaid Mr. Henry, we ſay, thinking himſelf happy, that he had found ſo good occaſion to trouble him, whoſe life he hated, ſent the ſaid letter, with his counſel, to the queen, who then lay at Stirling. The letter being read, it was concluded by the council of the cabinet, that is, by the moſt ſecret council, that it imported treaſon, whereof the queen did not a little rejoice; for ſhe thought once to be revenged of that her great enemy. It was concluded, that the nobility ſhould be written for, that the condemnation ſhould have the greater authority: the day was appointed about the midſt of December, which was kept by the whole council, and by divers others, ſuch as the maſter of Maxwel, the old laird of Lethington, and the ſaid preſident.

In the mean time the earl of Murray returned from the north, to whom ſecretary Lethington opened the matter, as beſt pleaſed him. The maſter of Maxwel (after made lord Herris) gave unto the ſaid John, as it were, a diſcharge of the familiarity which before was great betwixt them, unleſs that he would ſatisfy the queen at her own will. The anſwer of John Knox was, That he knew no offence done by him to the queen's majeſty, and therefore he knew not what ſatisfaction to make. No offence? ſaid he; Have you not written letters, deſiring the brethren from all parts to convene to Andrew Armſtrong and Patrick Cranſton? That I grant, ſaid the other; but therein I acknowledge no offence done by me. No offence, ſaid he, to convocate the queen's lieges? Not for ſo juſt a cauſe, ſaid the other; for greater things were reputed no offence within theſe two years. The time, ſaid he, is now otherwiſe; for then our ſovereign was abſent, and now ſhe is preſent. It is neither the abſence nor the preſence of the queen, ſaid he, that rules my conſcience, but God plainly ſpeaking in his word. What was lawful to me the laſt year, is yet lawful, becauſe my God is unchangeable.

Well, ſaid the maſter, I have given you my counſel, do as you pleaſe; but I think you ſhall repent it, if you bow not unto the queen.

I underſtand not, ſaid he, what you mean; I never made myſelf an adverſe party unto the queen's majeſty, except in the point of religion,

and therein I think you will not deſire me to bow.

Well, ſaid he, you are wiſe enough; but you will not find that men will bear with you in times to come, as they have done in times bypaſt.

If God ſtand my friend, ſaid the other, as I am aſſured he of his mercy will, ſo long as I depend upon his promiſe, and prefer his glory to my life and worldly profit, I little regard how men behave themſelves towards me; neither yet know I wherein any one man hath borne with me in times bypaſt, unleſs it be, that of my mouth they have heard the word of God, which in time to come if they refuſe, my heart will be perfect, and for a ſeaſon I will lament; but the incommodity will be their own. And, after theſe words (hereunto the laird of Lochinvar was witneſs), they departed; but unto this day, the ſeventeenth day of December 1571, yea, never in this life met they in ſuch familiarity as before.

The report of the accuſation of John Knox being ſpread abroad, Mr. John Spence of Condie advocate, a man of gentle nature, and one that profeſſed the doctrine of the goſpel, came as it were in ſecret to John Knox, to inquire the cauſe of that great report. To whom the ſaid John was plain in all things, and ſhewed unto him the double of the letter; which heard and conſidered, he ſaid, I thank God, I came unto you with a fearful and ſorrowful heart, fearing that you had done ſuch a crime, as law might have puniſhed, which would have been no ſmall trouble to the hearts of all ſuch as have received the word of life, which you have preached; but I depart greatly rejoiced, as well becauſe I ſee your own comfort, even in the midſt of the troubles, as that I clearly underſtand, that you have committed no ſuch crime as is reported. You will be accuſed, ſaid he, but God will aſſiſt you, and ſo he departed.

The earl of Murray and the ſecretary ſent for the ſaid John to the clerk of the regiſter's houſe, and began to lament, that he had ſo highly offended the queen's majeſty, for which they feared ſhould come a great inconveniency to him, if the buſineſs were not wiſely foreſeen: they ſhew what pains and travel they had taken to mitigate her anger; but they could find nothing but extremity, unleſs that he himſelf would confeſs his offence, and put himſelf in her majeſty's will. To which heads the ſaid John anſwered as follows:

I praiſe my God through Jeſus Chriſt, ſaid he, I have learned not to cry conjuration and treaſon, at every thing that the godleſs multitude doth condemn; neither yet to fear the things that they fear. I have the teſtimony of a good conſcience, that I have given no occaſion to the queen's majeſty to be offended with me, for I have done nothing but my duty; and ſo whatſoever ſhall thereof enſue, my good hope is, that my God will give me patience to bear it; but to confeſs an offence, where my conſcience witneſſeth there is none, far be it from me. How can it be defended, ſaid Lethington; have you not made a convocation of the queen's lieges? If I have not, ſaid he, a juſt defence for my deed, let me ſmart for it. Let us hear, ſaid they, your defence, for we would be glad that you might be found innocent. Nay, ſaid the other, I am informed by divers, that even by you, my lord ſecretary, I am already condemned, and my cauſe prejudged; therefore I might be reputed a fool, if I would make you privy to my defence. At theſe words they ſeemed both offended, and ſo the ſecretary departed; but the ſaid earl remained ſtill, and would have entered into further diſcourſe of the ſtate of the court with the ſaid John, who anſwered, My lord, I underſtand more than I would of the ſtate of the court; and therefore it is not needful, that your lordſhip trouble me with the recounting thereof. If you ſtand in good caſe, I am content; and if you do not, as I fear you do not already, or elſe you ſhall not do it ere it be long, blame not me, you have the counſellors whom you have choſen, my weak judgment both they and you deſpiſed. I can do nothing but behold the end, which I pray God it be otherwiſe than my troubled heart feareth.

Within four days the ſaid John was called before the queen and council, betwixt ſix and ſeven o'clock at night: the ſeaſon of the year was the midſt of December. The report riſing in the town, that John Knox was ſent for by the queen, the brethren of the town followed in ſuch number, that the inner cloſe was full, and all the ſtairs, even to the chamber-door where the queen and council ſat, who had been reaſoning amongſt themſelves before, but had not fully ſatisfied the ſecretary's mind. The queen was retired to her cabinet, and the lords were talking one with another, as occaſion ſerved. But upon the entry of John Knox, they were deſired to take their places; which they did, ſitting as counſellors, one againſt another.

The duke, according to his dignity, began the one ſide. Upon the other ſide ſat the earl of Argyle, and conſequently followed earl of Murray, the earl of Glencairn, the earl of Marſhal, the lord Ruthven, the common officers, Pittarro

then comptroller, the juſtice-clerk, with Mr. John Spence of Condie advocate, and divers others ſtood by. Removed from the table ſat old Lethington father to the ſecretary, Mr. Henry Sinclair then biſhop of Roſs, and Mr. James Macgill clerk of the regiſter.

Things thus put in order, the queen came forth, and with no little worldly pomp, was placed in a chair, having two faithful ſupporters, the maſter of Maxwel upon the one ſide, and ſecretary Lethington upon the other ſide of the chair, whereon they waited diligently. At the time of the accuſation, ſometimes the one was ſpeaking in her ear, and ſometimes the other. Her pomp wanted one principal point, *viz.* a womanly gravity: for when ſhe ſaw John Knox ſtanding at the other end of the table bare-headed, ſhe firſt ſmiled, and afterwards laughed; whereunto her Placeboes gave their *plaudite*, aſſenting with like countenance.

This is a good beginning, ſhe ſaid, but know you whereat I laugh? Yon man cauſed me to cry, and ſhed never a tear himſelf; I will ſee if I can cauſe him to grieve. At that word the ſecretary whiſpered her in the ear, and ſhe him again, and with that gave him a letter; after the inſpection whereof, he directed his face and ſpeech to John Knox, in this manner:

The queen's majeſty is informed, that you have endeavoured to raiſe a tumult of her ſubjects againſt her; and, for certification thereof, there is preſented to her your own letter, ſubſcribed in your name; yet becauſe her majeſty will do nothing without good advertiſement, ſhe hath convened you before this part of the nobility, that they may witneſs betwixt you and her.

Let him acknowlege, ſaid ſhe, his own hand-writing, and then ſhall we judge of the contents of the letter; and ſo was the letter ſent, from hand to hand, to John Knox; who, taking inſpection of it, ſaid, I acknowlege this to be my hand-writing; and alſo I remember, that I indited a letter in the month of October, giving ſignification to the brethren in divers quarters, of ſuch things as diſpleaſed me; and ſo good opinion have I of the fidelity of the ſcribes, that willingly they would not adulterate my original, albeit that I left divers blanks ſubſcribed with them; and ſo I acknowledge both the hand-writing and diction.

You have done more, ſaid Lethington, than I would have done. Charity, ſaid the other, is not ſuſpicious. Well, well, ſaid the queen, read your own letter, and then anſwer to ſuch things as ſhall be demanded of you. I ſhall do the beſt I can, ſaid the other; and ſo, with a loud voice, he began to read, as before is expreſſed. After that the letter was read, it was preſented again to Mr. John Spence, her advocate; for the queen commanded him to accuſe, as he did, but very gently.

After, we ſay, that the letter was read, the queen beholding the whole table, ſaid, Heard you ever, my lords, a more deſpiteful and treaſonable letter? While that no man made anſwer, Lethington addreſſed himſelf to John Knox, and ſaid, Maſter Knox, are you not ſorry from your heart, and do you not repent, that ſuch a letter hath paſſed your pen, and from you hath come to the knowledge of others? John Knox anſwered, My lord ſecretary, before I repent, I muſt be taught my offence. Offence, ſaid Lethington, if there were no more but the convocation of the queen's lieges, the offence cannot be denied. Remember yourſelf, my lord, ſaid the other, there is a difference betwixt a lawful convocation and an unlawful; if I have been guilty in this, I have oft offended ſince I came laſt into Scotland: for what convocation of brethren hath ever been to this day, unto which my pen hath not ſerved? and before this no man laid it to my charge as a crime. Then was then, and now is now, ſaid Lethington, we have no need of ſuch convocations as ſometimes we have had. John Knox anſwered, The time that hath been is even now before my eyes; for I ſee the poor flock in no leſs danger, than it hath been at any time before, except that the devil hath gotten a maſk upon his face. Before, he came in with his own face, diſcovered by open tyranny, ſeeking the deſtruction of all that refuſed idolatry, and then I think, you will confeſs, the brethren lawfully aſſembled themſelves, for defence of their lives; and now the devil comes, under the cloak of juſtice, to do that which God would not ſuffer him to do by ſtrength.

What is this, ſaid the queen? methinks you triſle with him. Who gave you authority to make convocation of my lieges? Is not that treaſon? No, madam, ſaid the lord Ruthven, for he makes convocation of the people to hear prayer and ſermon almoſt daily; and whatever your majeſty or others think thereof, we think it no treaſon. Hold your peace, ſaid the queen, let him anſwer for himſelf. I began, madam, ſaid John Knox, to reaſon with the ſecretary (whom I take to be a better diſputant than your majeſty is, that all convocation is not unlawful; and now my lord Ruthven hath given the inſtance, which, if your majeſty will deny, I ſhall make myſelf

ready for the proof. I will ſay nothing, ſaid the queen, againſt your religion, nor againſt your convening to your ſermons; but what authority have you to convocate my ſubjects when you will, without any commandment? I have no pleaſure, ſaid John Knox, to decline from my former purpoſe; and yet, madam, to ſatisfy your majeſty's two queſtions, I anſwer, That at my will I never convened four perſons in Scotland; but at the order that the brethren have appointed, I have given divers advertiſements, and great multitudes have aſſembled thereupon: and if your majeſty complaineth, that this was done without your majeſty's commandment, I anſwer, So hath all that God hath bleſſed within this realm, from the beginning of this action: and therefore, madam, I muſt be convinced by a juſt law, that I have acted againſt the duty of God's meſſenger, in writing of this letter, before that I either be ſorry, or yet repent, for the doing of it, as my lord ſecretary would perſuade me; for what I have done, I have done at the commandment of the general church of this realm; and therefore I think I have done no wrong. You ſhall not eſcape ſo, ſaid the queen.

Is it not treaſon, my lords, to accuſe a prince of cruelty? I think there are acts of parliament to be found againſt ſuch whiſperers. This was granted to be true by many. But wherein, ſaid John Knox, can I be accuſed? Read this part of your letter, ſaid the queen, which began, 'Theſe 'fearful ſummonſes are directed againſt them (*viz.* 'the brethren aforeſaid), to make, no doubt, a 'preparation upon a few, that a door may be 'opened to execute cruelty upon a greater multi-'tude.' Lo! ſaid the queen, What ſay you to that? While many doubted what the ſaid John ſhould anſwer, he ſaid unto the queen, Is it lawful for me, madam, to anſwer for myſelf? Or ſhall I be condemned before I be heard. Say what you can, ſaid ſhe, for I think you have enough ado. I will firſt then deſire, ſaid he, of your majeſty, madam, and of this honourable audience, Whether if your majeſty knows not, that the obſtinate Papiſts are deadly enemies to all that profeſs the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, and that they moſt earneſtly deſire the extirpation of them all, and of the true doctrine that is taught within this realm? The queen held her peace; but all the lords, with common conſent and voice, ſaid, God forbid that either the life of the faithful, or yet the ſupport of the doctrine, depended on the power of the Papiſts; for juſt experience hath taught us what cruelty is in their hearts.

I muſt proceed then, ſaid John Knox, ſeeing that I perceive all will grant, that it were a barbarous cruelty to deſtroy ſuch a multitude as profeſs the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt within this realm, which oftener than once or twice they attempted to do by force, as things done of late days do teſtify; whereof they being, by God's providence, diſappointed, have invented more crafty and dangerous practices, *viz.* to make the prince party, under colour of law; and ſo what they could not do by open force, they ſhall perform by crafty deceit: for who thinks, my lords, that the inſatiable cruelty of the Papiſts (within this realm I mean) ſhall end in the murdering of theſe two, now unjuſtly ſummoned, and more unjuſtly to be accuſed? I think no man of judgment can ſuppoſe ſo, but rather the contrary: that is, by this few number they intend to prepare a way to their bloody enterpriſe againſt the whole; and therefore, madam, caſt up when you pleaſe the acts of your parliaments, I have offended not againſt them; for I accuſe not, in my letter, your majeſty, nor yet your nature, of cruelty: but I affirm yet again, that the peſtilent Papiſts, who have inflamed your majeſty, without cauſe, againſt theſe poor men at preſent, are the ſons of the devil; and therefore muſt obey the deſires of their father, who hath been a murderer from the beginning.

You forget yourſelf, ſaid one, you are not in the pulpit. I am in the place, ſaid the other, where I am commanded, by my conſcience, to ſpeak the truth; and therefore the truth I ſpeak, oppoſe it who will: and hereunto I add, madam, that honeſt, meek, and gentle natures, in appearance, by wicked and corrupt counſellors, may be changed and altered to the contrary. We have an example of Nero, who, in the beginning of his reign, we find, had ſome natural ſhame; but after that, his flatterers encouraged him in all impiety, alledging, that nothing was either diſhoneſt, or yet unlawful in his perſon, who was emperor above others. When he had drunk of this cup, I ſay, to what enormities he fell the hiſtories bear witneſs. And now, madam, to ſpeak plainly, Papiſts have your majeſty's ear patent at all times. I aſſure your majeſty, they are dangerous counſellors, and that your mother found.

As this was ſaid, Lethington ſmiled, and ſpake ſecretly to the queen in her ear. What it was they at the table heard not; but immediately ſhe addreſſed her ſpeech to John Knox, and ſaid, Well, you ſpeak fair enough here before my lords; but the laſt time I ſpake with you ſecretly, you cauſed me

to weep many tears, and ſaid to me ſtubbornly, ye cared not for my weeping. Madam, ſaid the other, becauſe now the ſecond time your majeſty hath burdened me with that crime, I muſt anſwer, leſt for my ſilence I be held guilty: if your majeſty be ripely remembered, the laird of Dun, yet living, who can teſtify the truth, was preſent at that time, whereof your majeſty complaineth.

Your majeſty accuſed me, that I had irreverently ſpoken of you in the pulpit. That I denied. You ſaid, What had I to do to ſpeak of your marriage? What was I, that I ſhould meddle with ſuch matters? I anſwered, as touching nature, I was a worm of this earth, and yet a ſubject to this commonwealth; but as touching the office, wherein it hath pleaſed God to place me, I was a watchman, both over the realm, and over the church of God gathered within the ſame; by reaſon whereof I was bound in conſcience to blow the trumpet publicly, as oft as ever I ſaw any appearance of danger, either of the one, or of the other. But ſo it was, that a certain report affirmed, that a treaty of marriage was betwixt your majeſty and the Spaniſh Allya. Whereunto I ſaid, that if your nobility and ſtates did agree, unleſs both you and your huſband ſhould be ſtrictly bound, that neither of you might hurt the commonwealth, nor yet the poor church of God within the ſame, in that caſe I would pronounce, that the conſenters were troublers of the commonwealth, and enemies unto God, and unto his truth planted within the ſame. At theſe words, I grant, your majeſty ſtormed, and burſted forth into an unreaſonable weeping. What mitigation the laird of Dun would have made, I ſuppoſe your majeſty hath not forgot: but while that nothing was able to ſtay your weeping, I was compelled to ſay, I take God to witneſs, I never took pleaſure to ſee your majeſty make ſuch regret: but ſeeing I have offered to your majeſty no ſuch occaſion, I muſt rather ſuffer your majeſty to take your own pleaſure, than I dare conceal the truth, and ſo betray the church and the commonwealth. Theſe were the ſharpeſt words I ſpoke that day.

After that the ſecretary had conferred with the queen, he ſaid, Maſter Knox, you may return to your houſe for this night. I thank God, and the queen's majeſty, ſaid the other. And, madam, I pray God to purge your heart from Papiſtry, and to preſerve you from the counſel of flatterers: for how pleaſant ſo ever they appear to your ear, and corrupt affections for the time, experience hath taught us into what perplexity they have brought famous princes. Lethington, and the maſter of Maxwel, were that night the two ſtoops of her chair.

John Knox being departed, the tables of the lords, and others that were preſent, were demanded every one their vote, If John Knox had not offended the queen's majeſty? The lords voted uniformly, that they could find no offence (the queen was paſt to her cabinet). The flatterers of the court, and principally Lethington, raged. The queen was brought again, and placed in the chair, and they commanded to vote over again; which thing offended the whole nobility; and they began to ſpeak highly in open audience, What! ſhall the laird of Lethington have power to control us? Or ſhall the preſence of a woman cauſe us to offend God, and to condemn an innocent man againſt our conſciences, for the pleaſure of any creature? And ſo the whole nobility abſolved John Knox again, and praiſed God for his modeſty, and for his plain and ſenſible anſwers. Yet before the end, one thing is to be noted, *viz.* that amongſt ſo many Placeboes (we mean the flatterers of the court), there was not one that plainly durſt condemn the ſaid poor man that was accuſed; the ſame God ruling their tongues, that ſome time ruled the tongue of Balaam, when gladly he would have curſed God's people.

This perceived, the queen began to upbraid Mr. Henry Sinclair, then biſhop of Roſs, and ſaid (hearing his vote to agree with the reſt), Trouble not the bairn, I pray you trouble him not, for he is newly awaked out of his ſleep: Why ſhould not the old fool follow them that paſt before him? The biſhop anſwered coldly, Your majeſty may conſider, that it is neither affection to the man, nor love to his profeſſion, that moved me to abſolve him, but the ſimple truth, which plainly appears in his defence, draws me hereunto, albeit that others would have condemned him and it. This being ſaid, the lords and whole aſſiſtants aroſe and departed. That night there was neither dancing nor fiddling in the court; for our ſovereign was diſappointed of her purpoſe, which was, to have had John Knox in her will, by vote of her nobility. John Knox abſolved, by the greateſt part of the nobility, from the crime alledged againſt him, even in preſence of the queen, ſhe raged, and her Placeboes ſtormed; and ſo began new attempts to be made with the ſaid John Knox, to make him confeſs an offence, and put himſelf in the queen's will, and ſhe would promiſe, that his greateſt puniſhment ſhould be, only to go with-

in the caſtle of Edinburgh, and immediately to return to his own houſe. He anſwered, God forbid that my confeſſion ſhould condemn theſe noblemen, who, in their conſcience, and to the diſpleaſure of the queen, have abſolved me. And further, I am aſſured, ye will not in earneſt deſire me to confeſs an offence, unleſs that therewith you would deſire me to ceaſe from preaching: For how can I exhort others to peace and Chriſtian quietneſs, if I confeſs myſelf an author and mover of ſedition?

The general aſſembly of the church approached, which began the twenty-fifth day of December 1563. But the juſt petitions of the miniſters and commiſſioners of churches were deſpiſed at the firſt, and that with theſe words, As miniſters will not follow our counſel, ſo will we ſuffer miniſters to labour for themſelves, and ſee what ſpeed they come. But then the whole aſſembly ſaid, If the queen will not, we muſt; for both the third and two parts are rigorouſly taken from us, and from our tenants. If others, ſaid one, will follow my counſel, the guard and the Papiſts ſhall complain as long as our miniſters have done. At theſe words, the former ſharpneſs was coloured, and the ſpeaker alledged, that he meant not all miniſters. Chriſtopher Goodman anſwered, My lord ſecretary, if you can ſhew me what juſt title either the queen hath to the third, or the Papiſts to the two parts, then I think I ſhould reſolve you, whether ſhe were debtor to miniſters within burghs or not; but thereto he received this check for anſwer, *Ne ſit peregrinus curioſus in aliena republica;* that is, 'Let not a ſtranger be curious in a ſtrange commonwealth.' The man of God anſwered, Albeit I be a ſtranger in your policy, yet am I not ſo in the church of God; and therefore the care doth no leſs appertain to me in Scotland, than if I were in the midſt of England. Many wondered at the ſilence of John Knox; for, in all theſe quick reaſonings, he opened not his mouth, the cauſe whereof he himſelf expreſſed in theſe words:

I have travelled, right honourable and beloved brethren, ſince my laſt arrival within this realm, in an upright conſcience before my God, ſeeking nothing more, as he is witneſs, than the advancement of his glory, and the ſtability of his church within this realm; and, of late days, I have been accuſed as a ſeditious man, and as one that uſurpeth to myſelf power that becometh me not: true it is, that I have given advertiſement unto the brethren in divers quarters, of the extremity intended againſt divers faithful, for looking to a prieſt going to maſs, and for obſerving of thoſe that tranſgreſs againſt juſt laws; but that therein I have uſurped further power than is given me, till that by you I be condemned, I utterly deny: for I ſay that by you, that is, by the charge of the general aſſembly, I have all juſt power to advertiſe the brethren, from time to time, of dangers appearing, as I have power to preach the word of God in the pulpit of Edinburgh; for by you I was appointed to the one, and to the other; and therefore, in the name of God, I crave your judgments. The danger that appeared to me in my accuſation, was not ſo fearful as the words that came to my ears were dolorous to my heart; for theſe words were plainly ſpoken, and that by ſome Proteſtants, What can the pope do more, than to ſend forth his letters, and require them to be obeyed? Let me have your judgments therefore, whether I have uſurped any power to myſelf, or if I have obeyed your commandment.

The flatterers of the court (amongſt whom the juſtice-clerk then not the leaſt) began to ſtorm, and ſaid, Shall we be compelled to juſtify the raſh judgments of men? My lord, ſaid John Knox, you ſhall ſpeak your pleaſure for the preſent, of you I crave nothing; but if the church that is here preſent do not either abſolve me, or elſe condemn me, never ſhall I in public or in private, as a public miniſter, open my mouth in doctrine or in reaſoning.

After long contention, the ſaid John being removed, the whole church found, that a charge was given unto him, to advertiſe the brethren in all quarters, as oft as ever danger appeared; and therefore avowed that act not to be his only, but the act of the whole aſſembly. Thereat were the queen's claw-backs more enraged than ever they were; for ſome of them had promiſed the queen to get the ſaid John convicted, both by the council and by the church; and being fruſtrated of both, ſhe and they thought themſelves not a little diſappointed.

In the very time of the general aſſembly, there comes to public knowledge a heinous murder committed in the court, yea, not far from the queen's lap; for a French woman, that ſerved in the queen's chamber, had played the whore with the queen's own apothecary: the woman conceived and bare a child, whom, with common conſent, the father and mother murdered; yet were the cries of a new-born child heard. Search being made, the child was found, and the mother apprehended; and ſo was both the man and the woman condemned to be hanged in the public ſtreet of Edinburgh.

The puniſhment was notable, becauſe the crime was heinous: but yet was not the court purged of whores and whoredom, which was the fountain of ſuch enormities; for it was well known, that ſhame-haſted marriage betwixt John Sempil, called the Dancer, and Mary Livingſton, ſirnamed the Luſty. What report the Maries, and the reſt of the dancers of the court had, the ballads of that age did witneſs, which we for modeſty's ſake omit: but this was the common complaint of all godly and wiſe men, that if they thought that ſuch a court ſhould continue long, and if they looked for no better life to come, they would have wiſhed their ſons and daughters rather to have been brought up with fidlers and dancers, and to have been exerciſed in flinging upon a floor, and in the reſt that thereof follows, than to have been exerciſed in the company of the godly, and exerciſed in virtue, which in that court was hated, and filthineſs not only maintained, but alſo rewarded; witneſs the abbacy of Abercorn, the barony of Auchtermuchty, and divers others pertaining to the patrimony of the crown, given in heritage to ſkippers and dancers, and dalliers with dames. This was the beginning of the government of Mary queen of Scots, and theſe were the fruits that ſhe brought forth of France. 'Lord! look upon our miſeries, 'and deliver us from the wickedneſs of this cor-'rupt court, for thy own name's ſake.'

God, from heaven, and from the face of the earth, did declare, that he was offended at the iniquity committed within this realm; for upon the twentieth day of January, there fell rain in great abundance, which in the falling freezed ſo vehemently, that the earth was but a ſhot of ice; the fowls both great and ſmall freezed, and could not fly; many died, and ſome were taken and laid beſide the fire, that their feathers might be thawed: and that ſame month the ſea ſtood ſtill, as was clearly obſerved, and neither ebbed nor flowed for the ſpace of twenty-four hours. In the month of February, the fifteenth and eighteenth days thereof, there were ſeen in the firmament, battles arrayed, ſpears, and other weapons, and as it had been the joining of two armies: theſe things were not only obſerved, but alſo ſpoken of, and conſtantly affirmed, by men of judgment and credit.

But the queen and our court made merry: there was banqueting upon banqueting: the queen would banquet all the lords; and that was done from policy, to remove the ſuſpicion of her diſpleaſure againſt them, becauſe they would not, at her devotion, condemn John Knox. To remove, we ſay, that jealouſy, ſhe made the banquet to the whole lords, whereat ſhe would have the duke amongſt the reſt. It behoved them to banquet her again, and ſo did banqueting continue till Lent, and after. But the poor miniſters were mocked, and reputed as monſters. The guard, and the affairs of the kitchen, were ſo gripping, that the miniſters ſtipends could not be had: and yet, at the aſſembly laſt paſt, ſolemn promiſe was made, in the queen's name, by the mouth of ſecretary Lethington, in the audience of the nobility, and of the whole aſſembly; who affirmed, that he had commandment of her highneſs, to promiſe full content unto all the miniſters within the realm, and of ſuch order to be kept in all times to come, that the whole body of the Proteſtants ſhould have occaſion to ſtand content: the earl of Murray affirmed the ſame, with many other fair promiſes given in writing, by Lethington himſelf, as in the regiſter of the acts of the general aſſembly may be ſeen; but how that, or yet any other thing promiſed in her name to the church of God, was obſerved, the world can witneſs.

The miniſters perceiving all things to tend to ruin, diſcharged their conſciences in public and in private; but they received for their labour hatred and indignation: and, amongſt others, that worthy ſervant of God Mr. John Craig, ſpeaking againſt the manifold corruptions that then, without ſhame or fear, declared itſelf, ſaid, 'Sometimes 'were hypocrites known by their noted habits, and 'we had men to be monks, and women to be nuns; 'but now all things are ſo changed, that we cannot diſcern the earl from the abbot, nor the nun 'from him that would be eſteemed the nobleman; 'ſo that we have gotten a new order of monks and 'nuns: but, ſaid he, ſeeing you are not aſhamed 'of that unjuſt profit, would to God that you had 'therewith the cowl, the vail, and the tail, joined 'withal, that ſo you might appear in your own 'colours.' This liberty did ſo provoke the choler of Lethington, that in open audience he gave himſelf to the devil, if that after that day he ſhould regard what became of the miniſters, but he would do what he could that his companions ſhould have a ſhare with himſelf: and let them bark and blow, ſaid he, as loud as they liſt. And ſo that was the ſecond time that he had given defiance unto the ſervants of God.

Whereupon aroſe whiſperings and complaints, by the flatterers of the court, complaining that men were not charitably handled: Might not ſins be reproved in general, albeit men were not ſo ſpecially taxed, that all the world might know of

whom the preacher ſpeaks. Whereunto was this anſwer made, Let men be aſhamed publicly to offend, and the miniſters ſhall abſtain from ſpecialities; but ſo long as Proteſtants are not aſhamed manifeſtly to act againſt the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, ſo long cannot the miniſters of God ceaſe to cry, that God would be avenged upon ſuch abuſers of his holy word.

Thus had the ſervants of God a double battle, fighting, upon the one ſide, againſt idolatry, and the reſt of the abominations maintained by the court; and, upon the other part, againſt the unthankfulneſs of ſuch as ſometimes would have been eſteemed the chief pillars of the church within the realm. The threatenings of the preachers were fearful; but the court thought itſelf in ſuch ſecurity that it could not miſcarry.

The queen after the banqueting kept a diet, by the direction of L' Uſurie a Frenchman, who had been acquainted with her malady before, being her phyſician: and thereafter ſhe, for the ſecond time, made her progreſs in the north; and commanded to ward, in the caſtle of Edinburgh, the earl of Caithneſs, for a murder committed by his ſervants upon the earl Marſhal's men: he obeyed, but he was ſuddenly releaſed; for ſuch blood-thirſty men, and Papiſts, ſuch as he is, are thought good ſubjects at court. 'Thy kingdom come, O Lord! 'for in this realm is nothing (amongſt ſuch as 'ſhould puniſh vice, and maintain virtue), but abo-'mination abounding without bridle.'

The flatterers of the court did daily rage againſt the poor preachers; happieſt was he that could invent the moſt bitter taunts, and diſdainful mockings of the miniſters; and at length they began to jeſt at the term of *idolatry*, affirming, that men knew not what they ſpake, when they called the maſs idolatry: yea, ſome proceeded further, and feared not at open table to affirm, that they would ſuſtain the argument, that the maſs was no idolatry. Theſe things coming to the ears of the preachers, they were proclaimed in the public pulpit of Edinburgh, with this complaint, directed by the ſpeaker to his God:

O Lord! how long ſhall the wicked prevail againſt the juſt? How long wilt thou ſuffer thyſelf, and thy bleſſed goſpel, to be deſpiſed of men; of men, we ſay, that boaſt themſelves defenders of the truth? for of thy manifeſt and known enemies we complain not, but of ſuch as unto whom thou haſt revealed thy light; for now it cometh to our ears, that men (not prieſts, we ſay, but chief Proteſtants) will defend the maſs to be no idolatry: if ſo it is, miſerably have I been deceived, and miſerably, alas! O Lord! have I deceived thy people; which thou knoweſt, O Lord! I have ever more abhorred than a thouſand deaths!

But, ſaid he (turning his face towards the place where ſuch men as had ſo affirmed ſat), If I be not able to prove the maſs to be the moſt abominable idolatry that ever was uſed from the beginning of the world, I offer myſelf to ſuffer the puniſhment appointed by God to a falſe preacher. And it appeareth unto me, ſaith the preacher, that the affirmers ſhould be ſubject to the ſame law; for it is the truth of God that you perſecute and blaſpheme; and it is the inventions of the devil, that obſtinately, againſt his word, you maintain: whereat albeit you now mock and ſcold, as if all that were ſpoken were but wind; yet I am as fully aſſured, as I am aſſured that my God liveth, that ſome that hear this your defection, and railing againſt the truth and the ſervants of God, ſhall ſee a part of God's judgment poured forth upon this realm (and principally upon you that faſteſt cleave unto the favour of the court), for the abominations that are by you maintained. Albeit that ſuch vehemency provoked tears from the eyes of ſome, yet theſe that knew themſelves guilty, in a mocking manner, ſaid, We muſt recant and burn our bill, for the preachers are angry.

The general aſſembly holden in June 1564 approached, unto which a great part of the nobility (of thoſe that are called Proteſtants) convened, ſome for aſſiſtance of the miniſters, and ſome to accuſe them, as we ſhall after hear.

A little before theſe troubles, which Satan raiſed in the body of the church, began one David, an Italian, to be great in the court; the queen uſed him for ſecretary, for things that appertained to her ſecret affairs, or elſewhere: great men made ſuit unto him, and their ſuits were the better heard; but of his beginning and progreſs we delay now further to ſpeak, and defer it to a fitter occaſion of time and place, becauſe that his end will require the deſcription of the whole.

The firſt day of the general aſſembly, neither the courtiers, nor the lords that depended upon the court, preſented themſelves in ſeſſion with their brethren; whereat many wondered. An ancient and honourable man, the laird of Lundie, ſaid, Nay, I wonder not at their abſence, but I wonder that at our laſt aſſembly, they drew themſelves apart, and joined not with us, but drew from us ſome of our miniſters, and required them to conclude ſuch things as were never propoſed to the

public aſſembly, which appears to me to be a thing very prejudicial to the liberty of the church; and therefore my judgment is, that they ſhall be informed of this offence, which the whole brethren have conceived of their former fault; humbly requiring, that if they be brethren, that they will aſſiſt their brethren with their preſence and counſel, for we had never greater need; and if they be reſolved to fall back from us, it were better we knew it now than afterwards. Thereto agreed the whole aſſembly; and gave commiſſion to certain brethren, to ſignify the minds of the aſſembly to the lords; which was done that ſame afternoon. The courtiers at firſt ſeemed a little offended, that they ſhould be as it were ſuſpected of defection: yet nevertheleſs, upon the next day, they joined with the aſſembly, and came unto it; but they drew themſelves, like as they did before, apart, and entered into the inner council-houſe. There were the duke, the earls of Argyle, Murray, Morton, Glencairn, Marſhal, lord Roſs, the maſter of Maxwel, ſecretary Lethington, the juſtice-clerk, the clerk of the regiſter, and the laird of Pittarro comptroller.

After a little conſultation, they directed a meſſenger, Mr. George Hay, then called miniſter of the court, requiring the ſuperintendants, and ſome of the learned miniſters, to confer with them. The aſſembly anſwered, That they convened to deliberate upon the common affairs of the church; and therefore that they could not lack their ſuperintendants and chief miniſters, whoſe judgments were ſo neceſſary, that the reſt ſhould ſit as it were idle without them; and therefore willed them, as oft before, That if they acknowledged themſelves members of the church, that they would join with their brethren, and propoſe in public ſuch things as they pleaſed, and ſo they ſhould have the aſſiſtance of the whole, in all things that might ſtand with God's commandment: but to ſend from themſelves a portion of their company, they underſtood that thereof hurt and ſlander might ariſe, rather than any profit or comfort to the church; for they feared that all men ſhould not ſtand content with the concluſion, where the conference and reaſonings were heard but by a few.

This anſwer was not given without cauſe; for no ſmall travel was made, to have drawn ſome miniſters to the faction of the courtiers, and to have ſuſtained their arguments and opinions: but when it was conceived by the moſt politic amongſt them, that they could not prevail by that means, they prepared the matter in other terms, purging themſelves, that they never meant to divide themſelves from the ſociety of their brethren; but becauſe they had certain heads to confer with certain miniſters, therefore, for avoiding of confuſion, they thought it more expedient to have the conference before a few, rather than in the public audience. But the aſſembly did ſtill reply, That ſecret conference would they not admit, in thoſe heads that ſhould be concluded by the general voice. The lords promiſed, That no concluſion ſhould be taken, neither yet vote required, till that both the propoſitions and the reaſons ſhould be heard and conſidered by the whole body. Upon that condition were directed unto them, with expreſs charge, to conclude nothing without the knowledge and advice of the aſſembly, the laird of Dun ſuperintendant of Angus, the ſuperintendants of Lothian and Fife, Mr. John Row, Mr. John Craig, William Chriſtiſon, Mr. David Lindſay, miniſters, with the rector of St. Andrews, and Mr. George Hay the ſuperintendant of Glaſgow; Mr. John Willock was moderator, and John Knox waited upon the ſcribe; and ſo were they appointed to ſit with the brethren; and yet becauſe the principal complaint touched John Knox, he was alſo called for.

Secretary Lethington began the harangue, which contained theſe heads: *Firſt*, How much we are indebted unto God, by whoſe providence we have liberty of religion under the queen's majeſty, albeit that ſhe is not perſuaded in the ſame. *Secondly*, How neceſſary a thing it is, that the queen's majeſty, by all good offices on the part of the church (ſo ſpake he), and of the miniſters principally, ſhould be retained in that conſtant opinion, that they unfeignedly favoured her advancement, and procured her ſubjects to have a good opinion of her. And, *laſtly*, How dangerous a thing it was, that the miniſters ſhould be noted, one to diſagree from another, in form of prayer for her majeſty, or in doctrine concerning obedience to her authority. In theſe two laſt heads, ſaid he, we deſire you all to be circumſpect. But eſpecially we muſt crave of you our brother John Knox, to moderate yourſelf, as well in form of praying for the queen's majeſty, as in doctrine that you propoſe, touching her ſtate and obedience: neither ſhall ye take this, ſaid he, as ſpoken to your reproach, *quia mens pulchra, interdum in corpore pulchro*; but becauſe that others, by your example, may imitate the like liberty, albeit not with the ſame diſcretion and foreſight; and what opinion that may engender in the people's heads, wiſe men may forſee.

The ſaid John prepared himſelf for anſwer as follows: If ſuch as fear God have occaſion to praiſe him, becauſe that idolatry is maintained, the ſervants of God deſpiſed, wicked men placed again in honour and authority (Mr. Henry Sinclair was a ſhort time before made preſident, who before durſt not have ſat in judgment); and finally, if we ought to praiſe God, becauſe that vice and impiety overfloweth the whole realm without puniſhment, then we have occaſion to rejoice and praiſe God; but if theſe and the like uſe to provoke God's vengeance againſt realms and nations, then, in my judgment, the godly within Scotland ought to lament and mourn, and ſo to prevent God's judgments, leſt that he, finding all in like ſecurity, ſtrike in his hot indignation, beginning perchance at ſuch as think they offend not.

That is a head, ſaid Lethington, whereunto you and I never agreed; for how are you able to prove, that God ever ſtruck or plagued any nation or people for the iniquity of their prince, if they themſelves lived godly? I looked, ſaid he, my lord, to have had audience, till I had abſolved the other two parts; but ſeeing it pleaſeth your lordſhip to cut me off before the midſt, I will anſwer to your queſtion. The Scripture of God ſheweth me, that Jeruſalem and Judah were puniſhed for the ſins of Manaſſeh. And if you alledge, that they were puniſhed becauſe they were wicked, and offended with their king, and not becauſe their king was wicked; I anſwer, That albeit the Spirit of God makes for me, ſaying in expreſs words, 'For 'the ſins of Manaſſeh;' yet will I not be ſo obſtinate as to lay the whole ſin and plagues that thereof enſued upon the king, and utterly abſolve the people; but I will grant withal, that the whole people offended with their king; but how, and in what faſhion, I fear that ye and I ſhall not agree: I doubt not but the great multitude accompanied him in all the abominations that he did; for idolatry and falſe religion hath ever been, and will be pleaſing to the moſt part of men: but to affirm, that all Judah committed really the acts of his impiety, is but to affirm that which neither hath certainty, nor yet appearance of any truth; for who can think it to be poſſible, that all thoſe of Jeruſalem ſhould ſo ſhortly turn to idolatry, conſidering the notable reformation lately before had in the days of Hezekiah? But yet, ſays the text, 'Manaſ-'ſeh made Judah, and all the inhabitants of Jeru-'ſalem to err.' True it is, the one part, as I have ſaid, willingly followed him in his idolatry, the other ſuffered him to defile Jeruſalem and the temple of God with all abominations, and ſo were they criminal of his ſin; the one by act and deed, the other by ſuffering and permiſſion; even as Scotland is this day guilty of the queen's idolatry, and ye, my lords, in ſpecial above others.

Well, ſaid Lethington, that is the chief head wherein we never agreed; but of that we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. What will ye ſay as touching the moving of the people to have a good opinion of the queen's majeſty, and as concerning obedience to be given to her authority; as alſo, of the form of prayer which ye commonly uſe? My lord, ſaid he, more earneſtly to move the people, or yet otherwiſe to pray, than heretofore I have done, a good conſcience will not ſuffer me; for he who knows the ſecrets of hearts, knows that privately and publicly I have called to God for her converſion, and have willed the people to do the ſame, ſhewing unto them the dangerous ſtate wherein not only ſhe herſelf ſtands, but alſo the whole realm, by reaſon of her obſtinate blindneſs.

That is it, ſaid Lethington, wherein we find the greateſt fault; your extremity againſt her maſs in particular paſſeth meaſure; ye call her a ſlave to Satan; ye affirm, that God's vengeance hangs over the realm, by reaſon of her impiety: and what is this elſe, but to raiſe up the hearts of the people againſt her majeſty, and againſt them that ſerve her? Then there was heard an acclamation of the reſt of the flatterers, that ſuch extremity could not profit. The maſter of Maxwel ſaid in plain words, If I were in the queen's majeſty's place, I would not ſuffer ſuch things as I hear. If the words of the preachers, ſaid John Knox, ſhall be always wreſted in the worſt part, then will it be hard to ſpeak any thing ſo circumſpectly, provided that the truth be ſpoken, which ſhall eſcape the cenſure of the calumniator. The moſt vehement, and as ye ſpeak, exceſſive manner of prayer, that I uſe in public, is this, 'O Lord! if thy 'good pleaſure be, purge the heart of the queen's 'majeſty from the venom of idolatry, and deliver 'her from the bondage and thraldom of Satan, 'into the which ſhe hath been brought up, and yet 'remains for the lack of true doctrine; and let 'her ſee, by the illumination of thy Holy Spirit, 'that there is no means to pleaſe thee but by Je-'ſus Chriſt thy only Son; and that Jeſus Chriſt 'cannot be found but in thy holy word, nor yet 'received but as it preſcribes; which is to re-'nounce our own wiſdom and pre-conceived opi-'nions, and worſhip thee as thou commands; that 'in ſo doing ſhe may avoid that eternal damnation

'which abides all who are obſtinate and impeni-
'tent to the end; and that this poor realm may
'alſo eſcape that plague and vengeance which in-
'evitably followeth idolatry, maintained againſt
'thy manifeſt word, and the open light thereof.'
This, ſaid he, is the form of my common prayer, as yourſelves can witneſs: now, what is worthy of reprehenſion in it I would hear.

There are three things in it, ſaid Lethington, that I never liked: the firſt is, ye pray for the queen's majeſty with a condition, ſaying, 'Illu-
'minate her heart, if thy good pleaſure be:' whereby it may appear, that ye doubt of her converſion: Where have ye the example of ſuch prayer? Whereſoever the examples are, ſaid the other, I am aſſured of the rule, which is this; If we ſhall aſk any thing according to his will, he will hear us: and our Maſter Jeſus Chriſt commands us to pray unto our Father, 'Thy will be done.' But, ſaid Lethington, where find ye any of the prophets ſo to have prayed? It ſufficeth me, ſaid the other, my lord, that the Maſter and Teacher, both of prophets and apoſtles, hath taught me ſo to pray. But in ſo doing, ſaid Lethington, ye put a doubt in the people's heads of her converſion. Not I, ſaid the other, but her own obſtinate rebellion cauſeth more than me to doubt of her converſion. Wherein, ſaid he, rebels ſhe againſt God? In all the actions of her life, ſaid John Knox; but in theſe two heads eſpecially: the firſt is, That ſhe will not hear the preaching of the bleſſed goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt: and ſecondly, That ſhe maintaineth that idol the maſs. She thinks not that rebellion, ſaid Lethington. So thought they, ſaid the other, that ſometimes offered their children unto Molech; and yet the Spirit of God affirms, that they offered them unto devils, and not unto God: and this day the Turks think they have a better religion than the Papiſts have; and yet, I think, ye will excuſe neither of them both from committing rebellion againſt God; neither yet juſtly can ye do the queen, unleſs ye will make God to be partial.

But, ſaid Lethington, why pray ye not for her, without moving any doubt? Becauſe, ſaid the other, I have learned to pray in faith; now faith, ye know, depends upon the word of God: and ſo it is that the word teacheth me, that prayer profiteth the ſons and daughters of God's election; of which number, if ſhe be one or not, I have juſt cauſe to doubt; and therefore I pray, that God would illuminate her heart, if his good pleaſure be ſo to do. But yet, ſaid Lethington, ye can produce the example of none that ſo hath prayed before you. Thereto I have already anſwered, ſaid John Knox; but yet for further declaration, I will demand a queſtion, which is this, Whether ye think that the apoſtles prayed themſelves as they commanded others to pray? Who doubts of that, ſaid the company that were preſent? Well then, ſaid John Knox, I am aſſured, that Peter ſaid theſe words to Simon Magus, 'Repent therefore
'of this thy wickedneſs, and pray to God, that
'if it be poſſible the thoughts of thy heart may
'be forgiven thee.' Here we may clearly ſee, that Peter joins a condition with his commandment, that Simon ſhould repent and pray, *viz.* if it were poſſible, that his ſins might be forgiven; for he was not ignorant, that ſome ſins were unto the death, and ſo without all hope of repentance or remiſſion. And think ye not, my lord ſecretary, ſaid he, but the ſame doubt may touch my heart, as touching the queen's converſion, that then touched the heart of the apoſtle? I would never, ſaid Lethington, hear you, or any other call that in doubt. But your will, ſaid the other, is no aſſurance to my conſcience: and, to ſpeak freely, my lord, I wonder if ye yourſelf doubt not of the queen's converſion; for more evident ſigns of hardneſs of heart have appeared, and do appear in her, than Peter outwardly could have eſpied in Simon Magus: for albeit ſometimes he was a ſorcerer, yet joined he with the apoſtles, believed, and was baptized; and albeit that the venom of avarice remained in his heart, and that he would have bought the Holy Ghoſt, yet when he heard the fearful threatenings of God pronounced againſt him, he trembled, deſired the aſſiſtance of the prayers of the apoſtles, and ſo humbled himſelf, ſo far as the judgment of man could penetrate, like a true penitent; and yet we ſee that Peter doubts of his converſion. Why then may not all the godly juſtly doubt of the converſion of the queen, who hath uſed idolatry, which is no leſs odious in the ſight of God, than is the other, and ſtill continues in the ſame; yea, that deſpiſes all threatenings, and refuſes all godly admonitions?

Why ſay ye that ſhe refuſeth admonition, ſaid Lethington? ſhe will gladly hear any man. But what obedience, ſaid the other, to God, or to his word, enſues of all that is ſpoken unto her? Or when ſhall ſhe be ſeen to give her preſence to the public preaching? I think never, ſaid Lethington, as long as ſhe is thus uſed. And ſo long, ſaid the other, ye and all others muſt be content, that I pray ſo as I may be aſſured to be heard of my God; that is, that his good will may be done, either in

making her comfortable to his church: or if he hath appointed her to be a ſcourge to the ſame, that we may have patience, and ſhe may be bridled.

Well, ſaid Lethington, let us come to the ſecond head: Where find ye that the Scripture calls any the bond-ſlaves of Satan? Or that the prophets of God ſpake of kings and princes ſo irreverently? The Scripture, ſaid John Knox, ſaith, that by nature we are all the ſons of wrath: our Maſter Chriſt affirms, that ſuch as do ſin are ſervants to ſin, and that it is the only Son of God that ſets men at freedom: now what difference there is betwixt the ſons of wrath, the ſervants of ſin, &c. and the ſlaves of Satan, I underſtand not, except I be taught: and if the ſharpneſs of the term offend you, I have not invented that phraſe of ſpeech, but have learned it out of God's Scripture; for theſe words I find ſpoken unto Paul, 'Behold, I ſend thee unto the Gentiles, to open 'their eyes, that they may turn from darkneſs un-'to light, and from the power of Satan unto God.' Mark theſe words, my lord, and ſtir not at the ſpeaking of the Holy Ghoſt. And the ſame apoſtle, writing to his ſcholar Timothy, ſays, 'Inſtruct with meekneſs thoſe that are contrary-'minded, if that God at any time will give them 'repentance, that they may know the truth, and 'come to amendment out of the ſnare of the devil, 'which are taken of him at his will.' If your lordſhip do rightly conſider theſe ſentences, you ſhall not only find my words to be the words of the Holy Ghoſt, but alſo the condition which I uſe to add, to have the aſſurance of God's Scriptures.

But they ſpeak nothing againſt kings in Scripture in ſpecial, ſaid Lethington, and your continual crying is, The queen's idolatry, the queen's maſs, will provoke God's vengeance.

In the former ſentences, ſaid the other, I hear not kings and queens excepted, but all unfaithful are pronounced to ſtand in one rank, and to be in bondage to one tyrant the devil: but, believe me, my lord, you little regard the ſtate wherein they ſtand, when you would have them ſo flattered, that the danger thereof ſhould neither be known, nor yet declared to the people.

Where will you find, ſaid Lethington, that any of the prophets did ſo uſe kings and queens, rulers or magiſtrates?

In more places than one, ſaid the other: Ahab was a king, and Jezebel a queen; and yet what the prophet Elijah ſaid to the one, and to the other, I ſuppoſe you are not ignorant.

That was not cried out before the people, ſaid Lethington, to make them odious unto their ſubjects.

That Elijah ſaid, 'Dogs ſhall lick the blood of 'Ahab,' ſaid John Knox, 'and eat the fleſh of 'Jezebel,' the Scripture aſſures me; but that it was whiſpered in their ears, or in a corner, I read not: but the plain contrary appears to me, which is, that both the people and the court underſtood well enough what the prophet had promiſed; for ſo witneſſed Jehu, after that God's vengeance had ſtricken Jezebel.

Theſe were ſingular motions of the Spirit of God, ſaid Lethington, and appertain nothing to our age.

Then hath the Scripture, ſaid the other, deceived me; for St. Paul teacheth me, that, 'Whatſoever is written within the holy Scriptures, the 'ſame is written for our inſtruction:' and my Maſter ſaith, 'That every learned ſcribe bringeth 'forth of his treaſure both things old and things 'new;' and the prophet Jeremiah affirms, 'That 'every realm or city that likewiſe offends,' as then did Jeruſalem, 'ſhould likewiſe be puniſhed.' Why then that the facts of ancient prophets, and the fearful judgments of God executed before us upon the diſobedient, appertain not unto our age, I neither ſee, nor yet underſtand.

But now, to put an end to this head, my lord, ſaid he, the prophets of God have not ſpared to rebuke kings, as well to their faces, as before the people and ſubjects; Eliſha feared not to ſay to king Jehoram, 'What have I to do with thee? 'Get thee to the other prophets of thy mother; 'for as the Lord of Hoſts liveth, in whoſe ſight 'I ſtand, if it were not that I regard the preſence 'of Jehoſhaphat, the king of Judah, I would not 'have looked towards thee, nor ſeen thee.' Plain it is, that the prophet was a ſubject in the kingdom of Iſrael, and yet how little reverence he giveth to the king. We hear Jeremiah the prophet was commanded to cry to the king and queen, and to ſay, 'Behave yourſelves lowly, execute juſtice and 'judgment, &c. or elſe your carcaſes ſhall be 'caſt to the heat of the day, and unto the froſt 'of the night.' Unto Coniah, Shallum, and Zedekiah, he ſpeaketh in ſpecial, and ſhews to them, in his public ſermons, their miſerable ends: and therefore ye ought not to think it ſtrange, my lord, ſaid he, albeit the ſervants of God tax the vices of kings and queens, even as well as of other offenders; and that becauſe their ſins are more noiſome to the commonwealth than are the ſins of inferior perſons.

The moſt part of this reaſoning, ſecretary Lethington leaned upon the maſter of Maxwel's breaſt, who ſaid, I am almoſt weary, I would ſome other would reaſon on the chief head, which is yet untouched.

Then the earl of Morton, chancellor, commanded Mr. George Hay to reaſon againſt John Knox, on the head of obedience due to magiſtrates, who began ſo to do. Unto whom John Knox ſaid, Brother, that ye ſhall reaſon in oppoſition to me, I am well content, becauſe I know you to be both a man of learning and of modeſty; but that you ſhall oppoſe yourſelf unto the truth, whereof I ſuppoſe your own conſcience is no leſs perſuaded than is mine, I cannot well approve; for I would be ſorry, that ye and I ſhould be reputed to reaſon as two ſcholars of Pythagoras, to ſhew the quickneſs of our wit, as it were, to reaſon on both parts. I proteſt here before God, that whatſoever I ſuſtain, I do the ſame in conſcience; yea, I dare no more ſuſtain a propoſition, known to myſelf untrue, than I dare teach falſe doctrine in the public place; and therefore, brother, if conſcience move you to oppoſe yourſelf to that doctrine, which ye have heard out of my mouth in that matter, do it boldly, it ſhall never offend me: but that ye ſhall be found to oppoſe yourſelf unto me, ye being perſuaded of the ſame truth, I ſay yet again, it pleaſeth me not; for therein may be greater inconvenience than either ye or I do conſider for the preſent.

The ſaid Mr. George anſwered, That I will not oppoſe myſelf unto you, as one willing to impugn or confute that head of doctrine, which not only ye, but many others, yea, and myſelf, have affirmed; far be it from me, for ſo ſhould I be found contradictory to myſelf: for my lord ſecretary knows my judgment on that head.

Mary, ſaid the ſecretary, you are, in my opinion, the worſt of the two; for I remember that your reaſoning, when the queen was in Carrick.

Well, ſaid John Knox, ſeeing, brother, God hath made you one to fill the chair of verity, wherein, I am aſſured, we agree in all principal heads of doctrine; let it never be ſaid, that we agree not in diſputation. John Knox was moved thus to ſpeak, becauſe he underſtood more of the craft than the other did. Well, ſaid Lethington, I am ſomewhat better provided in this laſt head than I was in the other two. Mr. Knox, ſaid he, yeſterday we heard your judgment upon the 13th of the Romans; we heard the mind of the apoſtle well opened; we heard the cauſes why God hath eſtabliſhed powers upon the earth; we heard of the neceſſity that mankind hath of the ſame; and we heard the duty of magiſtrates ſufficiently declared: but in two things I was offended, and, as I think, ſome more of the lords that were preſent; which was, ye made difference betwixt the ordinance of God, and the perſons that were placed in authority: and ye affirmed, that men might refuſe the perſons, and yet not offend againſt God's ordinance.

This is one: the other ye had no time to explain; but this I thought ye meant, that ſubjects were not bound to obey their princes, if they command unlawful things, but that they might refuſe their princes, and that they were not ever bound to ſuffer.

In very deed, ſaid the other, ye have rightly both marked my words, and underſtood my mind; for of the ſame judgment I have long been, and yet ſo remain.

How will you prove your diviſion and difference, ſaid Lethington, and that the perſons placed in authority may be reſiſted, and the ordinance of God not tranſgreſſed, ſeeing that the apoſtle ſaith, 'He that reſiſteth the powers, reſiſteth the ordinance of God?'

My lord, ſaid he, the plain words of the apoſtle make the difference, and the acts of many, approved by God, prove my affirmative. *Firſt*, The apoſtle affirms, That the powers are ordained of God, for the preſervation of quiet and peaceable men, and for the puniſhment of malefactors; whereof it is plain, that the ordinance of God, and the power given unto man, is one thing, and the perſon clad with the authority is another: for God's ordinance is the preſervation of mankind, the puniſhment of vice, and the maintenance of virtue, which is in itſelf holy, juſt, conſtant, ſtable, and perpetual; but men, clad with the authority, are commonly profane and unjuſt, yea, they are mutable, tranſitory, and ſubject to corruption, as God threateneth them by his prophet David, ſaying, 'I have ſaid ye are gods, and every one of 'you the ſons of the Moſt High; but ye ſhall die 'as men, and ye princes ſhall fall like others.' Here I am aſſured, that the perſons, yea, ſoul and body, are threatened with death; I think that ſo you will not affirm, is the authority, the ordinance, and the power, wherewith God endued ſuch perſons; for, as I have ſaid, as it is holy, ſo it is the permanent will of God. And now, my lord, that the prince may be reſiſted, and yet the ordinance of God not violated, it is evident, for

the people reſiſted Saul, when he had ſworn by the Living God that Jonathan ſhould die; the people, I ſay, ſwore to the contrary, and delivered Jonathan, ſo that a hair of his head fell not: now Saul was their anointed king, and they were his ſubjects; and yet they ſo reſiſted him, that they made him no better than manſworn.

I doubt, ſaid Lethington, if in ſo doing the people did well. The Spirit of God, ſaid the other, accuſes them not of any crime, but rather praiſes them, and condemns the king, as well for his fooliſh vow and law made without God, as for his cruel mind, that would ſo ſeverely have puniſhed an innocent man: but herein I will not ſtand; this that followeth ſhall confirm the former. This ſame Saul commanded Abimelech and the prieſts of the Lord to be ſlain, becauſe they had committed treaſon, as he alledged, for intercommuning with David: his guard, and principal ſervants, would not obey his unjuſt commandment; but Doeg, the flatterer, put the king's cruelty in execution. I will not aſk your judgment, Whether that the ſervants of the king, in not obeying his commandment, reſiſted the ordinance of God or not? or, Whether Doeg, in murdering the prieſts, gave obedience to a juſt authority? for I have the Spirit of God, ſpeaking by the mouth of David, for aſſurance, as well of the one as of the other; for he, in his fifty-ſecond Pſalm, condemns that act, as a moſt cruel murder; and affirms, That God would puniſh not only the commander, but alſo the mercileſs executer: and therefore I conclude, That they who gainſtood his commandment, reſiſted not the ordinance of God.

And now, my lord, to anſwer to the place of the apoſtle, who affirms, That ſuch as reſiſt the power, reſiſt the ordinance of God; I ſay, That the power in that place is not to be underſtood of the unjuſt commandment of men, but of the juſt power wherewith God hath armed his magiſtrates and lieutenants to puniſh ſin, and to maintain virtue. And if any man ſhould enterpriſe to take from the hands of the faithful judge, a murderer, an adulterer, or any malefactor that deſerved death, this ſame reſiſteth God's ordinance, and procureth to himſelf vengeance and damnation, becauſe that he ſtaid God's ſword from ſtriking: but ſo it is not, if men, in the fear of God, oppoſe themſelves to the fury and blind rage of princes, for ſo they reſiſt not God, but the devil, who abuſes the ſword and authority of God.

I underſtand ſufficiently, ſaid Lethington, what ye mean; unto the one part I will not oppoſe myſelf, but I doubt of the other: for if the queen would command me to ſlay John Knox, becauſe ſhe is offended at him, I would not obey her; but if ſhe would command others to do it, or yet by colour of juſtice take his life from him, I cannot tell if I be bound to defend him againſt the queen and her officers. With proteſtation, ſaid the other, That the auditors think not that I ſpeak in favours of myſelf, I ſay, my lord, That if ye be perſuaded of my innocence, and if God hath given unto you ſuch power and credit as might deliver me, and yet ſuffer me to periſh, that, in ſo doing, ye ſhould be criminal, and guilty of my blood. Prove that, and win the debate, ſaid Lethington. Well, my lord, ſaid the other, remember your promiſe, and I will be ſhort in my probation: the prophet Jeremiah was apprehended by the prieſts and prophets (who were a part of the authority within Jeruſalem), and by the multitude of the people, and this ſentence was pronounced againſt him, 'Thou ſhalt die the death, for thou haſt 'ſaid, This houſe ſhall be like Shiloh, and this 'city ſhall be deſolate, without any inhabitant,' &c. The princes hearing the uproar, came from the king's houſe; and ſat down in judgment, in the entry of the new gate of the Lord's houſe; and there the prieſts and prophets, before the princes, and before all the people, intended their accuſation in theſe words: 'This man is worthy to die, for 'he hath propheſied againſt this city, as your ears 'have heard.' Jeremiah anſwered, That whatſoever he had ſpoken proceeded from God; and therefore, ſaid he, 'As for me, behold, I am in 'your hands, do with me as ye think good and 'right; but know ye for certain, that if ye put 'me to death, ye ſhall ſurely bring innocent 'blood upon yourſelves, and upon this city, and 'upon the inhabitants thereof: for of a truth, the 'Lord hath ſent me unto you to ſpeak all theſe 'words,' Jer. xxvi. Now, my lord, if the princes and the whole people ſhould have been guilty of the prophet's blood, how ſhall ye, or others, be judged innocent before God, if ye ſhall ſuffer the blood of ſuch as have not deſerved their blood to be ſhed, when ye may ſave it?

The caſes are nothing alike, ſaid Lethington. And I would learn, ſaid the other, wherein the diſſimilitude ſtands. Firſt, ſaid Lethington, the king had not condemned him to death: and next, the falſe prophets, the prieſts, and the people, accuſed him without a cauſe; and therefore they could not but be guilty of his blood. Neither of theſe, ſaid John Knox, militates againſt my argu-

ment: for albeit the king was neither preſent, nor yet had condemned him, yet were the princes and chief counſellors there ſitting in judgment, who repreſented the king's authority, hearing the accuſation laid to the charge of the prophet; and therefore he forewarns them of the danger, as before is ſaid; *viz.* That in caſe he ſhould be condemned, and ſo put to death, that the king, the council, and the whole city of Jeruſalem, ſhould be guilty of his blood, becauſe that he had committed no crime worthy of death: and if ye think that they all ſhould have been criminal, only becauſe that they all accuſed him, the plain text witneſſeth the contrary; for the princes defended him, and ſo, no doubt, did a great part of the people; and yet he boldly affirmed, That they ſhould be all guilty of his blood, if he ſhould be put to death. And

The prophet Ezekiel gives the reaſon why all are guilty of common corruption; becauſe, ſaith he, 'I ſought a man amongſt them, that ſhould 'make up the hedge, and ſtand in the gap before 'me for the land, that I ſhould not deſtroy it, but 'I found none; therefore have I poured forth my 'indignation upon them.' Hereof, my lord, ſaid he, it is plain, that God craves not only that man ſhould do no iniquity in his own perſon, but alſo that he oppoſe himſelf to all iniquity, ſo far as in him lieth. Then will ye, ſaid Lethington, make ſubjects to control their princes and rulers. And what harm, ſaid the other, ſhould the commonwealth receive, if the corrupt affections of ignorant rulers were moderated, and ſo bridled by the wiſdom and diſcretion of godly ſubjects, that they ſhould do no wrong, nor no violence to any man?

All this reaſoning, ſaid Lethington, is out of the purpoſe; for we reaſon as if the queen ſhould become ſuch an enemy to our religion, that ſhe ſhould perſecute it, and put innocent men to death; which, I am aſſured, ſhe never thought, nor never will do: for if I ſhould ſee her begin at that end, yea, if I ſhould ſuſpect any ſuch thing in her, I ſhould be as far forward in that argument as ye, or any other within the realm: but there is no ſuch thing. Our queſtion is, Whether that ye may ſuppreſs the queen's maſs? or, Whether that her idolatry ſhall be laid to our charge? What ye may do by force, ſaid John Knox, I diſpute not; but what ye may and ought to do by God's expreſs commandment, that I can tell: idolatry ought not only to be ſuppreſſed, but the idolater alſo ought to die the death. But by whom, ſaid Lethington? By the people of God, ſaid the other; for the commandment was given to Iſrael, as ye may read, 'Hear, Iſrael, ſays the Lord, the ſtatutes and or-'dinances of the Lord thy God,' *&c.*: yea, a commandment is given, that if it be heard that idolatry is committed in any one city, inquiſition ſhall be taken; and if it be found true, that then the whole body of the people ariſe and deſtroy that city, ſparing in it neither man, woman, nor child.

But there is no commandment, ſaid the ſecretary, given to puniſh their king, if he be an idolater. I find no privilege granted unto kings, ſaid the other, by God, more than unto the people, to offend God's majeſty. I grant it, ſaid Lethington; but yet the people may not be judges to their king, to puniſh him, albeit he be an idolater. God, ſaid the other, is the univerſal Judge, as well unto the king, as to the people; ſo that what his word commands to be puniſhed in the one, is not to be abſolved in the other. We agree in that, ſaid Lethington: but the people may not execute God's judgment, but muſt leave it unto himſelf, who will either puniſh it by death, by war, by impriſonment, or by ſome other kind of his plagues.

I know, ſaid John Knox, the laſt part of the reaſon to be true: but for the firſt, that the people, yea, or a part of the people, may not execute God's judgments againſt their king, being an offender, I am aſſured, ye have no other warrant, except your own imaginations, and the opinion of ſuch as more fear to offend their princes than God.

Why ſay ye ſo, ſaid Lethington? I have the judgment of the moſt famous men in Europe, and of ſuch as ye yourſelf will confeſs both godly and learned. And with that he calls for his papers; which produced by Mr. Maitland, he began to read, with great gravity, the judgment of Luther, Melancthon, the minds of Bucer, Muſculus, and Calvin, how Chriſtians ſhould behave themſelves in time of perſecution; yea, the book of Baruch was not omitted, with this concluſion, The gathering of thoſe things, ſaid he, hath coſt me more travel than I took theſe ſeven years in reading commentaries.

The more pity, ſaid the other; and yet what you have profited in your own cauſe, let others judge. But as for my argument, I am aſſured, you have weakened it in nothing: for your firſt two witneſſes ſpeak againſt the Anabaptiſts, who deny that Chriſtians ſhould be ſubject to magiſtrates, or yet that it is lawful for a Chriſtian to be a magiſtrate; whoſe opinion I no leſs abhor than ye do, or any other that liveth. The others ſpeak of Chriſtians ſubject to tyrants and infidels, ſo dif-

perſed, that they have no other force, but only to ſob unto God for deliverance: that ſuch indeed ſhould hazard any further than theſe godly men will them, I cannot haſtily be of counſel: but my argument hath another ground; for I ſpeak of a people aſſembled in one body of a common-wealth, unto whom God hath given ſufficient force, not only to reſiſt, but alſo to ſuppreſs all kind of open idolatry; and ſuch a people, yet again I affirm, are bound to keep their land clean and unpolluted.

And that this my diviſion ſhall not appear ſtrange unto you, ye ſhall underſtand that God requires one thing of Abraham and of his ſeed, when he and they were ſtrangers and pilgrims in Egypt and Canaan; and another thing required he of them, when they were delivered from the bondage of Egypt, and the poſſeſſion of the land of Canaan granted unto them: the firſt, and during the time of their bondage, God craved no more, but that Abraham ſhould not defile himſelf with their idolatry; neither was he nor his poſterity commanded to deſtroy the idols that were in Canaan or in Egypt: but when God gave unto them poſſeſſion of the land, he gave unto them this ſtrict commandment, 'Beware that thou make not league 'or confederacy with the inhabitants of this land; 'give not thy ſons unto their daughters, nor yet 'give thy daughters unto their ſons, &c.: but 'this ye ſhall do unto them, cut down their groves, 'deſtroy their images, break down their altars, and 'leave thou no kind of remembrance of theſe abo-'minations, which the inhabitants of the land 'uſed before; for thou art a holy people unto the 'Lord thy God: defile not thyſelf therefore with 'their gods,' &c.

To this commandment, I ſay, are ye, my lord, and all ſuch as have profeſſed the Lord within this realm, bound; for God hath wrought no leſs miraculouſly upon you, both ſpiritually and corporally, than he did unto the carnal ſeed of Abraham: for in what ſtate your bodies, and this poor realm were within theſe ſeven years, yourſelves cannot be ignorant; you and it were both in the bondage of a ſtrange nation; and what tyrants did reign over your conſciences, God perchance may yet again let you feel, becauſe that ye do not rightly acknowledge and eſteem the benefits received. When our poor brethren, that were before us, gave up their bodies to the flames of fire, for the teſtimony of God's truth, and when ſcarcely could ten be found in a country that rightly knew God, it had been fooliſhneſs to have craved of the nobility, or of the ſubjects, the ſuppreſſing of idolatry; for that had been nothing but to have expoſed the ſimple ſheep as a prey to the wolves: but ſince that God hath multiplied knowledge, yea, and hath given the victory to his truth, even in the hands of his ſervants, if ye ſuffer the land again to be defiled, ye and your princeſs ſhall both drink the cup of God's indignation: ſhe, for her obſtinate abiding in manifeſt idolatry, in this great light of the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, and ye, for your permiſſion and maintaining her in the ſame. Lethington ſaid, In that point we will never agree.

And where find ye, I pray you, that ever any of the prophets, or of the apoſtles, taught ſuch doctrine, That the people ſhould be plagued for the idolatry of the prince: or yet, that the ſubjects might ſuppreſs the idolatry of their rulers, or puniſh them for the ſame? What was the commiſſion given unto the apoſtles? My lord, ſaid he, we know it was to preach, and plant the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, where darkneſs before had dominion; and therefore it behoved them to let them ſee the light, before that they ſhould will them to put their hands to ſuppreſs idolatry; what precepts the apoſtles gave unto the faithful in particular, other than that they commanded all to fly from idolatry, I will not affirm: but I find two things which the faithful did, the one was, they aſſiſted their preachers, even againſt the rulers and magiſtrates; the other was, they ſuppreſſed idolatry, whereſoever God gave unto them force, aſking no leave of the emperor, nor of his deputies. Read the eccleſiaſtical hiſtories, and ye ſhall find examples ſufficient. And as to the doctrine of the prophets, we know they were interpreters of the law of God; and we know they ſpake as well unto the kings as unto the people. I read, that neither of both would hear them; and therefore came the plague of God upon both: but that they flattered the kings more than they did the people, I cannot be perſuaded.

Now God's law pronounces death, as before I have ſaid, to idolaters, without exception of perſons. Now, how the prophets could rightly interpret the law, and ſhew the cauſe of God's judgments, which they ever threatened ſhould fall for idolatry, and for the reſt of the abominations that did accompany it (for it is never alone, but ſtill corrupt religion brings with it a filthy and corrupt life); how, I ſay, the prophets could reprove the vice, and not ſhew the people their duty, I underſtand not: and therefore I conſtantly believe, that the doctrine of the prophets was ſo ſenſible, that

the kings underſtood their own abominations, and the people underſtood what they ought to have done in puniſhing and repreſſing them: but becauſe that the moſt part of the people were no leſs rebellious unto God than were their princes, therefore the one and the other conjured againſt God, and againſt his ſervants. And yet, my lord, the facts of ſome prophets are ſo evident, that thereby we may collect what doctrine they taught; for it would be no ſmall abſurdity to affirm, that their facts did repugn to their doctrine.

I think, ſaid Lethington, ye mean of the hiſtory of Jehu: What will ye prove thereby? The chief head, ſaid John Knox, that ye deny, *viz.* That the prophets never taught, that it appertained to the people to puniſh the idolatry of their kings: the contrary whereof I affirm; and for the probation, I am ready to produce the fact of a prophet: for ye know, my lord, ſaith he, that Eliſha ſent one of the children of the prophets to anoint Jehu, who gave him a commandment to deſtroy the houſe of his maſter Ahab, for the idolatry committed by him, and for the innocent blood that Jezebel his wicked wife had ſhed; which he obeyed, and put in full execution, for which God promiſed unto him the ſtability of the kingdom unto the fourth generation.

Now, ſaid he, here is the fact of a prophet, that proves that ſubjects were commanded to execute God's judgments upon their king and prince. There is enough, ſaid Lethington, to be anſwered thereto, for Jehu was a king before he put any thing in execution; and, beſides that, the fact is extraordinary, and ought not to be imitated. My lord, ſaid the other, he was a mere ſubject, and no king, when the prophet's ſervant came unto him; yea, and albeit that his fellow-captains, hearing of the meſſage, blew the trumpet, and ſaid, Jehu is king; yet, I doubt not, but Jezebel both thought and ſaid, that he was a traitor, and ſo did many others that were in Iſrael and in Samaria.

And as touching that ye alledge, that the fact was extraordinary, and is not to be imitated; I ſay, that it had the ground of God's ordinary judgment, which commandeth the idolater to die the death; and therefore I yet again affirm, that it is to be imitated of all thoſe that prefer the true honour of the true worſhip and glory of God, to the affections of fleſh and wicked princes. We are not bound, ſaid Lethington, to follow extraordinary examples, unleſs we have the like commandment and aſſurance. I grant it, ſaid the other, if the example repugn to the law; as if an avaricious and deceitful man would borrow ſilver, raiment, or other neceſſaries, from his neighbour, and withhold the ſame; alledging, that ſo he might do, and not offend God, becauſe the Iſraelites, at their departure forth of Egypt, did ſo to the Egyptians: the example ſerved to no purpoſe, unleſs that they could produce the like cauſe, and the like commandment, that the Iſraelites had; and that becauſe their fact repugned to this commandment of God, 'Thou ſhalt not ſteal:' but where the example agrees with the law, and is, as it were, the execution of God's judgment, expreſſed within the ſame; I ſay, that the example approved of God, ſtands to us in place of a commandment; for as God in his nature is conſtant and immutable, ſo can he not condemn, in the ages ſubſequent, that which he hath approved in his ſervants before us: but in his ſervants before us, he, by his own word, confounds all ſuch as crave further approbation of God's will, than is already expreſſed within his Scriptures; for Abraham ſaid, 'They 'have Moſes and the prophets, whom if they will 'not believe, neither will they believe, albeit that 'any of the dead ſhould riſe.' Even ſo, I ſay, my lord, that ſuch as will not be taught what they ought to do, by the commandment of God once given, and once put in practice, will not believe nor obey, albeit that God ſhould ſend angels from heaven to inſtruct that doctrine.

Ye have produced but one example, ſaid Lethington. One ſufficeth, ſaid the other; but yet, God be praiſed, we lack not others; for the whole people conſpired againſt Amaziah king of Judah, after that he had turned away from the Lord, and followed him to Lachiſh, and ſlew him, and took Uzziah, and anointed him king inſtead of his father. The people had not altogether forgotten the league and covenant, which was made betwixt their kings and them, at the inauguration of Joaſh his Father; *viz.* that the king and the people ſhould be the people of the Lord, and then ſhould they be his faithful ſubjects: from which covenant, when firſt the father, and after the ſon, had declined, they were both puniſhed to the death, Joaſh by his own ſervants, and Amaziah by the whole people.

I doubt, ſaid Lethington, whether they did well or not.

It ſhall be free for you, ſaid the other, to doubt as you pleaſe, but where I find execution according to God's law, and God himſelf not to accuſe the doers, I dare not doubt of the equity of their

cauſe. And further, it appeareth to me, that God gave ſufficient approbation and allowance of their fact; for he bleſſed them with victory, peace, and proſperity, for the ſpace of fifty-two years after.

But proſperity, ſaid Lethington, does not always prove, that God approves the facts of men.

Yes, ſaid the other, when the facts of men agree with the law of God, and are rewarded according to God's own promiſe expreſſed in his law; I ſay, that the proſperity ſucceeding the fact, is a moſt infallible aſſurance that God hath approved that fact. Now ſo it is, that God hath promiſed in his law, That when the people ſhall exterminate and deſtroy ſuch as decline from him, that he will bleſs them, and multiply them, as he hath promiſed unto their fathers. But ſo it is, that Amaziah turned from God (for ſo the text doth witneſs); and plain it is, the people ſlew their king; and like plain it is, that God bleſſed them: therefore yet again conclude I, that God himſelf approved their fact, and, ſo far as it was done according to his commandment, it was bleſſed according to his promiſe.

Well, ſaid Lethington, I think not the ground ſo ſure as I durſt build my conſcience thereupon.

I pray God, ſaid the other, that your conſcience have no worſe ground than this is, whenſoever you ſhall begin that like work, which God in your own eyes hath already bleſſed. And now, my lord, ſaid he, I have but one example to produce, and then I will put an end to my reaſoning, becauſe I weary longer to ſtand. (Commandment was given that he ſhould ſit down; but he refuſed, and ſaid, 'Melancholy reaſons 'would have ſome mirth intermixed).' My laſt example, ſaid he, my lord, is this, Uzziah the king, not content with his royal eſtate, preſumptuouſly took upon him 'to enter within the temple of the 'Lord, to burn incenſe upon the altar of incenſe: 'and Azariah the prieſt went in after him, and 'with him fourſcore prieſts of the Lord, valiant 'men; and they withſtood Uzziah the king, and 'ſaid unto him, It appertaineth not unto thee, Uz-'ziah, to burn incenſe unto the Lord, but to the 'prieſts, the ſons of Aaron, that are conſecrated 'to offer incenſe: go forth of the ſanctuary, for 'thou haſt tranſgreſſed, and thou ſhalt have no 'honour from the Lord God.' Hereof, my lords, I conclude, that ſubjects not only may, but alſo ought to withſtand and reſiſt their princes, whenſoever they do any thing that expreſsly repugns to God's law, or holy ordinance.

They that withſtood the king, ſaid Lethington, were not ſimple ſubjects, but were the prieſts of the Lord, and figures of Chriſt; and ſuch prieſts have we none this day, to withſtand kings, if they do any wrong.

That the high prieſt was the figure of Chriſt, ſaid the other, I grant, but that he was not a ſubject, that I deny; for, I am aſſured, that he, in his prieſthood, had no prerogative above thoſe that paſſed before him: now ſo it is, that Aaron was ſubject to Moſes, and called him his lord; Samuel, being both prophet and prieſt, ſubjected himſelf unto Saul, after he was inaugurated of the people; Zadok bowed before David; and Abiathar was depoſed from the prieſthood by Solomon; who all confeſſed themſelves ſubjects to the king, albeit therewith they ceaſed not to be the figures of Chriſt. And whereas you ſay, We have no ſuch prieſts this day, I might anſwer, That neither have we ſuch kings this day, as then were anointed by God's commandment, and ſat upon the ſeat of David, and were no leſs the figure of Chriſt Jeſus in their juſt adminiſtration, than were the prieſts in their appointed office; and ſuch kings, I am aſſured, we have not now, no more than we have ſuch prieſts: for Chriſt Jeſus being anointed in our nature, of God his Father, King, Prieſt, and Prophet, hath put an end to all external unction. And yet, I think, you will not ſay, That God hath now diminiſhed his graces from thoſe whom he appoints ambaſſadors betwixt him and his people, more than he doth from kings and princes: and therefore, why the ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt may not alſo juſtly withſtand kings and princes that this day no leſs offend God's majeſty than Uzziah did, I ſee not; unleſs that ye will ſay, That we, in the brightneſs of the goſpel, are not ſo ſtrictly bound to regard God's glory, nor his commandments, as were the fathers, who lived under the dark ſhadows of the law.

Well, ſaid Lethington, I will dip no farther in that head. But how reſiſted the prieſts the king? They only ſpake unto him, without further violence intended.

That they withſtood him, ſaid the other, the text aſſures me, but that they did nothing but ſpake, I cannot underſtand; for the plain text affirms the contrary, *viz.* That they cauſed him haſtily to depart from the ſanctuary; yea, and that he was compelled to depart; which manner of ſpeaking, I am aſſured, in the Hebrew tongue, importeth more than exhorting, or commanding by word.

They did that, ſaid Lethington, after he was eſpied to be leprous.

They withſtood him before, ſaid the other, but yet their laſt fact confirms my propoſition ſo evidently, that ſuch as will oppoſe themſelves unto it, muſt needs oppoſe themſelves unto God: for my aſſertion is, That kings have no privilege more than hath the people to offend God's majeſty; and if ſo they do, they are no more exempted from the puniſhment of the law than is any other ſubject; yea, and that ſubjects may not only lawfully oppoſe themſelves to their kings, whenſoever they do any thing that expreſsly repugns to God's commandment, but alſo that they may execute judgment upon them according to God's law; ſo that if the king be a murderer, adulterer, or an idolater, he ſhould ſuffer according to God's law, not as a king, but as an offender: and that the people may put God's law in execution, this hiſtory clearly proveth; for as ſoon as the leproſy appeared in his fore-head, he was not only compelled to depart out of the ſanctuary, but alſo he was removed from all public ſociety and adminiſtration of the kingdom, and was compelled to dwell in a houſe apart, even as the law commanded, and got no greater privilege in that caſe than any other of the people ſhould have done, and this was executed by the people; for it is no doubt but more were witneſſes of his leproſy than the prieſts alone; but we find none oppoſe themſelves to the ſentence of God pronounced in his law againſt the leproſy: and therefore yet again I ſay, that the people ought to execute God's law, even againſt their princes, when that their open crimes by God's law deſerve puniſhment; but eſpecially, when they are ſuch as may infect the reſt of the multitude. And now, my lord, ſaid he, I will reaſon no longer, for I have ſpoken longer than I intended.

And yet, ſaid Lethington, I cannot tell what ſhall be the concluſion.

Albeit ye cannot, ſaid the other, yet I am aſſured what I have proved; *viz.*

1. That ſubjects have delivered an innocent from the hands of their king, and therefore offended not God.

2. That ſubjects have refuſed to ſtrike innocents, when a king commanded, and in ſo doing denied no juſt obedience.

3. That ſuch as ſtruck, at the commandment of the king, were before God reputed murderers.

4. That God hath not only of a ſubject made a king, but alſo hath armed ſubjects againſt their natural king, and commanded them to take vengeance upon him according to his law.

5. And laſtly, That God's people have executed God's law againſt their king, having no further regard to him in that behalf, than if he had been the moſt ſimple ſubject within the realm.

And therefore, albeit ye will not underſtand what ſhould be concluded, yet I am aſſured, that not only may God's people, but alſo that they are bound to do the ſame, where the like crimes are committed, and when he gives to them the like power.

Well, ſaid Lethington, I think ye ſhall not have many learned men of your opinion.

My lord, ſaid the other, the truth ceaſeth not to be truth, howſoever it be, that men muſt either know it, or gainſtand it: and yet, ſaid he, I praiſe God, I lack not the conſent and approbation of God's ſervants on that head. And with that he preſented unto the ſecretary the Apology of Magdeburg, and willed him to read the names of the miniſters, who had ſubſcribed the defence of the town to be a moſt juſt defence; and therewith added, That to reſiſt a miſled king, is not to reſiſt God, nor yet his ordinance, *&c.* Which when he had read, he bowed and ſaid, *Homines obſcuri.* The other anſwered, *Dei tamen ſervi.* And Lethington aroſe and ſaid, My lords, ye have heard the reaſons upon both parts; it becomes you now to decide, and to give order unto preachers, that they may be uniform in doctrine. May we, think ye, take the queen's maſs from her?

While ſome began to give, as it were, their votes (for ſome were appointed, as it were, leaders of the reſt), John Knox ſaid, My lords, I ſuppoſe ye will not act contrary to your lordſhips promiſe made to the whole aſſembly, which was, That nothing ſhould be voted in ſecret, till that firſt all matters ſhould be debated in public, and that then the votes of the whole aſſembly ſhould put an end to the controverſy. Now have I only ſuſtained the argument, and have rather ſhown my conſcience in moſt ſimple manner, than that I have inſiſted upon the force and vehemency of any one argument: and therefore I, for my part, utterly diſſent from all voting, until the whole aſſembly have heard the propoſitions and the reaſons of both parties; for I unfeignedly acknowledge, that many in that company are more able to ſuſtain the argument than I am.

Think ye it reaſonable, ſaid Lethington, that ſuch a multitude as are now convened ſhould reaſon and vote in ſuch heads and matters, that

concern the queen's majeſty's own perſon and affairs?

I think, ſaid the other, that whatſoever ſhould bind the multitude, the multitude ſhould hear it, unleſs they have reſigned their power to commiſſioners, which they have not done, ſo far as I underſtand; for my lord juſtice-clerk heard them ſay with one voice, 'That in no ways would they conſent that any thing there ſhould be voted or concluded.'

I cannot tell, ſaid Lethington, if my lords that be here preſent, and that bear the burden of ſuch matters, ſhould be bound to their will. What ſay ye, my lords, ſaid he, will ye vote in this matter, or will ye not vote?

After long reaſoning, ſome that were made for the purpoſe, ſaid, Why may not the lords vote, and then ſhew unto the church whatſoever is done?

That appears to me, ſaid John Knox, not only a backward order, but a tyranny uſurped upon the church; but for me, do as ye liſt, for as I reaſon, ſo I vote; yet proteſting as before, that I diſſent from all voting, till that the whole aſſembly underſtand as well the queſtions as the reaſons.

Well, ſaid Lethington, that cannot be done now, for too much time is ſpent; and therefore, my lord chancellor, ſaid he, aſk ye the votes, and take always one of the miniſters, and one of us.

And ſo was the rector of St. Andrews commanded firſt to ſpeak his conſcience: who ſaid, I refer it to the ſuperintendant of Fife, for I think we are both of one judgment; and yet, ſaid he, if ye will that I ſpeak firſt, my conſcience is this, That if the queen oppoſe herſelf to our religion, which is the only true religion, that in that caſe the nobility and ſtates of this realm, profeſſors of the true doctrine, may juſtly oppoſe themſelves to her: but as concerning her maſs, I know it is idolatry; but I am not yet reſolved, whether by violence we may take it from her or not. The ſuperintendant of Fife ſaid, That ſame is my conſcience; and ſo affirmed ſome of the nobility: but others voted frankly, and ſaid, That as the maſs is abominable, ſo it is juſt and right that it ſhould be ſuppreſſed; and that in ſo doing men did no more hurt to the queen's majeſty, than they that ſhould by force take from her a poiſoned cup, when ſhe was going to drink it.

Laſtly, Mr. John Craig, fellow-miniſter with John Knox in the church of Edinburgh, was required to give his judgment and vote, who ſaid, I will gladly ſhew unto your honours what I underſtand; but I greatly doubt, whether my knowledge and conſcience ſhall ſatisfy you, ſeeing you have heard ſo many reaſons, and are ſo little moved by them: but yet I will not conceal from you my judgment, adhering firſt to the proteſtation of my brother, *viz.* That our voting prejudge not the liberty of the general aſſembly. I was, ſaid he, in the univerſity of Bononia, in the year of our Lord 1554, where, in the place of the black-friars of the ſame town, I ſaw, in the time of their general aſſembly, this concluſion ſet forth: the ſame I heard reaſoned, determined, and concluded:

Conclusion.

All rulers, be they ſupreme or inferior, may and ought to be reformed or bridled (to ſpeak moderately) by them by whom they are choſen, confirmed, or admitted to their office, ſo oft as they break that promiſe made by oath to their ſubjects; becauſe that the prince is no leſs bound by oath to the ſubjects, than are the ſubjects to their princes; and therefore ought it to be kept, and reformed equally, according to law, and condition of the oath that is made of either party.

This concluſion, my lords, I heard ſuſtained and concluded, as I have ſaid, in a moſt notable auditory. The ſuſtainer was a learned man, Mr. Thomas de Finola rector of the univerſity, a man famous in that country: Mr. Vincentius de Placentia affirmed the concluſion to be moſt true and certain, agreeable both with the law of God and man. The occaſion of this diſputation and concluſion, was a certain diſorder and tyranny that was attempted by the pope's governors, who began to make innovations in the country againſt the laws that were before eſtabliſhed, alledging themſelves not to be ſubject to ſuch laws, by reaſon that they were not inſtituted by the people, but by the pope, who was king of that country; and therefore they, having full commiſſion and authority of the pope, may alter and change ſtatutes and ordinances of the country, without any conſent of the people. Againſt this uſurped tyranny, the learned, and the people, oppoſed themſelves: and when that all reaſons which the pope's governors could alledge were heard and confuted, the pope himſelf was fain to take up the matter, and to promiſe, not only to keep the liberty of the people, but alſo that he ſhould neither abrogate any law or ſtatute, neither yet make any law, without their conſent: and therefore, my lords, ſaid he, my vote and my conſcience is, That princes are not only bound to

keep laws and promiſes to their ſubjects, but alſo that, in caſe they fail, they juſtly may be bridled; for the bond betwixt the prince and the people is reciprocal.

Then ſtarted up a claw-black of that corrupt court, and ſaid, Ye know not what ye ſay, for ye tell us what was done in Bononia: we are a kingdom, and they are a commonwealth.

My lords, ſaid he, my judgment is, that every kingdom is, or at leaſt ſhould be a commonwealth, albeit that every commonwealth be not a kingdom; and therefore, I think, that in a kingdom no leſs diligence ought to be taken that laws be not violated, than they ought to be in a commonwealth, becauſe that the tyranny of princes, whoſe continuing in a kingdom is more hurtful to the ſubjects, than is the miſ-government of thoſe that from year to year are changed in free commonwealths: but yet, my lords, to aſſure you and all others, that head was diſputed to the utmoſt, and then in the end was concluded, that they ſpake not of ſuch things as were done in divers kingdoms and nations, by tyranny and negligence of people; But we conclude, ſaid they, what ought to be done in all kingdoms and commonwealths, according to the law of God, and unto the juſt laws of man: and if, by the negligence of the people, or by the tyranny of princes, contrary laws have been made, yet may that ſame people, or their poſterity, juſtly crave all things to be reformed, according to the original inſtitution of kings and commonwealths; and ſuch as will not do ſo, deſerve to eat the fruit of their own fooliſhneſs.

Mr. James Macgill, then clerk to the regiſter, perceiving the votes to be different, and hearing the bold plainneſs of the foreſaid ſervant of God, ſaid, I remember that this ſame queſtion was long debated on before in my houſe; and there, by reaſon we were not all of one mind, it was concluded, that Mr. Knox, in all our names, ſhould have written to Mr. Calvin for his judgment in the controverſy. Nay, ſaid John Knox, my lord ſecretary would not conſent that I ſhould write, alledging, that the greateſt weight of the anſwer ſtood in the narrative; and therefore promiſed, that he would write, and that I ſhould ſee it: but when divers times I required him to remember his promiſe, I found nothing but delay. Whereunto the ſecretary anſwered, True it is, I promiſed to write, and true it is, that Mr. Knox required me ſo to do; but when I had ripely adviſed, and deeply conſidered the weight of the matter, I found more doubts than I did before: and this is one amongſt others, How durſt I, being a ſubject, and the queen's majeſty's ſecretary, take upon me to ſeek reſolution of controverſies depending betwixt her highneſs and her ſubjects, without her knowledge and conſent?

Then was an acclamation of the claw-backs of the court, as if Apollo had given his reſponſe: It was wiſely and faithfully done.

Well, ſaid John Knox, let worldly men praiſe worldly wiſdom as highly as they pleaſe, I am aſſured, that by ſuch ſhifts idolatry is maintained, and the truth of Jeſus Chriſt is betrayed, whereof God one day will be avenged.

At this and the like ſharpneſs were many offended, the voting ceaſed, and every faction began to ſpeak as affection moved. John Knox in the end was commanded to write to Mr. Calvin, and to the learned in other churches, to know their judgment in that queſtion: which he refuſed, ſhewing this reaſon; I myſelf am not only fully reſolved in conſcience, but alſo I have heard the judgments, in this and all other things that I have affirmed within this realm, of the moſt godly and moſt learned that I knew in Europe; I came not to this realm without their reſolution, and for my aſſurance I have the hand-writing of many; and therefore, if I ſhould now move the ſaid queſtions again, What ſhould I otherwiſe do, but either ſhew mine own ignorance and forgetfulneſs, or elſe inconſtancy? And therefore it may pleaſe you to pardon me, in that I write not: but I will teach you the ſurer way, which is, that you write and complain upon me, that I teach publicly, and affirm conſtantly ſuch doctrine, which offends you; and ſo ſhall you know their plain minds, whether that they and I agree in judgment or not.

Divers ſaid, The offer was good, but no man was found that would be the ſecretary; and ſo did that aſſembly and long reaſoning break up: after which time the miniſters, that were called preciſe, were held as monſters by all the courtiers. During all that time the earl of Murray was ſo ſtrange to John Knox, that neither by word nor writ was there any communication betwixt them.

It was thought good by the aſſembly of the church immediately preceding, and conform to the acts made before the queen's arrival, and approven ſince, that Chriſt's true religion be *de novo* eſtabliſhed, ratified, and approven throughout the whole realm; and that all idolatry, eſpecially the maſs, be aboliſhed every where, ſo that no other face of religion be ſuffered to be erected within this realm: and for this effect, that the miniſtry be ſufficiently pro-

vided with maintenance, and ſure appointment, where they ſhall take up their ſtipends. In like manner to deſire that the tranſgreſſors of the ſaid laws be puniſhed, eſpecially in Aberdeen, the Carſe of Gowry, Seaſield, and other places which ſhall be ſpecified. Theſe articles were appointed to be preſented to the lords of the ſecret council. The earls of Murray, Argyle, Glencairn, and the ſecretary, being preſent, and ſent by the queen to obſerve what things were propounded in the aſſembly, thought not good that the articles ſhould be propounded after this manner; but drew out two heads: Firſt, They would declare the good mind and obedience of the aſſembly: next, They would labour at her majeſty's hands for ſettling of religion, according to the order eſtabliſhed before her arrival. They promiſed alſo to deal with her for ſet ſtipends. Lethington returned a gracious anſwer to theſe heads. It was appointed that a requeſt ſhould be preſented to the queen, for obtaining the gift of the friars kirk of Kirkcudbright, to be holden hereafter the pariſh kirk of Kirkcudbright.

In the next month, which was July, the queen went into Athol to the hunting, from thence ſhe made a progreſs into Murray, and returned to Fife in September. All this while there was appearance of love betwixt the two queens; for there were many letters, full of civility and compliments, ſent from each of them to the other, in ſign of amity, beſides coſtly preſents for tokens. In the mean time, the earl of Lennox laboured to come home from England: and, in the month of October, he arrived at Holyrood-houſe, where he was graciouſly received by the queen's majeſty; namely, when he had preſented the letters from the queen of England, written in his favour: and, becauſe he could not be reſtored to his lands without act of parliament, therefore there was a parliament procured to be holden at Edinburgh, the 13th day of December: but before the queen would cauſe to proclaim a parliament, ſhe deſired the earl of Murray, by whoſe means chiefly the ſaid earl of Lennox came into Scotland, that there ſhould no word be ſpoken, or at leaſt concluded, that concerned religion, in the parliament. But he anſwered, That he could not promiſe it. In the mean time, the Hamiltons and the earl of Lennox were agreed.

At the day appointed, the parliament was held at Edinburgh, where the ſaid earl of Lennox was reſtored, after twenty-two years exile: he was baniſhed and forfeited by the Hamiltons, when they had the rule. There were ſome articles given in by the church, eſpecially for the aboliſhing of the maſs univerſally, and for puniſhment of vice; but there was little thing granted, except that it was ordained, That ſcandalous livers ſhould be puniſhed, firſt by priſon, and then publicly ſhown unto the people with ignominy; but the ſame was not put in execution.

The general aſſembly of the church convened at Edinburgh, the 25th of December: the exhortation and invocation of the name of God being made by John Knox, John Erſkine of Dun, ſuperintendant of Angus and Mearns, was choſen moderator. In this aſſembly Paul Methven's ſupplication, concerning his receiving to repentance, *&c.* was read and conſidered. The brethren were content to receive him, providing he preſented himſelf perſonally before them, and ſhewed evident ſigns of unfeigned repentance, and willingneſs to obey ſuch a form of repentance as they ſhould enjoin. As for deleting the proceſs out of their books, they could no ways condeſcend; neither thought they ſuch a petition could proceed of the Holy Spirit, ſeeing David, a notable ſervant of God, was not aſhamed to leave in regiſter his offence, to God's glory, and his own confuſion. Reſpecting his admiſſion and re-entry to the miniſtry within this realm, it was anſwered, That could not be granted, till the memory of his former offence was more deeply buried, and ſome particular kirk within the realm made requeſt for him: and further, that his entry into the miniſtry of England, he being excommunicated and unreconciled to the kirk, hath grievouſly offended them.

THE END OF BOOK FOURTH.

BOOK FIFTH.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REFORMATION OF RELIGION,

WITHIN THE REALM OF

SCOTLAND.

IN the end of January 1565, the queen paſt to Fife, and viſiting the gentlemens houſes, was magnificently banqueted every where, ſo that ſuch ſuperfluity was never ſeen before within this realm; which cauſed the wild fowl to be ſo dear, that partridges were ſold for a crown a-piece. At this time was granted, by an act of parliament, the confirmation of the feus of church-lands, at the deſire of divers lords, whereof the earl of Murray was chief. During the queen's abſence, the Papiſts of Edinburgh went down to the chapel, to hear maſs; and ſeeing there was no puniſhment, they waxed more bold; ſome of them thinking thereby to pleaſe the queen. Upon a certain Sunday in February, they made an even-ſong of their own, ſetting two prieſts on the one ſide of the quire, and one or two on the other ſide, with Alexander Stephen, minſtral (baptizing their children, and making marriages); who within eight days after was convicted of blaſphemy, alledging, That he would give no more credit to the New Teſtament than to a tale of Robin Hood, except it were confirmed by the doctors of the church. The ſaid ſuperſtitious even-ſong was the occaſion of great ſlander; for many were offended with it: which being by the brethren declared to the lords of the privy council, eſpecially to the earl of Murray, who lamented the cauſe to the queen's majeſty, ſhewing her what inconvenience ſhould come, if ſuch things were ſuffered unpuniſhed: and, after ſharp reaſoning, it was promiſed, that the like ſhould not be done hereafter. The queen alſo alledged, that they were a great number, and that ſhe could not trouble their conſciences.

About the 20th of this month, arrived at Edinburgh Henry Stewart, lord Darnley; from thence he paſt to Fife: and, in the place of Wemyſs, he was admitted to kiſs the queen's hand; whom ſhe liked ſo well, that ſhe preferred him before all others, as ſhall hereafter, God willing, be declared. Soon after, in the month of March, the earl of Bothwel arrived here from France; whereat the earl of Murray was highly offended, becauſe of the evil report made to him of the lord Bothwel: and, paſſing immediately to the queen's majeſty, demanded of her, If it was her will, or by her ad-

vice, that he was come home? and, ſeeing he was his deadly enemy, either he or the other ſhould leave the country; and therefore deſired that he might have juſtice. Her anſwer was, That ſeeing the earl Bothwel was a nobleman, and had done her ſervice, ſhe could not hate him; nevertheleſs ſhe would do nothing that might be prejudicial to the earl of Murray, but deſired that the matter might be taken away. Within few days ſhe cauſed ſummon the earl Bothwel, to anſwer to the courſe of law, the 2d of May, for the conſpiracy which the earl of Arran had alledged two years before, and for the breaking of the ward of the caſtle. In the mean while there was nothing in the court but banqueting and dancing, and other ſuch pleaſures, as were meet to provoke the diſordered appetite; and all for the entertainment of the queen's couſin from England, the lord Darnley, to whom ſhe did ſhew all the expreſſions imaginable of love and kindneſs.

Within few days, the queen being at Stirling, order was given to ſecretary Lethington to paſs to the queen of England. The chief point of his meſſage was, to declare to the queen of England, that the queen was minded to marry her couſin the lord Darnley; and the rather, becauſe he was ſo near of blood to both queens: for, by his mother, he was couſin-german to the queen of Scotland; alſo of near kindred, and of the ſame name, by his father: his mother was couſin-german to the queen of England. Here mark God's providence; king James V. having loſt his two ſons, did declare his reſolution to make the earl of Lennox his heir to the crown; but being prevented by ſudden death, that deſign ceaſed. Then came the earl of Lennox from France, with intention to marry king James's widow; but that failed alſo: he marries Mary Douglas, and his ſon marrieth Mary, the daughter of king James V. and ſo the king's deſire is fulfilled, *viz.* the crown continueth in the name, and in the family. The queen of England nevertheleſs ſhewed herſelf no ways pleaſed therewith; but rather declared, that ſhe would on no account ſuffer her ſubjects to make ſuch contracts or alliance that might be prejudicial to her: and, for the ſame purpoſe, ſent a poſt to the queen with letters, wherein ſhe complained greatly of the mind of our miſtreſs, ſeeing the great affection ſhe bare to her, intending to declare her heireſs of her realm of England, providing only that ſhe would uſe her counſel in marriage; but ſhe could not approve her marriage with the Lord Darnley, although he was their near couſin by birth, ſince he was below the rank of the queen by condition, being but a private ſubject. At the ſame time, ſhe wrote to the earl of Lennox, and to his ſon, commanding them to repair both into England.

Some write, That all this was but counterfeited by the queen of England, and from her heart ſhe was glad of the marriage; for by that means the ſucceſſion of the crown of England was ſecured, the lord Darnley being the right heir after the queen of Scotland; and queen Elizabeth was not angry to ſee her married to one of inferior rank, for by that means ſhe thought the Scots queen would be leſs proud.

During this time there were certain letters directed to the brethren of Edinburgh, to Dundee, Fife, Angus, and Mearns, and other places, from the brethren of Kyle, and other places in the weſt country, deſiring the profeſſors of the goſpel in all places, to remember what the eternal God had wrought, and how potently he had aboliſhed all kind of idolatry and ſuperſtition, and placed his word in this realm; ſo that no man could ſay otherwiſe, but it was the work of God; who alſo had delivered this country from the bondage and tyranny of ſtrangers: nevertheleſs, by your ſlothfulneſs, we have ſuffered that idol the maſs, not only to be planted again, but to increaſe ſo, that the maintainers thereof are like, by all appearance, to get the upper hand, which would be the occaſion of our deſtruction: and for that the Papiſts purpoſed to ſet up their idol at Eaſter following, in all places, which was to be imputed to the ſlothfulneſs, and want of godly zeal of the profeſſors; therefore they admoniſhed the brethren to ſtrive to avert the evil in time, and not to ſuffer ſuch wickedneſs to continue and increaſe, leſt that God's heavy wrath come upon us unawares, like a conſuming fire. By theſe letters many brethren were animated, and their ſpirits rouſed, minding to provide as God ſhould give them grace. And firſt of all, by the advice of the moſt learned in Edinburgh, there was a ſupplication made, and given to the queen's majeſty by the ſuperintendant of Lothian, containing in effect, That the church in general of the realm had divers times moſt humbly craved of her majeſty, that committers of adultery ſhould be puniſhed according to the law of God, and the acts of parliament; nevertheleſs they continued in their wickedneſs: and the Papiſts, of obſtinate malice, pretended nothing elſe, but to erect and ſet up their idolatry and ſuperſti-

tion; and especially, at Easter-day following, they intended to put the same in practice; which the brethren and professors of the gospel could not suffer: therefore wished her majesty to take heed of the matter.

This supplication the secretary received of the hands of the superintendants of Lothian and Glasgow, and told them in the queen's name, That there should be such provision made, as should serve to their contentment: and for the same purpose, the queen's majesty wrote to all such places as were suspected, especially to the bishops of St. Andrews and Aberdeen, as was said, not to use any mass; and that they should not do any such thing, as was feared by the Protestants, or convene any council; and thereto commanded them. Now the communion was administered in Edinburgh, the first day of April 1565: at which time, because it was near Easter, the Papists used to meet at their mass: and as some of the brethren were diligent to search such things, they having with them one of the bailies, took one Sir James Tarbat riding hard, as he had now ended the saying of the mass, and conveyed him, together with the master of the house, and one or two more of the assistants, to the tolbooth; and immediately clothed him again with all his garments, and carried him to the market-cross, where they set him on high, binding the chalice in his hand, and tying him fast to the said cross, where he tarried the space of an hour; during which time the boys served him with his Easter-eggs. The next day, the said Tarbat, with his assistants, were accused and convicted by an assize, according to the act of parliament: and albeit for the same offence he deserved death, yet for all his punishment, he was set upon the market-cross for the space of three or four hours, the hangman standing by, and keeping him; the boys and others were busy with eggs casting; and some Papists there were, that stopped them as far as they could: and as the press of people increased about the cross, there appeared to have been some tumult. The provost, Archibald Douglas, came with some halberdeers, and carried the priest safe again to the tolbooth. The queen, being advertised, and having received sinister information, that the priest was dead, suddenly thought to have used and inflicted some extreme punishment; for she thought that all this was done in contempt of her, and of her religion: and it was affirmed, that the town should have been sacked, and a great number put to death. She sent to such as she pleased, commanding them to come to her at Edinburgh suddenly, with their whole forces; and, in the mean time, she sent her advocate, Mr. Spence of Condie, to Edinburgh, to take a sure trial of the matter. The provost and council wrote to the queen the truth of the matter as it was, desiring her majesty to take the same in good part, and not to give credit to false reports; and therewith sent to her majesty the process and inrolment of the court of the priest convict. Thus the queen's majesty being informed of the truth by her said advocate, sent again and staid the said meeting of men, and sent to the town a grave letter, whereof the copy followeth:

The Queen's Letter to the Provost, Bailies, and Council of Edinburgh.

PROVOST, bailies, and council of our city of Edinburgh, we received your letter from our advocate, and understand by this report, what diligence ye took to stay the tumult in the late disorder attempted at Edinburgh; wherein as you did your duty in suppressing the tumult, so can we not take in good part, nor think ourselves satisfied of so notorious a thing, without certain seditious persons, who were pleased to do justice by force, and without the magistrates authority, be condignly and really punished for their rashness and misbehaviour; for if all private persons should usurp, to take vengeance at their own hands, What lies in ours? And to what purpose hath good laws and statutes been established? Since therefore we have never been obstinate to the due punishment of any offenders, prescribed by the laws, but have always maintained justice in that case, without respect of persons; it is our will, and we command you, as you will answer to us upon your obedience and allegiance, that you will take before you certain of the most responsible persons, who are declared authors of the said sedition, and usurpers of our authority, and to administer justice upon them, in such sort as we may know a sincerity on your parts, and our authority no ways slighted. But if you fail, persuade yourselves, and that shortly, we will not overlook it, but will account this contempt not only to be in the committers thereof, but in yourselves, who ought to punish it, and relieve us on our part; remitting the rest to your diligence and execution, which we look for, so soon as reason will permit.

Subscribed with our hand at Stirling,
this 24th of April 1565.

By this manner of writing, and high threatening, may be perceived how grievouſly the queen's majeſty would have been offended, if the ſaid Tarbat and maſs-monger had been handled according to his demerit; being not only a Papiſt idolater, but a manifeſt whoremaſter, and a common fighter and blaſphemer: nevertheleſs, within few days, the queen charged the provoſt and bailies to ſet him at liberty; commanding them further, That no man ſhould trouble or moleſt him in any ſort for whatſoever cauſe; and ſoon after rewarded him with a benefice: and likewiſe his aſſiſters, John Low and John Kennedy, were ſet at liberty in the ſame manner. At this Eaſter-tide, in Stirling, the queen made her domeſtic ſervants uſe Papiſtical rites and ceremonies; and more, ſhe perſuaded others by fair means to do the ſame, and threatened thoſe that were moſt conſtant at the earl of Caſſils's houſe. Upon the ſecond day of May 1565, convened at Edinburgh, the earl of Murray, with his friends, in great numbers, to keep the day of law againſt the earl Bothwel; who being called, appeared not: only the laird of Riccarton proteſted, That the perſonal abſence of the earl Bothwel ſhould not be prejudicial to him, by reaſon that for juſt fear, which might happen in the heart of any man, ſince he had ſo powerful an enemy as the lord of Murray, who, next to the queen's majeſty, was of greateſt eſtimation and authority of any man within this realm, to whom aſſiſted, at this preſent day of law, ſeven or eight hundred men, which force he could not reſiſt, and therefore had abſented himſelf. Which proteſtation being made, thoſe that had been ſureties for his appearance were outlawed. The ſaid earl Bothwel, a few days after, paſt into France, after he had been in Liddiſdale, where, ſuſpecting almoſt every man, he was not in great aſſurance of his life: notwithſtanding he was not put to the horn; for the queen continually bore a great favour towards him, and kept him to be a ſoldier, as appeared within leſs than half a year; for ſhe would not ſuffer the lord Morton, nor my lord Erſkine, my lord of Murray's great friends, to keep the day. There aſſiſted my lord of Murray, the earls of Argyle, Glencairn, and Crawford, with great numbers, and many lords and barons, who, for the moſt part, convened the ſame afternoon, to treat and conſult for the maintaining of religion; where ſome articles were deviſed, and delivered to the lord of Murray, to be preſented to the queen's majeſty and privy council; which articles were enlarged at the general aſſembly following, as ſhall be declared. In the mean time, as they were informed in court of this great aſſembly of people in Edinburgh, they were afraid; for naturally the queen hated and ſuſpected all ſuch conventions, as were not in her own preſence, and deviſed by herſelf. The chief counſellors in the court, were the earls of Lennox and Athol.

The queen wrote immediately for all the lords to come to Stirling, ſo ſoon as ſhe was advertiſed that they had treated in Edinburgh of religion: ſhe wrote likewiſe for the ſuperintendants, and other learned men, who went thither; and being there, they cauſed to keep the ports or gates, and make good watch about the town. The ſpecial cauſe of this convention was, to give to the lord Darnley titles of honour openly and ſolemnly, with conſent of the nobles, before the marriage. The fourth day of May the earl of Murray came to Stirling, where he was well received by the queen's majeſty, as appeared; and immediately, as he paſſed with her to my lord Darnley's chamber, they preſented to him a contract, containing in effect, That foraſmuch as, or ſince, the queen had contracted marriage with the lord Darnley; and that therefore ſundry lords of the nobility had underwritten, ratified, and approved the ſame, and obliged themſelves to grant unto him, in full parliament, the crown matrimonial (by a new court-ſoleciſm in policy, the crown for the ſecond time is firnamed Matrimonial (before, when the queen was firſt married, it was ſo called alſo), to ſerve and obey him and her, as their lawful ſovereigns: the queen deſired my lord Murray to ſubſcribe, as many others had done before; which he refuſed to do, Becauſe, ſaid he, it is required neceſſarily that the whole nobility be preſent, at leaſt the principal, and ſuch as he himſelf was poſterior unto, before that ſo great a matter ſhould be adviſed and concluded.

The queen's majeſty, no ways content with this anſwer, inſiſted ſtill upon him, ſaying, The greateſt part of the nobility were there preſent, and content with the matter; wiſhed him to be ſo much a Stuart, as to conſent to the keeping of the crown in the family, and the firname, according to their father's will and deſire, as was ſaid of him a little before his death; but he ſtill refuſed, for the cauſes above written.

Now, as the lords were aſſembled, an ambaſſador from England, named Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, arrived at Stirling; and in his company the laird of Lethington: the ambaſſador was at the caſtle-gate ere they were aware; and as he

ſtood there in the entry, he was deſired to paſs to his lodgings. The next day he had audience of the queen, and was graciouſly received, according to the dignity of his meſſage. The whole ſum of his meſſage was, To ſhew and declare to the queen, how highly the queen his miſtreſs was offended with this precipitated marriage, and wondered what had moved her to take a man of inferior rank and condition to herſelf; and therefore diſſuaded her therefrom: and eſpecially deſiring her moſt earneſtly, to ſend home her ſubjects the earl of Lennox and the lord Darnley: but all in vain, for the matter was too far proceeded in. In her heart queen Eliſabeth was not angry at this marriage; firſt, becauſe if queen Mary had married a foreign prince it had been an addition to her greatneſs, and conſequently ſhe had been more redoubted by the other: next, both Henry and Mary were alike, and in equal degree of conſanguinity unto her; the father of Mary, and the mother of Henry, being children to her father's ſiſter.

With many fair words the queen let the ambaſſador depart, promiſing to do all ſhe could to ſatisfy the queen of England; and for the ſame purpoſe ſhe would ſend an ambaſſador to her.

In the mean time the queen's marriage with the lord Darnley was prepared and propounded in council; and the chief of the nobility, ſuch as the duke, the earls of Argyle, Murray, Glencairn, with the reſt, granted freely to the ſame, providing that they might have the religion eſtabliſhed in parliament by the queen, and the idolatrous maſs and ſuperſtition aboliſhed. Shortly it was concluded, That they ſhould convene again at St. Johnſton, where the queen promiſed to take a final order for religion. The day was appointed, *viz.* the laſt of May, at Perth: my lord of Argyle came too late. The queen's majeſty communed with the lords, who were very plain with her, ſaying, Except the maſs was aboliſhed, there ſhould be no quietneſs in the country.

The twelfth day of May the lord Darnley was belted (that is, created) earl of Roſs, with great ſolemnity, a belt or girdle being tied about his waſte or middle; and albeit all kind of proviſion was made to make him duke of Rotheſay, yet at that time it came not to effect, albeit the crown and robe-royal were prepared to him for the ſame. For the entertainment of this triumph, there were many knights made, to the number of fourteen. The next day, which was the 13th of May, the queen called for the ſuperintendants, by name John Willock, John Winram, and John Spotſwood, whom ſhe cheriſhed with fair words, aſſuring them, that ſhe deſired nothing more earneſtly than the glory of God, and ſatisfying of mens conſciences, and the good of the commonwealth; and albeit ſhe was not perſuaded in any religion, but in that wherein ſhe was brought up, yet ſhe promiſed to them, that ſhe would hear conference and diſputation in the Scriptures: and likewiſe ſhe would be content to hear public preaching, but always out of the mouth of ſuch as pleaſed her majeſty; and, above all others, ſhe ſaid, ſhe would gladly hear the ſuperintendant of Angus (for he was a mild and ſweet-natured man), with true honeſty and uprightneſs, Mr. Erſkine of Dun.

Soon after the queen paſt to St. Johnſton, after that ſhe had directed Mr. John Hay, prior of Monymuſk, to paſs to England, who ſped, at the queen of England's hand, even as Sir Nicholas Throgmorton did in Scotland. Before the day which was appointed for the meeting at St. Johnſton, my lord of Murray, moſt careful of the maintenance of religion, ſent to all the principal churches, advertiſing them of the matter, and deſiring them to adviſe, and ſend the moſt able men in learning and reputation, to keep the day: but their craft and diſſimulation appeared; for the dean of Reſtalrig, who lately came from France, with others, ſuch as Mr. John Leſly parſon of Ure, afterward biſhop of Roſs, cauſed the queen to underſtand that thing, whereof ſhe was eaſily perſuaded, *viz.* That there ought to be given to all men liberty of conſcience; and for this purpoſe, to ſhun or put off the firſt day appointed, the queen writ to the nobility, That becauſe ſhe was informed that there were great meetings out of every ſhire and town in great number, and then the other party (ſo termed ſhe the Papiſts) were minded to gather to the ſaid convention, which ſhould apparently cauſe trouble or ſedition, rather than any other thing; therefore ſhe thought it expedient, and willed them to ſtay the ſaid meetings, and to defer the ſame till ſuch a day that ſhe ſhould appoint with advice of her council. At this time there was a parliament proclaimed to be held at Edinburgh, the twentieth day of July.

By this letter ſome of the Proteſtants, of beſt judgment, thought themſelves ſufficiently warned of the inconveniences and troubles to come. Now her council, at this time, was only the earls of Lennox and Athol, the lord Ruthven, but chiefly David Rizio the Italian ruled all; yet the earl of Roſs was already in greateſt credit and familiarity. Theſe letters were ſent out to the lords, about

the twenty-eighth day of May; and, within twelve days thereafter, ſhe directed new miſſives to the chief of the nobility, deſiring or commanding them to come to St. Johnſton, the twenty-third day of June following, to conſult upon ſuch things as concerned religion, and other things as her majeſty ſhould propoſe; which day was even the day before that the general aſſembly ſhould have been held in Edinburgh. This laſt letter uttered the effect of the former; ſo that the Proteſtants thought themſelves ſufficiently warned. As the earl of Murray was paſſing to St. Johnſton, to have kept the ſaid day, he chanced to fall ſick of the flux in Lochlevin, where he remained till the queen came forth of St. Johnſton to Edinburgh, where the general aſſembly of the whole church of Scotland was held, the twenty-fourth day of July. The earls of Argyle and Glencairn aſſiſted the church, with a great company of lords, barons, and others: it was there ordered and concluded, That certain gentlemen, as commiſſioners from the church national, ſhould paſs to the queen's majeſty, with certain articles, to the number of ſix, deſiring her moſt humbly to ratify and approve the ſame in parliament. And becauſe the ſaid articles are of great weight, and worthy of memory, I thought good to inſert the ſame word by word.

Imprimus, That the Papiſtical and blaſphemous maſs, with all Papiſtical idolatry, and papal juriſdiction, be univerſally ſuppreſſed and aboliſhed throughout this realm, not only in the ſubjects, but alſo in the queen's own perſon, with puniſhment againſt all perſons that ſhould be deprehended to tranſgreſs and offend in the ſame: and that the ſincere word of God, and Chriſt's true religion, now at this preſent received, be publiſhed, approved, and ratified throughout the whole realm, as well in the queen's own perſon, as in the ſubjects: and that the people are to reſort, upon the Sundays at the leaſt, to the prayers and preaching of God's word, even as they were before to the idolatrous maſs: and theſe heads to be provided by act of parliament, and ratified by the queen's majeſty.

Secondly, That proviſion be made for ſuſtentation of the miniſtry, as well for the time preſent as the time to come: and that ſuch perſons, as are preſently admitted to the miniſtry, may have their livings aſſigned unto them, in places where they travel in their calling, or at leaſt next adjacent thereto: and that the benefices now vacant, or that have been vacant ſince the month of March 1558, or that hereafter ſhall happen to be vacant, be diſpoſed to qualified and learned perſons, able to preach God's word, and diſcharge the vocation concerning the miniſtry, by trial and admiſſion of the ſuperintendants and overſeers: and that no benefice or living, having many churches annexed thereunto, be diſpoſed altogether, in any time to come, to any man, but at the leaſt the churches thereof be ſeverally diſpoſed, and that to ſeveral perſons; ſo that every man having charge, may ſerve at his own church, according to his vocation: and, to that effect, likewiſe the glebes and the manſes be given to the miniſters, that they may make reſidence at their churches, whereby they may diſcharge their conſciences according to their vocation: and alſo, that the kirks may be repaired accordingly: and that a law be made and eſtabliſhed hereupon by act of parliament, as is ſaid.

Thirdly, That none be permitted to have charge of ſouls, colleges, or univerſities, neither privately nor publicly teach and inſtruct the youth, but ſuch as ſhall be tried by the ſuperintendants or viſitors of churches, and found ſound and able in doctrine, and admitted by them to their charges.

Fourthly, For the ſuſtentation of the poor, that all lands founded for hoſpitality of old, be reſtored again to the ſame uſe: and that all lands, annuals, rents, or any other emoluments, pertaining any ways ſome time to the friars, of whatſoever order they had been of; as likewiſe the annuities, alterages, obits, and the other duties pertaining to prieſts, to be applied to the ſuſtentation of the poor, and upholding of the town-ſchools in towns, and other places where they be.

Fifthly, That ſuch horrible crimes as now abound within this realm without any correction, to the great contempt of God and his word; ſuch as idolatry, blaſphemy of God's name, manifeſt breaking of the Sabbath-day, witchcraft, ſorcery, inchantment, adultery, manifeſt whoredom, maintenance of brothels, murder, ſlaughter, oppreſſion, with many other deteſtable crimes, may be ſeverely puniſhed, and judges appointed in every province and dioceſs, for execution thereof, with power to do the ſame, and that by act of parliament.

Laſtly, That ſome order be deviſed and eſtabliſhed, for eaſe of the poor labourers of the ground, concerning the reaſonable payment of the tithes, who are oppreſſed by the leaſers of the tithes, ſet over their heads without their own conſent and advice.

The perſons who were appointed by the church to carry theſe articles, and preſent them to the queen's majeſty, were the lairds of Cunninghamhead, Lundie, Spot, and Grange of Angus; and James Baron for the burghs: theſe five paſt from Edinburgh to St. Johnſton, where they preſented the ſaid articles to the queen's majeſty, deſiring and requiring her highneſs moſt humbly to adviſe therewith, and to give them anſwer. The next day, ere they were aware, the queen departed to Dunkeld, and immediately they followed; and after they had gotten audience, they deſired the queen's majeſty moſt humbly to give their diſpatch. She anſwered, That her council was not there preſent, but ſhe intended to be in Edinburgh within eight days, and there they ſhould receive their anſwer. At the ſame time, as the general aſſembly was holden in Edinburgh, the brethren perceiving the Papiſts to brag, and trouble like to be, they aſſembled themſelves at St. Leonard's Craigs, where they concluded they would defend themſelves; and for the ſame purpoſe elected eight perſons of the moſt able, two of every quarter, to ſee that the brethren ſhould be ready armed.

And when the five commiſſioners, above named, had waited upon the court four or five days, after her majeſty's coming to Edinburgh, there the matter was propoſed in council: and, after long and earneſt reaſoning upon theſe articles, at length it was anſwered to the commiſſioners by the ſecretary, That the queen's majeſty's command was, that the matter ſhould be reaſoned in her preſence; which for the gravity of the ſame, there could nothing be concluded at that time, albeit the queen's majeſty had heard more in that matter than ever ſhe did before: but, within eight days thereafter, ſhe underſtood that a great part of the nobility ſhould be preſent at Edinburgh, where they ſhould have a final anſwer. At length, on the twenty-firſt of Auguſt, they received the anſwer in writing in her preſence, according to the tenor hereof, as followeth:

The Queen's Majeſty's Anſwer to the Articles preſented to her Highneſs, by certain Gentlemen, in the Name of the whole Aſſembly of the Church.

To the firſt, deſiring the maſs to be ſuppreſſed and aboliſhed, as well in the head, as in the members, with puniſhment againſt the contraveners; as alſo, the religion profeſſed to be eſtabliſhed by act of parliament; it was anſwered, firſt for her majeſty's part, That her highneſs is no way yet perſuaded in the ſaid religion, nor yet that any impiety is in the maſs; and therefore believeth, that her loving ſubjects will not preſs her to receive any religion againſt her conſcience, which ſhould be unto her a continual trouble by remorſe of conſcience, and therewith a perpetual unquietneſs. And, to deal plainly with her ſubjects, her majeſty neither will, nor may leave the religion wherein ſhe hath been nouriſhed and brought up, and believeth the ſame to be well grounded: knowing, beſides the grudge of conſcience that ſhe ſhould receive upon the change of her own religion, that ſhe ſhould loſe the friendſhip of the king of France, the married ally of this realm, and of other great princes her friends and confederates, who would take the ſame in evil part, and of whom ſhe may look for their great ſupport in all her neceſſities: and, having no aſſured conſideration that may countervail the ſame, ſhe will be loth to put in hazard all her friends at an inſtant: praying all her loving ſubjects, ſeeing they have had experience of her goodneſs, that ſhe hath neither in times paſt, nor yet intends hereafter, to preſs the conſcience of any, but that they may worſhip God in ſuch ſort, as they are perſuaded in their conſcience to be beſt; that they will alſo not preſs her conſcience. As to the eſtabliſhing of religion in the body of the realm, they themſelves know, as appears by their articles, that the ſame cannot be done only by conſent of her majeſty, but requires neceſſarily the conſent of the ſtates in parliament; and therefore, ſo ſoon as the parliament holds, thoſe things which the ſtates agree upon amongſt themſelves, her majeſty ſhall conſent unto the ſame; and in the mean time ſhall make ſure, that no man be troubled for uſing religion according to conſcience; ſo that no man ſhall have cauſe to doubt, that for religion's ſake mens lives and heritages ſhall be in any hazard.

To the ſecond article, it is anſwered, That her majeſty thinks it no ways reaſonable, that ſhe ſhould defraud herſelf of ſo great a part of the patrimony of the crown, as to put the patronage of benefices out of her own hands; for her own neceſſity, in bearing of her port and common charges, will require the retention thereof, and that in a good part in her own hands: nevertheleſs her majeſty is well pleaſed, that conſideration being had of her own neceſſity, and what may be ſufficient for the reaſonable ſuſtentation of the miniſters, a ſpecial aſſignation be made to them in places moſt commodious and meet; with which her majeſty

ſhall not meddle, but ſuffer the ſame to come to them.

To the third article, it is anſwered, That her majeſty ſhall do therein as ſhall be agreed by the ſtates in parliament.

To the fourth article, Her majeſty's liberality towards the poor ſhall always be ſo far extended as can be reaſonably required at her hands.

To the fifth and ſixth articles, Her majeſty will refer the taking order therein unto the ſtates aſſembled in parliament.

As the queen's majeſty came from St. Johnſton, over Forth to the Callender, ſhe was convoyed to the water-ſide of Forth with two hundred ſpears: for at that time it was reported, that there were ſome lying in wait at the Path of Dron. In the mean time the earl of Murray was in Lochlevin, and the earl of Argyle with him. Now in the Callender the lord Livingſton had deſired the queen's majeſty to be witneſs to the chriſtening of a child; for his lady was lately brought to bed: and when the miniſter made the ſermon and exhortation concerning baptiſm, the queen's majeſty came in the end, and ſaid to the lord Livingſton, That ſhe would ſhew him that favour that ſhe had not done to any other before: that is, That ſhe would give her preſence to the Proteſtant ſermon, which was reckoned a great matter.

The queen being in the Callender, was informed, both by word and letters, by falſe brethren, That a great part of the Proteſtants of Edinburgh had lately convened upon St. Leonard's Craigs, and there formed a conſpiracy againſt her: and had choſen, for the ſame purpoſe, certain captains, to govern the reſt: and, without any trial, or perfect notice taken in the caſe, ſhe ſent to the provoſt and bailies of Edinburgh, commanding them to take and apprehend Alexander Guthrie, Alexander Clark, Gilbert Lawder, and Andrew Sclater, and put them in priſon in the caſtle.

This new and unaccuſtomed faſhion of proceeding ſeemed to be very ſtrange: and, becauſe the ſaid four perſons were not apprehended, ſhe ſent the next day a charge to the provoſt and bailies, and to her own great treaſurer, to paſs to the houſes of the ſaid four men, and likewiſe to their booths or ſhops, and there to take inventory of all their goods and chattels; and commanded the ſaid treaſurer to take the keys of the ſaid houſes and booths, together with the ſaid inventory: which was executed in effect, eſpecially upon the ſaid Alexander Guthrie's wife, he being then common clerk, and one of the greateſt in eſtimation within the town: his wife and children were ſhut out of their houſe, and compelled to ſeek ſome other lodging in the town.

By this manner of proceeding, the hearts of all men of ſpirit and judgment were wonderfully abaſhed and wounded, ſeeing and perceiving theſe things ſo furiouſly handled, upon ſiniſter and wrong information; men never called to their anſwer, nor heard, nor any trial taken therein. Immediately thereafter, as ſhe came to Edinburgh, ſhe called to council ſuch as pleaſed herſelf, and there complains of the ſaid matter, alledging it to be a conſpiracy and manifeſt treaſon. And another matter likewiſe was complained upon, That the earl of Argyle (as the queen was ſurely informed) was riding with a great army, to invade the earl of Athol and his lands. For the firſt matter, it was concluded by the council, That diligent inquiſition ſhould be made in the matter; and for that purpoſe appointed the queen's advocates, Mr. John Spence of Condie and Mr. Robert Crichton, to examine ſuch as they would: and when the ſaid advocates had called before them, and examined a ſufficient number, and their depoſitions ſubſcribed and delivered to the queen, there was nothing found worthy of death or treaſonable. At length the ſaid four perſons were ſummoned to anſwer at law.

For the ſecond matter, That the queen's majeſty ſhould ſend to the earls of Argyle and Athol ſome of her council, or familiar ſervants, to take order touching it. And when the ſecretary, the juſtice-clerk, and lord of St. Colm, had paſt to the ſaid earl of Argyle, they found no ſuch thing: but in Athol there was great fear come of a ſudden fray; for, after many proclamations, the fire-croſs (which they made uſe of in lieu of beacons) was raiſed in Athol.

Now, as the day of the parliament approached, the lords pretending to conſult before what ſhould be done, as well in religion, as for the commonwealth, the fifteenth day of July there convened at Stirling, the duke, the earls of Argyle and Murray, Rothes, and other lords and barons; and, as they were deviſing and conſulting, the queen's majeſty, taking their meeting in evil part, ſent her advocates, Mr. John Spence and Mr. Robert Crichton, to them at Stirling, requiring the cauſe of their meeting: they anſwered, That the ſpecial occaſion of their meeting was for the cauſe of religion, and the aſſurance thereof, according as

they had lately written to the queen's majeſty in Seton, from the town of Edinburgh; they deſiring then to prorogue the day.

Finally, when the ſaid advocates could by no means perſuade them to come to Edinburgh, they returned again to Edinburgh, and declared to the queen's majeſty according as they had found.

In the mean time the parliament was prorogued, at the queen's majeſty's command, to the firſt of September next: for it was thought, that the moſt part and principal of the chief nobility being abſent, there could no parliament be holden. At the ſame time the queen's majeſty perceiving, that the matter was already come to a maturity and ripeneſs, ſo that the minds and ſecrecy of mens hearts muſt needs be diſcloſed, ſhe wrote to a great number of lords, barons, gentlemen, and others that were neareſt in Fife, Angus, Lothian, Merſe, Tiviotdale, Perth, Linlithgow, Clydeſdale, and others, to reſort to her, in this form of words hereafter following:

The Queen's Letter.

TRUSTY friend, we greet you well: we are grieved indeed by the evil report ſpread among our lieges, as that we ſhould have moleſted any man in the uſing of his religion and conſcience freely, a thing which never entered into our mind; yet ſince we perceive the too eaſy believing ſuch reports hath made them careleſs, and ſo we think it becomes us to be careful for the ſafety and preſervation of our ſtate; wherefore we pray you moſt affectionately, that with all poſſible haſte, after the receipt of this our letter, you, with your kindred, friends, and whole force, well furniſhed with arms for war, be provided for fifteen days after your coming, addreſs you to come to us, to wait and attend upon us, according to our expectation and truſt in you, as you will thereby declare the good affection you bear to the maintenance of our authority, and will do us therein acceptable ſervice.

Subſcribed with our hand at Edinburgh,
July 17, 1565.

There was likewiſe proclamation made in Edinburgh, That the queen minded not to trouble nor alter the religion; and alſo proclamations made in the ſhires above mentioned, for the ſame purpoſe, That all freeholders and other gentlemen ſhould reſort, in the foreſaid manner, to Edinburgh, where the earl of Roſs was made duke of Rotheſay, with great triumph, the 23d day of July. The ſame afternoon the queen complained grievouſly againſt the earl of Murray, in open audience of all the lords and barons: and the ſame day the bans of the earl of Roſs and duke of Rotheſay, and the queen's marriage, were proclaimed. About this time the lord Erſkine was made earl of Marr. In the mean time there were divers meſſages ſent from the queen's majeſty to the earl of Murray; firſt, Mr. Robert Crichton, to perſuade him by all means poſſible to come and reſort to the queen's majeſty. His anſwer was, That he would be glad to come to her, according to his bounden duty; yet foraſmuch as ſuch perſons as were moſt privy in her company were his capital enemies, who alſo had conſpired his death, he could no ways come, ſo long as they were in court.

Soon after my lord Erſkine, and the maſter of Maxwel, paſt to him to St. Andrews, rather ſuffered and permitted by the queen, than ſent by her highneſs; after them the laird of Dun, who was ſent by means of the earl of Marr; but all this did not prevail with him: and, when all hope of his coming was paſt, an herald was ſent to him, charging him to come to the queen's majeſty, and anſwer to ſuch things as ſhould be laid to his charge, within forty-eight hours next after the charge, under pain of rebellion; and, becauſe he appeared not the next day after the forty-eight hours, he was denounced rebel, and put to the horn. The ſame order they uſed againſt the earl of Argyle; for the queen ſaid, She would ſerve him and the reſt with the ſame meaſure they had met to others, meaning the ſaid Argyle.

In the mean while, as the fire was well kindled and inflamed, all means and ways were ſought, to ſtir up enemies againſt the chief Proteſtants that had been lately at Stirling: for the earl of Athol was ready bent againſt the earl of Argyle, the lord Lindſay againſt the earl of Rothes in Fife, they being both Proteſtants; for they had contended now a long time for the heirſhip of Fife. And that no ſuch thing ſhould be left undone, the lord Gordon, who now had remained near three years in priſon in Dunbar, was, after ſome little travel of his friends, received by the queen; and being thus received into favour, was reſtored firſt to the lordſhip of Gordon, and ſoon after to the earldom of Huntley, and to all his lands, honours, and dignities, that he might be a bar and a party in the north to the earl of Murray.

The 18th of July, late in the evening, near an hour after the ſun's going down, there was a proclamation made at the market-croſs of Edinburgh, containing in effect:

THAT foraſmuch as, at the will and pleaſure of Almighty God, the queen had taken to her huſband a right excellent and illuſtrious prince, Henry duke of Rotheſay, earl of Roſs, lord Darnley; therefore it was her will, that he ſhould be holden and obeyed, and reverenced as king: commanding all letters and proclamations to be made in the names of Henry and Mary in times coming.

The next day following, at ſix o'clock in the morning, they were married in the chapel-royal of Holyrood-houſe, by the dean of Reſtalrig, the queen being all clothed in mourning: but immediately, as the queen went to maſs, the king went not with her, but to his paſtime. During the ſpace of three or four days there was nothing but dancing and banqueting.

In the mean time the earl Rothes, the laird of Grange, the tutor of Pitcur, with ſome gentlemen of Fife, were put to the horn, for non-appearance; and immediately the ſwaſh, tabor, and drums were ſtricken or beaten, for men of war to ſerve the king and queen's majeſties, and to take their pay. This ſudden alteration, and haſty creation of kings, moved the hearts of a great number.

Now amongſt the people there were divers reports; for ſome alledged, that the cauſe of this alteration was not for religion, but rather for hatred, envy of ſudden promotion or dignity, or ſuch worldly cauſes: but they that conſidered the progreſs of the matter, according as is heretofore declared, thought the principal cauſe to be only for religion.

In this mean time the lords paſt to Argyle, taking apparently little care of the trouble that was to come: howbeit they ſent into England Mr. Nicholas Elphingſton for ſupport, who brought ſome money into this country, to the amount of ten thouſand pounds Sterling. There came one forth of England to the queen, who got audience the ſeventh of Auguſt, in Holyrood-houſe. He was not well, *&c.*

About the fifteenth of Auguſt the lords met at Ayr; *viz.* the duke of Hamilton, the earls of Argyle, Murray, Glencairn, Rothes, the lord Boyd, and Ochiltrie, with divers barons and gentlemen of Fife and Kyle, where they concluded to be in readineſs, with their whole forces, the twenty-fourth day of Auguſt. But the king and queen with great celerity prevented them; for their majeſties ſent through Lothian, Fife, Angus, Strathern, Tiviotdale, and Clydeſdale, and other ſhires, making their proclamations in this manner: 'That 'foraſmuch as certain rebels, who (under colour 'of religion), intended nothing but the trouble 'and ſubverſion of the commonwealth, were to 'convene with ſuch as they might perſuade to aſ-'ſiſt them; therefore they charged all manner of 'men, under pain of life, lands, and goods, to re-'ſort and meet their majeſties at Linlithgow, the '24th day of Auguſt.'

This proclamation was made in Lothian, the third day of the ſaid month. Upon Sunday, the nineteenth of Auguſt, the king came to the high-kirk of Edinburgh, where John Knox made the ſermon: his text was taken out of the twenty-ſixth chapter of Iſaiah's prophecy, about the thirteenth verſe, where, in the words of the prophet, he ſaid, 'O Lord our God! other lords than thou 'have ruled over us.' Whereupon he took occaſion to ſpeak of the government of wicked princes, who, for the ſins of the people, are ſent as tyrants and ſcourges to plague them: and, amongſt other things, he ſaid, That God ſets in that room (for the offences and ingratitude of the people) boys and women: and ſome other words, which appeared bitter in the king's ears; as, that God juſtly puniſhed Ahab and his poſterity, becauſe he would not take order with that harlot Jezebel. And becauſe he had tarried an hour and more longer than the time appointed, the king (ſitting on a throne made for that purpoſe) was ſo moved at this ſermon, that he would not dine; and, being troubled with great fury, he paſt in the afternoon to the hawking.

Immediately John Knox was commanded to come to the council, where in the ſecretary's chamber were convened, the earl of Athol, the lord Ruthven, the ſecretary, the juſtice-clerk, with the advocate. There paſſed along with the miniſter a great number of the moſt reſpectable men of the town. When he was called, the ſecretary declared, That the king's majeſty was offended with ſome words ſpoken in the ſermon (eſpecially ſuch as are above rehearſed), deſiring him to abſtain from preaching for fifteen or twenty days, and let Mr. Craig ſupply the place.

He anſwered, That he had ſpoken nothing but according to his text: and if the church would command him either to ſpeak or abſtain, he would obey, ſo far as the word of God would permit him.

Within four days after, the king and queen ſent to the council of Edinburgh, commanding them to depoſe Archibald Douglas, and to receive the laird of Craigmillar for their provoſt; which was preſently obeyed.

The twenty-fifth of Auguſt, the king and queen's majeſties paſt from Edinburgh to Linlithgow, and from thence to Stirling, and from Stirling to Glaſgow. At their firſt arrival, their whole people were not come. The next day after their arrival at Glaſgow, the lords came to Paiſley, where they remained that night, being in company about one thouſand horſe. The following day they came to Hamilton, keeping the high paſſage from Paiſley near Glaſgow, where the king and queen eaſily might behold them. The night following, which was the laſt but one of Auguſt, they remained in Hamilton with their company; but, for divers reaſons, they thought it not expedient to tarry; eſpecially, becauſe the earl of Argyle was not come, for his diet was not before the ſecond of September following, to have been at Hamilton. Finally, they took purpoſe to come to Edinburgh; which they did the next day. And albeit Alexander Erſkine, captain under the lord his brother, cauſed to fire from the caſtle two ſhot of cannon, they being near the town; and likewiſe, that the laird of Craigmillar, provoſt, did his endeavour to hold the lords out of the town, in cauſing the common bells to be rung, for the convening of the town, to the effect aforeſaid; yet they entered eaſily at the weſt port or gate, without any moleſtation or impediment, being in number, as they eſteemed themſelves, one thouſand three hundred horſe. Immediately they diſpatched meſſengers ſouthward and northward to aſſiſt them; but all in vain: and immediately after they were in their lodgings, they cauſed to beat the drum, deſiring all ſuch men as would receive wages for the defence of the glory of God, that they ſhould reſort the day following to the church, where they ſhould receive good pay: but they profited little that way, neither could they in Edinburgh get any comfort or ſupport, for few or none reſorted unto them; yet they got more reſt and ſleep when they were at Edinburgh, than they had done for five or ſix nights before.

The noblemen of this company were, the duke, the earls of Murray, Glencairn, and Rothes; the lords Boyd and Ochiltrie; the lairds of Grange, Cunninghamhead, Balcomy, and Lawers; the tutor of Pitcur; the lairds of Bar, Carmel, and Dreghorn; and the laird of Pittarro, comptroller, went with them. Some ſaid merrily, That they were come to keep the parliament; for the parliament was continued till the firſt day of September: on which day they wrote to the king and queen's majeſties a letter, containing in effect, That albeit they were perſecuted moſt unjuſtly, which they underſtood proceeded not of the king and queen's majeſties own nature, but only by evil counſel, yet notwithſtanding they were willing and content to ſuffer, according to the laws of the realm, providing that the true religion of God might be eſtabliſhed, and the dependents thereupon be likewiſe reformed; beſeeching their majeſties moſt humbly to grant theſe things: but otherwiſe, if their enemies would ſeek their blood, they ſhould underſtand it would be dear bought. They had written twice, almoſt to the ſame effect, to the king and queen's majeſties, after their paſſing from Edinburgh; for the laird of Preſton preſented a letter to the king and queen's majeſties, and was therefore impriſoned, but ſoon after releaſed; nevertheleſs they got no anſwer. The ſame day that they departed out of Hamilton, the king and queen's majeſties iſſued out of Glaſgow in the morning betimes; and, paſſing towards Hamilton, the army met their majeſties near the bridge of Calder: as they muſtered, the maſter of Maxwel ſat down upon his knees, and made a long oration to the queen, declaring what pleaſure ſhe had done to them, and ever laid the whole burden upon the earl of Murray. Soon after they marched forward in battle-array: the earl of Lennox took the van-guard, the earl of Morton the middle, and the king and queen the rear: the whole number were about five thouſand men, whereof the greateſt part were in the van-guard.

As the king and queen's majeſties were within three miles of Hamilton, they were advertiſed, that the lords were departed in the morning; but where they pretended to be that night, it was uncertain: ſoon after their return to Glaſgow, the king and queen were certainly advertiſed, that they were paſt to Edinburgh; and therefore cauſed immediately to warn the whole army to paſs with them to Edinburgh the next day; who, early in the morning, long before the ſun was riſen, began to march: but there aroſe ſuch a vehement tempeſt of wind and rain from the weſt, as the like had not been ſeen for a long time; ſo that a little brook turned inſtantly into a great river; and the raging ſtorm being in their face, with great difficulty they went forward: and, albeit the moſt part grew weary, yet the queen's courage increaſed ſo

much, that ſhe was ever with the foremoſt. There were divers perſons drowned that day in the water of Carron; and, amongſt others, the king's maſter, a notable Papiſt, who, for the zeal he bore to the maſs, carried about his neck a round god of bread, well cloſed in a caſe, which always could not ſave him.

Before the end of Auguſt there came a poſt to the queen's majeſty, ſent by Alexander Erſkine, who declared, That the lords were in the town of Edinburgh, where there was a multitude of innocent perſons; and therefore deſired to know if he ſhould ſhoot. She commanded, that he ſhould immediately return again to the ſaid Alexander, and order him in her name, that he ſhould ſhoot ſo long as he had either powder or bullet, and not ſpare for any body.

At night the king and queen came very wet to the Callender, where they remained that night; and, about eight o'clock at night, the firſt of September, the poſt came again to the caſtle, and reported the queen's command to Alexander Erſkine; who directly cauſed to diſcharge ſix or ſeven ſhot of cannon, whereof the marks appeared, having reſpect to no reaſon, but only to the queen's command.

The lords perceiving that they could get no ſupport in Edinburgh, nor ſoldiers for money, albeit they had travelled all that they could; and being advertiſed of the queen's returning with her whole company, they took purpoſe to depart: and ſo the next day betimes, long before day, they departed with their whole company, and came to Lanark, and from thence to Hamilton, where the maſter of Maxwel came to them, with his uncle the laird of Drumlanark. And, after conſultation, the ſaid maſter wrote to the queen's majeſty, That being required by the lords, as he was paſſing homeward, he could not refuſe to come to them; and after that he had given them counſel to diſperſe their army, they thought it expedient to paſs to Dumfries to repoſe them, where they would conſult and make their offers, and ſend to their majeſties: and thus beſeeching their majeſties to take this in good part. The town of Edinburgh ſent two of the council of the town, to make their excuſe.

The next day the king and queen paſt to Stirling, and ſent to Edinburgh, and cauſed a proclamation to be made, commanding all men to return to Glaſgow; where having remained three or four days, and underſtanding that the lords were paſt to Dumfries, they returned to Stirling, and from thence to Fife: and, in their paſſage, cauſed to take in Caſtle Campbell, which was delivered without impediment to the lord of Sanquhar.

Before the king and queen went out of Stirling, there came from Edinburgh two companies of footmen, to convey them into Fife. In the mean time the burghs were taxed in great ſums unaccuſtomed, for the payment of theſe ſoldiers: further, there were raiſed divers troops of horſemen, to the number of five or ſix hundred. The ſoldiers had taken two poor men, that had received the lords wages; which the two men being accuſed and convicted of, at the queen's command, were hanged at Edinburgh, the third day after the lords departure.

At this time Mr. James Balfour, parſon of Fliſk, had gotten all the guiding in the court. The third day after the queen's coming to Fife, the whole barons and lairds of Fife convoyed her majeſty, till ſhe came to St. Andrews, where the ſaid lairds and barons, eſpecially the Proteſtants, were commanded to ſubſcribe to a bond, containing in effect, That they obliged themſelves to defend the king and queen's perſons againſt Engliſhmen and rebels: and, in caſe they ſhould come to Fife, they ſhould reſiſt them to their uttermoſt power; which charge every man obeyed.

The ſecond night after the queen's coming to St. Andrews, ſhe ſent a band or troop of horſemen, and another of foot to Lundy; and at midnight took out the laird, a man of eighty years of age: then they paſſed to Fawſide, and took likewiſe Thomas Scot, and brought him to St. Andrews, where they, with the laird of Bavard, and ſome others, were commanded to priſon. This manner of uſage being unknown and ſtrange, was heavily ſpoken of, and a great terror to others, who thought themſelves warned of greater ſeverity to come.

In the mean time the houſes of the earls of Murray, Rothes, and of divers gentlemen, were given in keeping to ſuch as the queen pleaſed, after that their children and ſervants had been caſt out.

At the ſame time, the duke, the earls of Glencairn and Argyle, the lords Boyd and Ochiltrie, with the laird of Cunninghamhead, and the reſt, were charged to come and preſent themſelves in St. Andrews, before the king and queen's majeſties, to anſwer to ſuch things as ſhould be laid to their charge, within ſix days, under the pain of rebellion: the day being expired, and they not appearing, were denounced rebels, and put to the horn.

As the queen remained in St. Andrews, the inhabitants of Dundee being ſore afraid, becauſe of ſome evil report made of them to the queen, as if they had troubled the queen, in ſeeking men of war, and ſuffered ſome to be raiſed in their town for the lords; for there was nothing done in Dundee but it was revealed to the queen; eſpecially that the miniſter had received a letter from the lords, and delivered the ſame to the brethren, perſuading them to aſſiſt the lords; which being granted by the miniſter, the queen remitted it. After great travel and ſupplication made by ſome noblemen, at length, the king and queen being in the town, they agreed for two thouſand merks, five or ſix of the principal left out, with ſome others that were put to their ſhift. After the king and queen had remained two nights in the town of Dundee, they came to St. Andrews, and ſoon after they came over the Forth, and ſo to Edinburgh. During this time the maſter of Maxwel wrote to the king and queen, making offers for, and in the name of the lords.

The next day after the king and queen's coming to Edinburgh, there was a proclamation made at the market-croſs: and becauſe the ſame is very notable, I thought good to inſert it here word by word, although it be ſomewhat long.

HENRY and Mary, by the grace of God, king and queen of Scots, to all and ſundry our lieges and ſubjects whom it may concern, and to whoſe knowledge theſe letters ſhall come, greeting.

Foraſmuch as in this uproar, lately raiſed up againſt us, by certain rebels, and their aſſiſtants, the authors thereof (to blind the eyes of the ſimple people) have given them to underſtand, that the quarrel they have in hand is only religion, thinking with that cloak to cover their ungodly deſigns; and ſo, under that plauſible argument, to draw after them a large train of ignorant perſons, eaſy to be ſeduced. Now, for the preſervation of our good ſubjects, whoſe caſe were to be pitied, if they blindly ſhould ſuffer themſelves to be induced and trapped in ſo dangerous a ſnare, it hath pleaſed the goodneſs of God, by the utterance of their own mouths and writings to us, to diſcover the poiſon that before lay hid in their hearts, albeit to all perſons of clear judgment the ſame was evident enough before: For what other thing [is this, but to diſſolve the whole policy, and in a manner to invert the very order] might move the principal raiſers of this tumult, to put themſelves in arms againſt us ſo unnaturally, upon whom we had beſtowed ſo many benefits, but that the great honour we did them, they being thereof unworthy, made them miſknow themſelves? And their ambition could not be ſatisfied with heaping riches upon riches, and honour upon honour, unleſs they retain in their hands us, and our whole realm, to be led, uſed, and diſpoſed of at their pleaſure. But this could not the multitude have perceived, if God (for diſcloſing their hypocriſy) had not compelled them to utter their unreaſonable deſire to govern; for now, by letters ſent from themſelves to us, which make plain profeſſion, that the eſtabliſhing of religion will not content them, but we muſt be forced to govern by council, ſuch as it ſhall pleaſe them to appoint us, a thing ſo far beyond all meaſure, that, we think, the bare mention of ſo unreaſonable a demand, is ſufficient to make their neareſt kinsfolk their moſt mortal enemies, and all men to run on them without further ſcruple, that are zealous to have their native country to remain ſtill in the ſtate of a kingdom: for what other thing is this, but to diſſolve the whole policy, and (in a manner) to invert the very order of nature, to make the prince obey, and ſubjects command? The like was never demanded of any of our moſt noble progenitors heretofore; yea, not of governors and regents: but the prince, and ſuch as have filled their place, choſe their council of ſuch as they thought moſt fit for the purpoſe. When we ourſelves were of leſs age, and at our firſt returning into this our realm, we had free choice of our council at our pleaſure; and now, when we are at our full maturity, Shall we be brought back to the ſtate of pupils, and be put under tutory? So long as ſome of them bore the whole ſway with us, this matter was never called in queſtion; but now, when they cannot be longer permitted to do and undo all at their pleaſure, they will put a bridle into our mouths, and give us a council choſen after their fancy. This is the quarrel of religion they made you believe they had in hand: this is the quarrel for which they would have you hazard your lands, lives, and goods, in the company of a certain number of rebels againſt your natural prince. To ſpeak in good language, they would be kings themſelves, or at the leaſt, leaving to us the bare name and title, and take to themſelves the credit and whole adminiſtration of the kingdom.

We have thought good to make publication hereof, to ſhew, that you ſuffer not yourſelves to be deceived, under pretence of religion, to follow them, who, preferring their particular advance-

ment to the public tranquillity, and having no care of you, in reſpect of themſelves, would (if you would hearken to their voice) draw you after them, to your utter deſtruction. Aſſuring you, as you have heretofore good experience of our clemency, and under our wings enjoyed in peace the poſſeſſion of your goods, and lived at liberty of your conſcience, ſo may you be in full aſſurance of the like hereafter, and have us always your good and loving princes, to ſo many as ſhall continue in due obedience, and do the office of faithful and natural ſubjects.

Given under our ſignet at St. Andrews, the 10th of December, and of our reigns the firſt and twenty-third years, 1565.

Now the lords deſired, next to the eſtabliſhing of religion, that the queen's majeſty, in all the affairs of the realm and commonwealth, ſhould uſe the counſel and advice of the nobility, and ancient blood of the ſame; whereas, in the mean time, the counſel of David and Franciſco the Italians, with Fouller the Engliſhman, and Mr. James Balfour parſon of Fliſk, was preferred before all others, ſave only the earl of Athol, who was thought to be a man of groſs judgment, but nevertheleſs in all things given to pleaſe the queen. It was now finally come to this point, that inſtead of law, juſtice, and equity, only will ruled in all things. There was, through all the country, ſet out a proclamation in the king and queen's names, commanding all perſons to come and meet them at Stirling, the firſt day of October following, with twenty days proviſion, under pain of life, lands, and goods. It was uncertain whether their majeſties intended to paſs from Stirling or not; and I believe the principal men knew not well at that time; for a report was, That by reaſon the caſtles of Hamilton and Draſſen were kept fortified and victualled at the duke's command, that they would paſs to beſiege the ſaid houſes, and give them ſome ſhot of a cannon: others ſaid, They would paſs towards my lord of Argyle, who had his people always armed; whereof his neighbours were afraid, eſpecially the inhabitants of Athol and Lennox; but at length it was concluded, that they ſhould paſs to Dumfries, as ſhall be declared.

During this time there were propoſitions made continually to the king and queen, by the lords, deſiring always their majeſties moſt humbly to receive them into their hands: their articles tended continually to theſe two heads, *viz.* To aboliſh the maſs, root out idolatry, and eſtabliſh the true religion; and that they, and the affairs of the realm, ſhould be governed by the advice and counſel of the true nobility of the ſame, offering themſelves, and their cauſe, to be tried by the laws of the country. Yet nothing could be accepted or taken in good part, albeit the maſter of Maxwel laboured by all means to redreſs the matter, who alſo entertained the lords moſt honourably in Dumfries, for he had the government of all that country. But he himſelf incurred the queen's diſpleaſure ſo, that he was ſummoned to preſent himſelf, and appear before the king and queen's majeſties, after the ſame form that the reſt of the lords were charged with; and alſo commanded to give up the houſe of Lochmaben, and the caſtle which he had in keeping for the queen. And albeit he obeyed not, yet was he not put to the horn as the reſt. Nevertheleſs, there was no man that doubted of his goodwill and partaking with the lords; who, in the mean time, ſent Robert Melvil to the queen of England, and declared their ſtate to her majeſty, deſiring ſupport.

Now the chief care and ſolicitude that was in the court, was, by what means they might come to have money; for notwithſtanding this great preparation for war, and eminent appearance of trouble, yet were they deſtitute of the ſinews of war; albeit the treaſurers, and new comptroller, *viz.* the laird of Tullibarden, had diſburſed many thouſands; yet there was no appearance of payment of ſoldiers, nor ſcarcely how the king and queen's houſes and pompous trains ſhould be upheld: there was about ſix hundred horſemen, beſides the guard, and three companies of footmen. The charge of the whole would amount to one thouſand pounds Sterling every month, a thing ſurpaſſing the uſual manner of Scotland.

At this time arrived the earl of Bothwel, who was welcome, and graciouſly received by the queen, and immediately placed in council, and made lieutenant of the weſt and middle marches. Now as every one of the barons compounded to be exempted from this meeting, the earl of Athol demanded of Edinburgh two hundred pounds Sterling; but they refuſed to pay it: notwithſtanding, October 27th, there was a certain number of the principal and rich perſons of the town warned by a macer, to paſs to the palace of Holyrood-houſe to the king and queen; who declared to them, that they had uſe for money; and therefore, knowing them to be honeſt men, and the inhabitants of the beſt city in their country, they muſt needs charge them; and for ſecurity they ſhould have other men bound

for pledges. The ſum that they deſired, was one thouſand pounds Sterling, and no leſs.

They being aſtoniſhed, made no anſwer; but parſon Fliſk ſtanding by, ſaid, That ſeeing the king and queen's majeſties deſired them ſo civilly, in a thing moſt lawful in their neceſſity, they did ſhew themſelves not honeſt, to keep ſilence, and give no anſwer to their majeſties, for that muſt needs be had of them which was required: and if they would not, they ſhould be conſtrained by the laws, which they would not abide; for ſome of them had deſerved hanging, ſaid he, becauſe they had lent large ſums of money to the king and queen's enemies and rebels; and therefore they muſt ſhortly ſuffer great puniſhment. Soon after they were called in one by one, and demanded, How much they would lend? Some made this excuſe, and ſome that, by reaſon there were that offered to lend money; amongſt whom there was one offered to lend twenty pounds. To him the earl of Athol ſaid, Thou art worthy to be hanged that ſpeakeſt of twenty pounds, ſeeing the princes charge thee ſo eaſily. Finally, they were all impriſoned; and ſoldiers ſet over them, having their muſquets ready charged, and their matches lighted, even in the houſe with them, where they remained all that night, and the next day till night; and then being changed from one priſon to another, there were ſix choſen out, and ſent in the night to the caſtle of Edinburgh, conveyed with muſqueteers round about them, as if they had been murderers, or moſt vile perſons.

At length, the third day, by means of the laird of Craigmillar provoſt, and ſome others, the ſum was made more eaſy, *viz.* one thouſand merks Sterling, to be paid immediately, and to have the ſuperiority of Leith in pledge, *viz.* upon condition of redemption. And beſides the ſaid ſum of one thouſand merks Sterling, they paid one thouſand pounds Sterling. For the meeting at Dumfries, at the day appointed for electing the officers, the queen ſent in a ticket ſuch as ſhe would have them to chuſe for provoſt, bailies, and council; whereof there were a number of Papiſts, the reſt not worthy. Of the number given in by the queen, they named ſuch as ſhould rule for that year; notwithſtanding, without free election, the laird of Craigmillar remained provoſt, who ſhewed himſelf moſt willing to ſet forward religion, to puniſh vice, and to maintain the commonwealth. All this time the miniſters cried out againſt the maſs and ſuch idolatry, for it was more advanced by the queen than before.

The firſt day of October met in Edinburgh, the ſuperintendant of Lothian, with all the miniſters under his charge, according to their ordinary cuſtom; for every ſuperintendant uſed to convene the whole miniſtry: and there it was complained, That they could get no payment of their ſtipends, not only about the city, but through the whole realm: therefore, after reaſoning and conſultation taken, they framed a ſupplication directed to the king and queen, and immediately preſented the ſame to their majeſties, by Mr. John Spotiſwood ſuperintendant of Lothian, and Mr. David Lindſay miniſter of Leith: it contained in effect, That foraſmuch as it had pleaſed the king and queen's majeſties, with advice of the privy council, to grant unto the miniſters of the word their ſtipends, to be taken off the thirds of the benefices, which ſtipends are now detained from the ſaid miniſters by reaſon of the troubles, and changing of the comptroller, whereby they are not able to live: and therefore, moſt humbly craved the king and queen's majeſties to cauſe them to be paid. Their anſwer was, That they would cauſe order to be taken therein to their contentment.

Soon after the lord Gordon came to Edinburgh, and left the moſt part of his people at Stirling with his carriage; the king and queen, from hope of his good ſervice to be done, reſtored him to his father's place, to the earldom of Huntley, the lands and heritage thereof. October 8th, the king and queen marched from Edinburgh towards Dumfries; and, as they paſſed from the palace of Holyrood-houſe, all men were warned with jack and ſpear. The firſt night they came to Stirling, and the next to Crawford: the day after the lairds of Drumlanerk and Lochinvar met the queen, albeit they had been with the lords familiar enough.

The lords perceiving, that all hope of reconciliation was paſt, they rode to Ednam, where they remained till the queen came to Dumfries, and then they paſt to Carliſle. Now the maſter of Maxwel, who had entertained the lords familiarly, and ſubſcribed with them, and had ſpoken as highly againſt their enemies as any of themſelves, and had received a large ſum of money by that means, *viz.* one thouſand pounds, to raiſe a band or troop of horſemen, and that the ſame day the king and queen came to Dumfries; the third day after their coming, he came to them, convoyed by the earl Bothwel, with divers other noblemen. At length the earls of Athol and Huntley were ſureties for him, and all things paſt remitted, upon condition that he ſhould be a faithful and obedient ſubject here-

after. The ſame day they made muſters, the next day the army was diſperſed, being about eighteen thouſand men; the king and queen paſt to Lochmaben, where the maſter of Maxwel gave a banquet, and then forthwith marched to Tweedale, ſo to Peebles, and then to Edinburgh.

The beſt and chief part of the nobility of this realm, who alſo were the principal inſtruments of the reformation of religion, and therefore were called the Lords of the Congregation, in manner above rehearſed, were baniſhed and chaſed into England: they were courteouſly received and entertained by the earl of Bedford lieutenant, upon the borders of England. Soon after the earl of Murray took poſt towards London, leaving the reſt of the lords at Newcaſtle. Every man ſuppoſed that the earl of Murray ſhould have been graciouſly received of the queen of England, and that he ſhould have gotten ſupport according to his heart's deſire; but, far beyond his expectation, he could get no audience of the queen of England: but by means of the French ambaſſador, called monſieur de Four, his true friend, he obtained audience. The queen, with a fair countenance, demanded, How he, being a rebel to her ſiſter, of Scotland, durſt take the boldneſs upon him to come within her realm? Theſe and the like words got he, inſtead of the good and courteous entertainment expected. Finally, after private diſcourſe, the ambaſſador being abſent, ſhe refuſed to give the lords any ſupport, denying plainly, that ever ſhe had promiſed any ſuch thing as to ſupport them, ſaying, She never meant any ſuch thing in that way; albeit her moſt familiar acquaintance knew the contrary. In the end, the earl of Murray ſaid to her, 'Madam, whatſoever thing 'your majeſty meant in your heart, we are there-'of ignorant; but thus much we know aſſuredly, 'That we had lately faithful promiſes of aid and 'ſupport from your ambaſſador and familiar ſer-'vants, in your name. And further, we have 'your own hand-writing confirming the ſaid pro-'miſes.' And afterwards he took his leave, and came northward from London towards Newcaſtle.

After the earl of Murray had departed from the court, the queen ſent them ſome aid, and wrote to the queen of Scotland in their favours; whether ſhe had promiſed it in private to the earl of Murray, or whether ſhe repented her of the harſh reception of the earl of Murray.

At this time David Rizio, Italian, began to be higher exalted, inſomuch as there was no matter or thing of importance done without his advice. And, during this time, the faithful within this realm were in great fear, looking for nothing but great trouble and perſecution to be ſhortly. Yet ſupplications and interceſſions were made throughout all the congregations, eſpecially for ſuch as were afflicted and baniſhed, that it would pleaſe God to give them patience, comfort, and conſtancy; and this eſpecially was done at Edinburgh, where John Knox uſed to call them that were baniſhed, The beſt part of the nobility, chief members of the Congregation: whereof the courtiers being advertiſed, they took occaſion to revile and bewray his ſayings; alledging, he prayed for the rebels, and deſired the people to pray for them likewiſe. The laird of Lethington chief ſecretary, in preſence of the king and queen's majeſties and council, confeſſed that he heard the ſermons, and ſaid, There was nothing at that time ſpoken by the miniſter, whereat any man needed to be offended; and further, declared plainly, That by the Scripture it was lawful to pray for all men.

In the end of November, the lords, with their complices, were ſummoned to appear the fourth day of February, for treaſon and leſe-majeſty: but, in the mean time, ſuch of the nobility as had profeſſed the goſpel of Chriſt, and had communicated with the brethren at the Lord's table, were ever longer the more ſuſpected by the queen, who began to declare herſelf, in the months of November and December, to be maintainer of the Papiſts; for, at her pleaſure, the earls of Lennox, Athol, and Caſſils, with divers others, without any diſſimulation known, went to the maſs openly in her chapel; yet, nevertheleſs, the earls of Huntley and Bothwel went not to maſs, albeit they were in great favour with the queen. As for the king, he paſt his time in hunting and hawking, and ſuch other pleaſures as were agreeable to his appetite, having in his company gentlemen willing to ſatisfy his will and affections.

About this time, in the beginning of December, as the court remained at Edinburgh, the baniſhed lords, by all means poſſible, by writings and their friends, made ſuit to the king and queen's majeſties, to be received into favour.

At this time the abbot of Kilwinning came from Newcaſtle to Edinburgh; and, after he had gotten audience of the king and queen, with great difficulty he got pardon for the duke, and his friends and ſervants, upon this condition, That he ſhould paſs into France; which he did ſoon after.

The twenty-fifth of December, convened in Edinburgh the commiſſioners of the churches with-

in this realm, for the general aſſembly. There aſſiſted to them the earls of Morton and Marr, the lord Lindſay, and ſecretary Lethington, with ſome barons and gentlemen. The principal things that were agreed and concluded, were, That foraſmuch as the maſs, with ſuch idolatry, and Papiſtical ceremonies, were ſtill maintained, expreſsly againſt the act of parliament, and the proclamations made at the queen's arrival; and that the queen had promiſed, that ſhe would hear conference and diſputation: that the church therefore offered to prove, by the word of God, that the doctrine preached within this realm was according to the Scriptures; and that the maſs, with all the Papiſtical doctrine, was but the invention of men, and mere idolatry. Secondly, That by reaſon of the change of the comptroller, who had put in new collectors, forbidding them to deliver any thing to the miniſtry, and by theſe means the miniſtry was like to decay and fail, contrary to the ordinance made in the year of God 1562, in favours and ſupport of the miniſtry.

During this time, as the Papiſts flocked to Edinburgh for making court, ſome of them that had been friars, as black Abercromby and Roger, preſented ſupplications to the queen's majeſty, deſiring in effect, That they might be permitted to preach; which was eaſily granted. The noiſe was further, That they offered diſputation; for, as the court ſtood, they thought they had a great advantage already, by reaſon they knew the king to be of their religion as well as the queen, with ſome part of the nobility, who, with the king, after declared themſelves openly; and eſpecially the queen, was governed by the earls Lennox and Athol; but in matters moſt weighty, and of greateſt importance, by David Rizio the Italian, beforementioned, who went under the name of the French ſecretary; by whoſe means all grave matters, of what weight ſoever, muſt paſs; providing always, that his hands were anointed. In the mean time he was a manifeſt enemy to the goſpel, and therefore a great enemy to the baniſhed lords.

At this time the principal lords that waited at court were divided in opinions; for the earl of Morton chancellor, with the earl of Marr, and ſecretary Lethington, were on the one part, and the earls of Huntley and Bothwel, on the other part; ſo that a certain dryneſs was amongſt them: nevertheleſs, by means of the earl of Athol, they were reconciled. Now as there was preparation made by the Papiſts for Chriſtmas, the queen being then at maſs, the king came publicly, and bore company; and the friars preached the days following, always uſing another ſtyle than they had done ſeven years before, during which time they had not preached publicly. They were ſo little eſteemed, that they continued not long in preaching.

At the ſame time convened at Edinburgh the general aſſembly of the miniſters, and commiſſioners of the churches reformed within this realm. There aſſiſted them of the nobility, the earls of Morton and Marr, the lord Lindſay, and ſecretary Lethington, with others. The chief things that were concluded in this aſſembly, were, that, for the avoiding of the plagues and ſcourges of God, which appeared to come upon the people for their ſins and ingratitude, there ſhould be proclaimed by the miniſters a public faſt, to be univerſally obſerved throughout all the reformed churches. This faſt was begun, according to the appointment of the aſſembly, the firſt and ſecond Sundays of May following, being the firſt public faſt that was kept ſince the Reformation; which exerciſe became frequent after.

When the queen heard that John Knox, and the reſt of the miniſters and profeſſors in Scotland were faſting and praying, ſhe ſaid, 'I am more 'afraid of that, than of ten thouſand men of 'arms.' And indeed, after this, matters ſucceeded not well with her. Which manner of faſting was ſoon after deviſed by John Knox, at the command of the church, and put in print; therefore needs not here to be recited. What followed upon the ſaid faſt, ſhall be plainly, God willing, declared.

The ſecond thing that was ordained in this aſſembly, was concerning the miniſters, who, for want of payment of their ſtipends, were like to periſh, or elſe to leave their miniſtry: therefore it was found neceſſary, that ſupplication ſhould be made to the king and queen's majeſties; and, for the ſame purpoſe, a certain number of the moſt able men were elected, to go to their majeſties aforeſaid, to lament and bemoan their caſe; which perſons had commiſſion to propoſe ſome other things, as ſhall be declared. The names of them that paſt from the church to the king and queen's majeſties, were, Mr. John Spotiſwood ſuperintendant of Lothian, John Winram ſuperintendant of Fife, Mr. John Row miniſter of Perth, Mr. David Lindſay miniſter of Leith, who eaſily obtained audience of the king and queen's majeſties: and, after their reverence done, Mr. John Row, in name of the reſt, opened the matter, lamenting and bewailing the miſerable ſtate of the

poor miniſters, who, by public command, had been reaſonably ſatisfied three years, or more, by virtue of the act made with advice of the honourable privy council, for the taking up of the thirds of the benefices, which was eſpecially made in their favours: nevertheleſs the laird of Tullibardin, new comptroller, would anſwer them nothing: wherefore they beſought their majeſties for relief.

Secondly, Seeing that in all ſupplications made to the king and queen's majeſties by the church at all times, they deſired moſt earneſtly, that all idolatry and ſuperſtition, and eſpecially the maſs, ſhould be rooted and aboliſhed quite out of this realm; and that in the laſt general aſſembly of the church, by their commiſſioners, they had moſt earneſtly deſired the ſame; and that their anſwer was then, That they knew no impediment in the maſs: therefore the aſſembly deſired, That it might pleaſe their highneſſes to hear diſputation, to the end, that ſuch as now pretend to preach in the chapel-royal, and maintain ſuch errors, the truth being tried by diſputation, that they might be known to be abuſers, ſubmitting themſelves always to the word of God written in the Scriptures.

To this it was anſwered by the queen, That ſhe was always minded that the miniſters ſhould be paid their ſtipends; and, if there was any fault therein, the ſame came by ſome of their own ſort, meaning the comptroller Pittarro, who had the handling of the thirds: always, by the advice of her council, ſhe ſhould cauſe ſuch order to be taken therein, that none ſhould have occaſion to complain. As to the ſecond, She would not hazard her religion upon ſuch as were there preſent; for ſhe knew well enough that the Proteſtants were more learned.

The miniſters and commiſſioners of churches, perceiving nothing but delay, and driving off time, in the old manner, went home every one to their own churches, waiting upon the good providence of God, continually making ſupplication unto Almighty God, that it would pleaſe him, of his mercy, to remove the apparent plague. And, in the mean time, the queen was buſied with banqueting about with ſome of the lords of the ſeſſion of Edinburgh, and after with all men of law, having continually in her company David Rizio, who ſat at table near to herſelf, ſometimes more privately than became a man of his condition; for his over-great familiarity was already ſuſpected: and it was thought, that, by his advice alone, the queen's ſharpneſs and extremity towards the lords was maintained.

In the end of January arrived an ambaſſador from France, named monſieur Rambullet, having about forty horſe in his train, who came through England: he brought with him the order of the Cockle from the king of France, to the king, who received the ſame at the maſs, in the chapel of the palace of Holyrood-houſe. There aſſiſted the earls of Lennox, Athol, and Eglinton, with divers ſuch other Papiſts as would pleaſe the queen, who three days after cauſed the herald to convene the council, and reaſoned what arms ſhould be given to the king: ſome thought he ſhould have the arms of Scotland; others ſaid, Seeing it was not concluded in parliament that he ſhould have the crown matrimonial, he could have arms only as duke of Rotheſay, earl of Roſs, &c. The queen bad give him only his due; whereby it was perceived her love waxed cold towards him. Finally, His arms were left blank, and the queen cauſed put her own name before her huſband's in all writs; and thereafter ſhe cauſed to leave out his name wholly: and, becauſe formerly he had ſigned every thing of any moment, ſhe cauſed to make a ſeal like the king's, and gave it to David Rizio, who made uſe of it by the queen's command, alledging, that the king, being at his paſtime, could not always be preſent.

About the ſame time the earl of Glencairn came from Berwick to his own country. Soon after the earl of Bothwel was married to the earl of Huntley's ſiſter. The queen deſired that the marriage might be made in the chapel at the maſs, which the earl of Bothwel would in no ways grant. Upon Sunday, the third day of March, began the faſting at Edinburgh: the ſeventh day of March, the queen came from the palace of Holyrood-houſe to the town, in wonderous gorgeous apparel, albeit the number of lords and train was not very great. In the mean time the king, accompanied with ſeven or eight horſe, went to Leith to paſs his time there; for he was not like to get the crown matrimonial.

In the tolbooth was deviſed and named the heads of the articles that were drawn againſt the baniſhed lords. Upon the next day, and Saturday following, there was great reaſoning concerning the attainder: ſome alledged, that the ſummons was not well libelled or dreſſed; others thought the matter of treaſon was not ſufficiently proved: and indeed they were ſtill ſeeking proof: for there was no other way, but the queen would have them all attainted, albeit the time was very ſhort: the twelfth day of March ſhould have been the day, which was the Tueſday following.

Now the matter was ſtaid by a marvellous tragedy; for by the lords (upon the Saturday before, which was the ninth of March, about ſupper-time) David Rizio the Italian, named the French ſecretary, was ſlain in the gallery below ſtairs (the king ſtaying in the room with the queen, told her, That the deſign was only to take order with that villain), after that he had been taken violently from the queen's preſence, who requeſted moſt earneſtly for the ſaving of his life; which act was done by the earl of Morton, the lord Ruthven, the lord Lindſay, the maſter of Ruthven, with divers other gentlemen. They firſt intended to have hanged him, and had provided cords for that purpoſe; but the great haſte which they were in, moved them to diſpatch him with whiniards or daggers, wherewith they gave him fifty-three ſtrokes. They ſent away and put forth all ſuch perſons as they ſuſpected.

The earls of Bothwel and Huntley hearing the noiſe and clamour, came ſuddenly to the cloſe, intending to have made oppoſition, if they had had a party ſtrong enough; but the earl Morton commanded them to paſs to their chamber, or elſe they ſhould do worſe: at which words they retired immediately; and ſo paſt forth at a back window, they two alone, and with great fear went to Edmondſton on foot, and from thence to Crighton.

This David Rizio was ſo fooliſh, that not only had he drawn unto him the managing of all affairs, the king ſet aſide, but alſo his equipage and train did ſurpaſs the king's; and he was ordained to be chancellor at the enſuing parliament; which made the lords conſpire againſt him: they made a bond, to ſtand to the religion and liberties of the country, and to free themſelves from the ſlavery of the villain David Rizio: the king and his father ſubſcribed to the bond, for they durſt not truſt the king's word without his ſignet.

There was a French prieſt, called John Daniot, who adviſed David Rizio to make his fortune and be gone, for the Scots would not ſuffer him long. His anſwer was, That the Scots would brag, but not fight. Then he adviſed him to beware of the baſtard. To this he anſwered, That the baſtard ſhould never live in Scotland in his time (he meant the earl of Murray); but it happened, that one George Douglas, baſtard-ſon of the earl of Angus. gave him the firſt ſtroke. The queen, when ſhe heard he was dead, left weeping, and declared ſhe would ſtudy revenge; which ſhe did.

Immediately it was noiſed in the town of Edinburgh, that there was murder committed within the king's palace; wherefore the provoſt cauſed to ring the common bell, or *Sonner le tokſain* (as the French ſpeak), and ſtraightway paſt to the palace, having about four or five hundred men in warlike manner; and as they ſtood in the outer court, the king called to the provoſt, commanding him to paſs home with his company, ſaying, The queen and he were merry. But the provoſt deſired to hear the queen ſpeak herſelf; whereunto it was anſwered by the king, Provoſt, know you not that I am king? I command you to paſs home to your houſes: and immediately they retired.

The next day, which was the ſecond Sunday of our faſt in Edinburgh, there was a proclamation made in the king's name, ſubſcribed with his hand, That all biſhops, abbots, and other Papiſts, ſhould avoid and depart the town; which proclamation was indeed obſerved, for they had a 'flea in their 'hoſe.'

There were letters ſent forth in the king's name, and ſubſcribed with his hand, to the provoſt and bailies of Edinburgh, the bailies of Leith and Canongate, commanding them to be ready in armour, to aſſiſt the king and his company; and likewiſe other private writings, directed to divers lords and gentlemen, to come with all expedition.

In the mean time the queen being above meaſure enraged, offended, and troubled, as the iſſue of the matter declared, ſometimes railing upon the king, and ſometimes crying out at the windows, deſiring her ſervants to ſet her at liberty, for ſhe was highly offended and troubled.

This ſame tenth of March the earl of Murray, with the reſt of the lords and noblemen that were with him, having received the king's letter (for, after the bond above named was ſubſcribed, the king wrote unto the baniſhed lords, to return into their country, being one of the articles of the ſaid bond), came at night to the abbey, being alſo convoyed by the lord Hume, and a great company of the borderers, to the number of one thouſand horſe. And firſt, after he had preſented himſelf to the king, the queen was informed of his ſudden coming, and therefore ſent unto him, commanding him to come to her: and he obeying, went to her, who with a ſingular gravity received him, after that he had made his purgation, and declared the very great affection which he bore continually to her majeſty. The earls of Athol, Caithneſs, and Sutherland, departed out of the town, with the biſhops, upon the Monday, the third day after the ſlaughter of David Rizio. The earls of Lennox, Murray, Morton, and Rothes, lords Ruthven,

Lindſay, Boyd, and Ochiltrie, ſitting in council, deſired the queen, that foraſmuch as the thing which was done could not be undone, that ſhe would (for avoiding of greater inconveniences) forget the ſame, and take it as good ſervice, ſeeing there were ſo many noblemen reſtored. The queen, diſſembling her diſpleaſure and indignation, gave good words; nevertheleſs ſhe deſired, that all perſons, armed or otherwiſe (being within the palace at that time), ſhould remove, leaving the palace void of all, ſaving only her domeſtic ſervants.

The lords being perſuaded by the uxorious king, and the pliable earl of Murray, condeſcended to her deſire; who, finally, the next morning, two hours before day, paſt to Seton, and then to Dunbar, having in her company the ſimple king, who was allured by her ſugared words: from Dunbar immediately were ſent purſuivants, with letters throughout the country; and eſpecially letters to the noblemen and barons, commanding them to come to Dunbar, to aſſiſt the king and queen within five days. In the mean time the lords being informed of the ſudden departure, were aſtoniſhed, and knew not what was beſt for them to do: but becauſe it was the ſelf-ſame day (*viz.* the twelfth day of March) that they were ſummoned unto; therefore having good opportunity, they paſt to the tolbooth, which was richly hung with tapiſtry, and adorned (but not for them), and ſet themſelves, making proteſtations, the earl of Glencairn, and ſome others being preſent. The earl of Argyle, who was written for by the king, came to Linlithgow; and being informed of the matter, he remained there.

After this manner above ſpecified, *viz.* by the death of David Rizio, the noblemen were relieved of their trouble, and reſtored to their places and rooms; and likewiſe the church was reformed, and all that profeſſed the goſpel within this realm, after faſting and prayer, were delivered, and freed from the apparent dangers, which were like to have fallen upon them: for if the parliament had taken effect, and proceeded, it was thought by all men of the beſt judgment, that the true Proteſtant religion ſhould have been wrecked, and Popery erected; and, for the ſame purpoſe, there were certain wooden altars made, to the number of twelve, found ready in the chapel of the palace of Holyrood-houſe, which ſhould have been erected in St. Giles's Church.

The earls Bothwel and Huntley, being informed of the king and queen's ſudden departure from Edinburgh, came to Dunbar, where they were moſt graciouſly received by the queen's majeſty; who conſulted with them and the maſter of Maxwel, together with parſon Owin and parſon Fliſk, chief counſellors, what was beſt to be done, and how ſhe ſhould be revenged upon the murderers: at firſt they did intend to go forward, and, leaving no manner of cruelty unpractiſed, put to death all ſuch as were ſuſpected: this was the opinion of ſuch, as would obey their queen's rage and fury for their own advantage; but in the end they concluded, That ſhe ſhould come to Edinburgh, with all the force and power ſhe could, and there proceed to juſtice: and, for the ſame purpoſe, ſhe cauſed ſummon, by open proclamation, all perſons of defence, and all noblemen and gentlemen, to come to her in Dunbar immediately.

In the mean time the captains laboured by all means to take up and inrol men and women. The earls of Morton, Murray, Glencairn, Rothes, with the reſt that were in Edinburgh, being informed of the queen's fury and anger towards the committers of the ſlaughter, and perceiving they were not able to make any party, thought it beſt to give place to her fury for a time, for they were divided in opinion; and finally departed out of Edinburgh, upon Sunday the ſeventeenth of March, every one a different way: for the queen's majeſty was now bent only againſt the ſlayers of David Rizio; and, to the purpoſe ſhe might be the better revenged upon them, ſhe intended to give pardon to all ſuch as before had been attainted, for whatſoever crime.

The eighteenth day of March the king and queen came to Edinburgh, having in their company horſe and foot, to the number of eight thouſand men, whereof there were four companies of foot. The town of Edinburgh went out to meet them, for fear of war. And finally, coming within the town, in moſt awful manner, they cauſed to place their men of war within the town, and likewiſe certain field-pieces againſt their lodging, which was in the middle of the town, oppoſite the Salt-trone: now, a little before the queen's entrance into the town, all that knew of her cruel pretence and hatred towards them, fled here and there; amongſt others, Mr. James M'Gill the clerk-regiſter, the juſtice-clerk, and the common clerk of the town: the chief ſecretary Lethington was gone before: likewiſe John Knox paſſed weſt to Kyle: the men of war likewiſe kept the ports or gates. Within five days after their entry, there was a proclamation made at the mar-

ket-croſs, for the purgation of the king from the foreſaid ſlaughter; which made all underſtanding men laugh at the paſſages of things; ſince the king not only had given his conſent, but alſo had ſubſcribed the bond before named; and the buſineſs was done in his name, and for his honour, if he had had wiſdom to know it. After this proclamation, the king loſt his credit amongſt his friends and all men, by this his inconſtancy and weakneſs.

And, in the mean time, the men of war committed great outrages, in breaking up doors, thruſting themſelves into every houſe: and albeit the number of them were not great, yet the whole town was too little for them. Soon after, the king and queen paſt to the caſtle, and cauſed warn all ſuch as had abſented themſelves, by open proclamation, to appear before their majeſties and the privy council within ſix days, under pain of rebellion; which practice was deviſed in the earl of Huntley's caſe, before the battle of Corrichy: and, becauſe they appeared not, they were denounced rebels, and put to the horn, and immediately thereafter, their eſcheats given or taken up by the treaſurer. There was a certain number of the townſmen charged to enter themſelves priſoners in the tolbooth, and with them were put in certain gentlemen; thence, after they had remained eight days, they were convoyed down to the palace by the men of war, and then kept by them eight days more: and of that number was Thomas Scot, ſheriff-depute of St. Johnſton, who was condemned to death, and executed cruelly, *viz.* hanged and quartered, for keeping the queen in priſon, as was alledged, although it was by the king's command: and two men likewiſe were condemned to death, and carried to the ladder-foot; but the earl Bothwel preſented the queen's ring to the provoſt, who then was juſtice, for ſafety of their lives. The names of thoſe two were, John Moubray merchant, and William Harlaw ſaddler.

About the ſame time, notwithſtanding all this uproar, the miniſters of the church and profeſſors of religion ceaſed not; for the people convened to public prayers and preaching with boldneſs; yea, a great number of noblemen aſſiſted likewiſe. The earl Bothwel had now of all men greateſt acceſs and familiarity with the queen; ſo that nothing of any importance was done without him: for he ſhewed favour to ſuch as liked him; and, amongſt others, to the lairds of Ormiſton, Hatton, and Calder, who were ſo reconciled unto him, that by his favour they were relieved of great trouble.

The earls of Argyle and Murray, at the queen's command, paſſed to Argyle, where, after they had remained about a month, they were ſent for by the queen; and coming to Edinburgh, they were received by the queen into the caſtle, and banqueted, the earls of Huntley and Bothwel being preſent.

At this time the king grew to be contemned and diſeſteemed, ſo that ſcarcely any honour was done either to him, or to his father.

About Eaſter the king paſſed to Stirling, where he was confeſſed after the Papiſt manner: and, in the mean time, at the palace of Holyrood-houſe, in the chapel, there reſorted a great number to the maſs, albeit the queen remained ſtill in the caſtle, with her prieſts of the chapel-royal, where they uſed ceremonies after the Popiſh manner.

At the ſame time departed this life Mr. John Sinclair, biſhop of Roſs, and dean of Reſtalrig, who has been oft mentioned, preſident of the college of juſtice, called the Seſſion; who alſo ſucceeded in the ſaid office and dignity after the deceaſe of his brother Mr. John Sinclair, biſhop of Roſs, dean of Glaſgow, who departed this life at Paris, about a year before: they were both learned in the law, and given to maintain the Popiſh religion; and therefore great enemies to the Proteſtants. A little before died Mr. Abraham Crichton, who had been preſident likewiſe. Now, in their rooms,

The queen placed ſuch as ſhe pleaſed, and had done her ſervice (always very unfit). The patrimony of the kirk, biſhopricks, abbeys, and ſuch other benefices, were diſpoſed of by the queen to courtiers, dancers, and flatterers. The earl of Bothwel, whom the queen preferred above all others, after the death of David Rizio, had for his part Melroſe, Haddington, and Newbattle: likewiſe the caſtle of Dunbar was given to him, with the principal lands of the earldom of March, which were of the patrimony of the crown.

At the ſame time the ſuperintendants, with the other miniſters of the churches, perceiving the miniſtry like to decay for lack of payment of ſtipends to miniſters, gave this ſupplication at Edinburgh:

The Supplication of the Miniſters to the Queen.

UNTO your majeſty, and your moſt honourable council, moſt humbly and lamentably complain your highneſs's poor orators, the ſuperintendants, and other miniſters of the reformed church of God, travelling throughout all your highneſs's

realm, in teaching and inſtructing your lieges in all quarters, in the knowledge of God, and Chriſt Jeſus his Son; that where your majeſty, with the advice of the council and nobility aforeſaid, moved by godly zeal, concluded and determined, That the travelling miniſtry throughout this realm, ſhould be maintained upon the rents of the benefices of this realm of Scotland; and for that cauſe your majeſty, with the advice of the council and nobility aforeſaid, upon the 15th day of December 1562, in like manner concluded and determined, That if the ſaid part of the rents of the whole benefices eccleſiaſtical within this realm, would be ſufficient to maintain the miniſters throughout the whole realm, and to ſupport your majeſty in the ſetting forward of your common affairs, ſhould be employed accordingly: failing thereof, the third part of the ſaid fruits, or more, to be taken up yearly in time coming, until a general order be taken therein, as the act made thereupon at more length bears: which being afterward conſidered by your majeſty, the whole thirds of the fruits aforeſaid were propounded to the uſes aforeſaid, by act of council; and we, your majeſty's poor orators, put in peaceable poſſeſſion of the part aſſigned by your majeſty to us, for the ſpace of three years, or thereabouts, which we did enjoy without interruption. Notwithſtanding all this, now of late, we, your majeſty's poor orators aforeſaid, are put wrongfully and unjuſtly from our aforeſaid part of the above ſpecified thirds, by your majeſty's officers, and thereby brought to ſuch extreme penury, and extreme diſtreſs, as we are not able any longer to maintain ourſelves; and albeit we have given in divers and ſundry complaints to your majeſty herein, and have received divers promiſes of redreſs, yet have we found no relief: therefore we moſt humbly beſeech your majeſty, to conſider our moſt grievous complaint, together with the right above ſpecified, whereon the ſame is grounded. And if your majeſty, with the advice of your council aforeſaid, finds our right ſufficient, to continue us in poſſeſſion of our part aſſigned to us, while and until a general order be taken; which poſſeſſion was ratified by the yearly allowance of your majeſty's exchequer-account, that your majeſty would grant us letters upon the foreſaid act and ordinance paſt thereupon, againſt all intromitters and meddlers with the foreſaid thirds, to anſwer and obey, according to the foreſaid act and ordinance of our poſſeſſion proceeding thereupon: and likewiſe that we may have letters, if need be, to arreſt and ſtay the foreſaid thirds in the poſſeſſors hands, while and until ſufficient caution be found to us for our part aforeſaid. And your anſwer moſt humbly we beſeech.

This ſupplication being preſented by the ſuperintendant of Lothian and Mr. John Craig, in the caſtle of Edinburgh, was graciouſly received by the queen, who promiſed that ſhe would take ſufficient order therein, ſo ſoon as the nobility and council might convene.

The 19th of June, the queen was delivered of a man-child (the prince, in the aforeſaid caſtle, who after was named James), and immediately ſent into France and England her poſts, to advertiſe the neighbouring princes, and to deſire them to ſend goſſips, or witneſſes, to the prince's baptiſm. In the mean time there was joy and triumph made in Edinburgh, and ſuch other places where it was known, after thanks and praiſes given unto God, with ſupplications for the godly education of the prince; and principally wiſhing that he ſhould be baptized according to the manner and form obſerved in the reformed churches within this realm.

About the ſame time, *viz.* the 25th of June, the general aſſembly of the whole church convened at Edinburgh: the earls of Argyle and Murray aſſiſted at the aſſembly. Paul Methven, who before, as we heard, was excommunicated, gave in his ſupplication, and deſired to be heard, as he had done divers times; for the ſaid Paul had written oftentimes out of England to the laird of Dun, and to divers others, moſt earneſtly deſiring to be received again into the fellowſhip of the church. After reaſoning on the matter, it was finally granted, that he ſhould be heard: and ſo being before the aſſembly, and falling upon his knees, burſt out into tears, and ſaid, 'He was not worthy to ap-'pear in their preſence;' always he deſired them, for the love of God, to receive him to the open expreſſion of his repentance. Shortly after, they appointed certain of the miniſters to preſcribe to him the form of his declaration of repentance, which was thus in effect: Firſt, That he ſhould preſent himſelf bare-footed and bare-headed, arrayed in ſackcloth, at the principal entry of St. Giles's Kirk in Edinburgh, at ſeven o'clock in the morning, upon the next Wedneſday, and there to remain for the ſpace of an hour, the whole people beholding him, till the prayer was made, pſalms ſung, and the text of Scripture read; and then to come into the place appointed for expreſſion of repentance, and tarry the time of ſermon; and to do ſo likewiſe the next Friday following, and alſo upon

the Sunday; and then, in the face of the whole church, to declare his repentance with his own mouth. The ſame form and manner he ſhould uſe in Jedburgh and Dundee: and that being done, to preſent himſelf again at the next general aſſembly following in winter, where he ſhould be received to the communion of the church. When the ſaid Paul had received the ſaid ordinance, he took it very grievouſly, alledging, they had uſed too great ſeverity. Nevertheleſs, being counſelled and perſuaded by divers notable perſonages, he began well in Edinburgh to proceed, whereby a great number were moved with compaſſion of his ſtate, and likewiſe in Jedburgh; but he left his duty in Dundee, and paſſing again into England, the matter, not without offence to many, ceaſed.

The miniſters complaining, that they could not be paid their ſtipends, were licenſed by the aſſembly to paſs to other churches to preach, but in no ways to leave the miniſtry. And becauſe that the queen's majeſty had promiſed often before to provide remedy, it was thought expedient, that ſupplication ſhould be yet made, as before, that the queen's majeſty ſhould cauſe ſuch order to be taken, that the poor miniſters might be paid their ſtipends. The biſhop of Galloway, who was brother to the earl of Huntley, and now a great man in the court, travelled much with the queen's majeſty in that matter, and got of her a good anſwer, and fair promiſes. A few years before, the ſaid biſhop of Galloway deſired of the general aſſembly to be made ſuperintendant of Galloway; but now being promoted to ſo great dignity, as to be of the number of the lords of the privy council, and likewiſe one of the ſeſſion, he would no more be called Overlooker or Overſeer of Galloway, but Biſhop: true it is, that he laboured much for his nephew the earl of Huntley, that he might be reſtored to his lands and honours; for the ſaid earl was now chancellor, ſince the ſlaughter of David Rizio, and had for his clawback the biſhop of Roſs, Mr. John Leſly, one of the chief counſellors to the queen. But of all men the earl of Bothwel was moſt in the queen's favour, ſo far, that all things paſt by him; yea, by his means the moſt part of all thoſe that were partakers in the ſlaughter of David Rizio, got remiſſion and relief. But from that day he was not preſent at any ſermon, albeit before he profeſſed the goſpel by outward ſpeaking, yet he never joined to the Congregation. At this time the earl of Caſſils was contracted with the lord of Glammis's ſiſter, by whoſe perſuaſion he became a Proteſtant, and cauſed, in the month of Auguſt, to reform his churches in Carrick, and promiſed to maintain the doctrine of the goſpel.

The queen, not yet ſatisfied with the death of her man David, cauſed in Auguſt to be apprehended a man called Harry, who ſometimes had been of her chapel-royal, but afterward became an exhorter in a reformed church; and for want of ſtipend, or other neceſſaries, paſt in ſervice to my lord Ruthven, and chanced that night to be preſent when the ſaid David was ſlain; and ſo, finally, he was condemned, hanged, and quartered.

The king being now contemned of all men, becauſe the queen cared not for him, he went ſometime to the Lennox to his father, and ſometime to Stirling, whether the prince was carried a little before: he was always deſtitute of ſuch things as were neceſſary for him, having ſcarcely ſix horſes in train. And being thus deſolate, and half-deſperate, he ſought means to go out of the country. About the ſame time, by the advice of Forliſh Cagets, he wrote to the pope, to the king of Spain, and to the king of France, complaining of the ſtate of the country, which was all out of order; all becauſe that maſs and Popery were not again erected, giving the whole blame thereof to the queen, as not managing the catholic cauſe aright. By ſome knave this poor prince was betrayed, and the queen got a copy of theſe letters into her hands, and therefore threatened him ſore; and there was never after that any appearance of love betwixt them.

The churches of Geneva, Bern, and Baſil, with other reformed churches of Germany and France, ſent to the whole church of Scotland the ſum of the Confeſſion of their Faith, deſiring to know, if they agreed in uniformity of doctrine; alledging, that the church of Scotland was diſſonant in ſome articles from them: wherefore the ſuperintendants, with a great part of the other moſt qualified miniſters, convened in September in St. Andrews; and reading the ſaid letters, made anſwer, and ſent word again, That they agreed in all points with thoſe churches, and differed in nothing from them: albeit in the keeping of ſome feſtival-days our church aſſented not; for only the Sabbath-day was kept in Scotland.

In the end of this month, the earl of Bothwel riding in purſuit of the thieves in Liddiſdale, was much hurt, and worſe terrified by a thief; for he believed ſurely to have departed forth of this life, and ſent word thereof to the queen's majeſty, who ſoon after paſt from Jedburgh to the Her-

mitage, to visit him, and give him comfort. Within a few days after, she took sickness in a most extreme manner; for she lay two hours dead, as it were, without breath, or any sign of life: at length she revived, by reason they had bound small cords about her wrists, her knees, and great toes, and speaking very softly, she desired the lords to pray for her to God: she said the Creed in English; and desired my lord of Murray, if she should chance to depart, that he would not be over extreme to such as were of her religion: the duke and he should have been regents. The report went from Jedburgh, in the month of October 1566, that the queen was departed this life, or at least she could not live any time; wherefore there was continually prayers publicly made at the church of Edinburgh, and divers other places, for her conversion towards God, and amendment. Many were of opinion, that she should come to the preaching, and renounce Popery: but all in vain; for God had some other thing to do by her. The king being advertised, rode post from Stirling to Jedburgh, where he found the queen somewhat recovered, but she would scarce speak to him, and hardly give him presence, or a good word; wherefore he returned immediately to Stirling, where the prince was, and after to Glasgow to his father.

There appeared great trouble over the whole realm, and especially in the countries near the borders, if the queen had departed at that time. As she began to recover, the earl of Bothwel was brought in a chariot from the Hermitage to Jedburgh, where he was cured of his wounds, in whose presence the queen took more pleasure than in all the rest of the world. By his means most part of those that were outlawed for the slaughter of David Rizio got relief; for there was no other means, but all things must needs pass by him; wherefore every man sought to him, where immediately favour was to be had, as before of David Rizio.

Soon after, the queen passing along the borders, she came within the bounds of Berwick, where she viewed the town at her pleasure afar off, being about half a mile distant; all the ordnance within Berwick were discharged: the captain came forth, with fourscore horses bravely arrayed, to do her honour, and offer her lawful service. Then she came to Craigmillar, where she remained in November, till she was advertised of the coming of the ambassadors to the baptism of the prince; and for that purpose there was great preparation made, not without the trouble of such as were supposed to have money in store, especially of Edinburgh; for there was borrowed a good round sum of money for the same business. All her care and solicitude was for that triumph. At the same time arrived the count de Briance, ambassador of the king of France, who had a great train. Soon after the earl of Bedford went forth of England, with a very gorgeous company, to the number of fourscore horse; and passing to Stirling, he was humanely received of the queen's majesty, and every day banqueted. The excessive expences, and superfluous apparel which was prepared, at that time, far exceeded all the preparation that ever had been devised or set forth before in this country. The 17th of December 1566, in the great hall of the castle of Stirling, was the prince baptized by the bishop of St. Andrews, at five o'clock in the evening, with great pomp, albeit with great difficulty could they find men to bear the torches, wherefore they took boys. The queen laboured much with the noblemen to bear the salt, grease, and candle, and such other things; but all refused: she found at last the earls of Eglinton, Athol, and the lord Seton, who assisted at the baptism, and brought in the said trash. The count de Briance, being the French ambassador, assisted likewise. The earl of Bedford brought for a present from the queen of England, a font of gold, valued at three thousand crowns.

Soon after the said baptism, after the said earl was in communing with the queen, who entertained him most reverently; he began to say merrily to her, amongst other talking, 'Madam, 'I rejoice very greatly at this time, seeing your 'majesty hath here to serve you so many noble-'men, especially twelve earls, whereof two only 'assist at this baptism to the superstition of Pope-'ry.' At which saying, the queen kept good countenance. Soon after they banqueted in the said great hall, where they wanted no prodigality. During the time of the earl of Bedford's remaining at Stirling, the lords for the most part waited upon him, and convoyed him every day to the sermon, and after to banqueting.

The king remaining in Stirling all that time (never being present), kept his chamber: his father, hearing how he was used, writ to him to repair unto him, who soon after went, without goodnight, toward Glasgow to his father. He was hardly a mile out of Stirling, when the poison which had been given him, wrought so upon him, that he had very great pain and dolour in every

part of his body. At length, being arrived at Glaſgow, the bliſters broke out of a bluiſh colour; ſo the phyſicians preſently knew the diſeaſe to come by poiſon: he was brought ſo low, that nothing but death was expected; yet the ſtrength of his youth did at laſt ſurmount the poiſon.

During the time of this triumph, the queen was moſt liberal in all things that were demanded of her: amongſt other things, ſhe ſubſcribed a writing for the maintenance of the miniſters in a reaſonable proportion, which was to be taken up of the thirds of benefices; which writing being procured by the biſhop of Galloway, was preſented at the general aſſembly of the church at Edinburgh, the twenty-fifth day of December 1566, where were convened the ſuperintendants, and other miniſters, in reaſonable number, but very few commiſſioners. Our aſſemblies met often upon the 25th day of December; ſo that many of the miniſtry could not be at home in their own pariſhes to teach upon Chriſt's nativity, neither did our aſſemblies allow ſuch a ſuperſtitious obſervation.

The firſt matter that was there propoſed, was concerning the ſaid writing lately obtained; and the moſt part of the miniſters being demanded their opinions in the matter, after advice, and paſſing a little aſide, they anſwered very gravely, That it was their duty to preach to the people the word of God truly and ſincerely, and to crave of the auditors the things that were neceſſary for their ſuſtentation, as of duty the paſtors might juſtly crave of their flock; and further, it became them not to have any care. Nevertheleſs, the aſſembly taking in conſideration, that the ſaid gifts, granted by the queen's majeſty, were not to be refuſed; they ordained, that certain faithful men of every ſhire ſhould meet, and uſe their utmoſt diligence for gathering and receiving the ſaid corn and money; and likewiſe appointed the ſuperintendant of Lothian, and Mr. John Row, to wait upon the biſhop of Galloway, and concur and aſſiſt him for further expedition in the court, that the ſaid gift might be diſpatched through the ſeals.

In the ſame aſſembly there was preſented a remonſtrance by writ, by ſome gentlemen of Kyle, containing in effect, That inaſmuch as the tithes ought to be given only to the miniſters of the word, and ſchools, and for maintenance of the poor; that therefore the aſſembly would ſtatute and ordain, That all the profeſſors of the goſpel ſhould keep the ſame in their own hands, to the effects aforeſaid, and no way permit the Papiſts to meddle therewith. This writing took no effect at that time, for there were none elſe but the gentlemen of Kyle of that opinion. It was ſtatuted in the ſaid aſſembly, That ſuch public fornicators, and ſcandalous livers, as would not confeſs their offences, nor come to declare their repentance, ſhould be declared by the miniſter to be out of the church, and not of the body thereof, and their names to be declared publicly upon the Sunday. After this aſſembly, the biſhop of Galloway, with the ſuperintendant of Lothian, and Mr. John Row, paſſing to Stirling, obtained their demands in an ample manner at the queen's majeſty's hand, according to their deſire; and likewiſe they obtained for every burgh, a gift or donation of the altarages, annuals, and obits, which before were given to the Papiſts, now to be diſpoſed for the maintenance of the miniſters and ſchools within the burghs, and the reſt to the poor or hoſpital.

It was ordained, that humble ſupplication ſhould be made to the lords of ſecret council, concerning the commiſſion of juriſdiction, ſuppoſed to be granted to the biſhop of St. Andrews, to the effect their honours may ſtay the ſame, in reſpect that the cauſes, for the moſt part judged by his uſurped authority, pertain to the true kirk; and alſo becauſe, in reſpect of that coloured commiſſion, he might aſſume again his old uſurped authority, and the ſame might be a mean to oppreſs the whole kirk. The tenor of the ſupplication followeth:

The General Aſſembly of the Kirk of Scotland, convened at Edinburgh, the 25th of December 1566, to the Nobility of this Realm, that profeſs the Lord Jeſus with them, and have renounced that Roman Antichriſt; deſires Conſtancy in Faith, and the Spirit of righteous Judgment.

SEEING that Satan by all our negligences, right honourable, hath ſo far prevailed within this realm of late days, that we do ſtand in extreme danger, not only to loſe our temporal poſſeſſions, but alſo to be deprived of the glorious goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, and ſo we and our poſterity to be left in damnable darkneſs; we could no longer contain in ourſelves, nor keep ſilence, leſt by ſo doing we might be accuſed as guilty of the blood of ſuch as ſhall periſh for lack of admonition, as the prophet threateneth. We therefore, in the fear of our God, and with grief and anguiſh of our heart, complain unto your honours (yea, we muſt complain unto God, and to all his obedient creatures), That that conjured enemy of Jeſus Chriſt, and cruel murderer of our dear brethren, moſt falſly

ſtyled archbiſhop of St. Andrews, is reponed and reſtored, by ſignature paſt, to his former tyranny: for not only are his ancient juriſdictions, as they are termed, of the whole biſhopric of St. Andrews granted unto him, but alſo the execution of judgment, confirmation of teſtaments, and donation of benefices, as more amply in his ſignature is expreſſed. If this be not to cure the head of that venomous beaſt, which once within this realm, by the potent hand of God, was ſo broken down and baniſhed, that by tyranny it could not have hurt the faithful, judge ye. His ancient juriſdiction was, that he, with certain colleagues, collaterals, might have condemned of hereſy upon probation, as pleaſed him, and then to take all that were ſuſpected of hereſy. What they have judged to be hereſy heretofore, ye cannot be ignorant of; and whether they remain in their former malice or not, their fruits and travels openly declare.

The danger may be feared, ſay ye; But what remedy? It is eaſy, and at hand, right honourable, if ye will not betray the cauſe of God, and leave your brethren, who will never be more ſubject to that uſurped tyranny, than they will be to the devil himſelf. Our queen belike is not well informed: ſhe ought not, nor juſtly may not break the laws of this realm; and ſo conſequently, ſhe may not ſet up againſt us, without our conſent, that Roman Antichriſt again: for in a lawful and the moſt free parliament that ever was in this realm before, was that odious beaſt deprived of all juriſdiction, office, and authority, within the realm. Her majeſty, at her firſt arrival, and by divers proclamations ſince, hath expreſsly forbidden any other form and face of religion, than that which ſhe found publicly eſtabliſhed at her arrival. Therefore ſhe may not bring us (the greateſt part of the ſubjects of this realm) back again to bondage, till that as lawful and free a parliament, as juſtly condemned that Antichriſt, and his uſurped tyranny, hath given deciſion betwixt us and him. If hereof, and of other things which no leſs concern yourſelves than us, ye plainly and boldly admoniſh our ſovereign, and without tumult only crave juſtice, the tyrants dare no more be ſeen in lawful judgment, than dare the owls in day-light. Weigh this matter as it is, and ye will find it more weighty than it appeareth to many.

Further, at this preſent, we complain not, but humbly crave of your honours a reaſonable anſwer, what we will do, in caſe ſuch tyrants and devouring wolves begin to invade the flock of Jeſus Chriſt within this realm, under what title ſoever it be: for this we boldly profeſs, that we will never acknowlege ſuch, either paſtors to our ſouls, or yet judges to our cauſes. And, if for denial thereof, we ſuffer either in body or in goods, we doubt not but we have not only a Judge to puniſh them that unjuſtly trouble us, but alſo an Advocate and ſtrong Champion in heaven to recompenſe them, who for his name's ſake ſuffer perſecution; whoſe Holy Spirit rule your hearts in his true fear to the end.

Given in the General Aſſembly, and third Seſſion thereof, at Edinburgh, the 27th of December 1566.

Beſides this ſupplication of the aſſembly to the nobility, penned by John Knox, a letter was written by him in particular to the profeſſors, to adverтiſe them of the danger of this commiſſion or power granted to the ſaid baſtard biſhop of St. Andrews, the tenor whereof followeth:

The Lord cometh, and ſhall not tarry; bleſſed ſhall he be, whom he ſhall find fighting againſt Impiety.

To deplore the miſeries of theſe our moſt wicked days, beloved brethren, can neither greatly profit us, neither yet relieve us of our preſent calamities; and yet utterly to keep ſilence, cannot lack the ſuſpicion of apoſtacy and plain defection from God, and from his truth, once by us publicly profeſſed: for now are matters (that in the years bypaſt have been denied) ſo far diſcovered, that he, who ſeeth not the plain ſubverſion of all true religion within this realm, to be concluded and decreed in the hearts of ſome, muſt either confeſs himſelf blind, or elſe an enemy to the religion which we profeſs: for beſides the open erecting of idolatry in divers parts of this realm, and beſides the extreme poverty wherein our miniſters are brought (by reaſon that idle bellies are fed upon that which juſtly appertaineth to ſuch as truly preach Jeſus Chriſt, and rightly, and by order, miniſter his bleſſed ſacraments), that cruel murderer of our brethren, falſly called archbiſhop of St. Andrews, moſt unjuſtly, and againſt all law, hath preſumed to his former tyranny; as a ſignature paſt for his reſtitution to his ancient juriſdiction (as it is termed) more fully doth purport. What end may be looked for of ſuch beginnings, the half-blind may ſee, as we ſuppoſe. And yet we have heard, that a certain ſum of money and victuals ſhould be aſſigned by the queen's majeſty, for ſuſtentation of our miniſtry; but how that any ſuch aſſignation,

or any promiſe made thereof, can ſtand in any ſtable aſſurance, when that Roman Antichriſt (by juſt laws once baniſhed from this realm) ſhall be intruded above us, we can noways underſtand. Yea, further, we cannot ſee what aſſurance any within this realm, that have profeſſed the Lord Jeſus, can have of life or inheritance, if the head of that odious beaſt be cured amongſt us.

And therefore we yet again, in the bowels of Chriſt Jeſus, crave of you to look into this matter, and to advertiſe us again, with reaſonable expedition of your judgments; that, in the fear of God, and with unity of minds, we may proceed to crave juſtice, and oppoſe ourſelves to ſuch tyranny as moſt unjuſtly is intended againſt us: for if we think not that this laſt erecting of that wicked man, is the very ſetting up again of that Roman Antichriſt within this realm, we are deprived of all right judgment. And what is that elſe, but to ſeparate us and our poſterity from God; yea, and to cut ourſelves from the freedom of this realm? We deſire therefore, that the wiſeſt amongſt you may conſider the weight of this cauſe, which long hath been neglected, partly by our ſloth, and partly by believing fair promiſes, by which to this hour we have been deceived. And therefore we ought to be the more vigilant and circumſpect, eſpecially ſeeing a parliament is proclaimed. We have ſent to you the form of a ſupplication and articles, which we would have preſented to the queen's majeſty: if it pleaſe you, we would ye ſhould approve it by your ſubſcriptions; or if you would alter it, we deſire you ſo to do, and we ſhall allow whatſoever you ſhall propoſe, not repugnant to God. If it ſhall be thought expedient, that commiſſioners of countries ſhall convene, to reaſon upon the moſt weighty matters that now occur, the time and place being appointed by you, and due advertiſement being given to us, by God's grace, there ſhall no fault be found in us; but as from the beginning we have neither ſpared ſubſtance nor life, ſo mind we not to faint unto the end to maintain the ſame, ſo long as we can find the concurrence of brethren; of whom (as God forbid) if we be deſtitute, yet are we determined never to be ſubject to that Roman Antichriſt, neither yet to his uſurped tyranny. But when we can do no further to ſuppreſs that odious beaſt, we mind to ſeal with our blood to our poſterity, that the bright knowledge of Jeſus Chriſt hath baniſhed that man of ſin, and his venomous doctrine from our hearts and conſciences.

Let this our letter and requeſt bear witneſs before God, before his angels, before the world, and before our own conſciences, that we require you that have profeſſed the Lord Jeſus within this realm, as well nobility as gentlemen, burgeſſes, and commons, to deliberate upon the eſtate of things preſent; and eſpecially, Whether that this uſurped tyranny of that Roman Antichriſt ſhall be any longer ſuffered within this realm, ſeeing that by juſt law it is already aboliſhed? Secondly, Whether that we ſhall be bound to feed idle bellies upon the patrimony of the kirk, which juſtly appertaineth unto miniſters? Thirdly, Whether that idolatry, and other abominations, which now are more than evident, ſhall any longer by us be maintained and defended? Anſwer us as ye will anſwer to God, in whoſe fear we ſend theſe letters unto you, leſt that our ſilence ſhould be counted for conſent unto ſuch impiety. God take from our hearts the blind love of ourſelves, and all ungodly fear. Amen. Let us know your minds with expedition.

Notwithſtanding the domeſtic troubles that the church of God had in Scotland, in this turbulent time within the kingdom, yet they were not unmindful of the affliction of Jacob, every where upon the face of the earth: namely, they had before their eyes the ſtate and condition of the church of God in England: witneſs this letter from the general aſſembly to the rulers of the church of God in England; wherein they entreat them to deal gently with the preachers their brethren, about the ſurplice and other apparel. John Knox formed the letter in name of the aſſembly, as follows:

The Superintendants, with other Miniſters and Commiſſioners of the Church of God in the Kingdom of Scotland, to their Brethren the Biſhops and Paſtors of God's Church in England, who profeſs with us in Scotland the Truth of Jeſus Chriſt.

By word and writ it is come to our knowledge, reverend brethren, paſtors of God's word in the church of England, that divers of our brethren (of whom ſome are of the moſt learned in England) are deprived from all eccleſiaſtical function, namely, are forbidden to preach, and ſo by you are ſtopped to promote the kingdom of God; becauſe they have a ſcruple of conſcience to uſe, at the command of authority, ſuch garments as idolaters, in time of greateſt darkneſs, did uſe in their ſuperſtitious and idolatrous ſervice; which report cannot but be very grievous to our hearts, conſidering the ſentence of the apoſtle, 'If ye bite and de-

'vour one another, take heed ye be not conſumed 'one of another.' We intend not at this preſent to enter into the queſtion, which, we hear, is agitated and handled with greater vehemency by either party than well liketh us, *viz.* Whether ſuch apparel be accounted amongſt things indifferent or not? Wherefore (through the bowels of Jeſus Chriſt) we crave that Chriſtian charity may ſo far prevail with you, who are the paſtors and guides of Chriſt's flock in England, that ye do one to another as ye deſire others to do to you.

Ye cannot be ignorant what tenderneſs is in a ſcrupulous conſcience, and all that have knowledge are not alike perſuaded: the conſciences of ſome of you ſtir not, with the wearing of ſuch things; on the other ſide, many thouſands (both godly and learned) are otherwiſe perſuaded, whoſe conſciences are continually ſtruck with theſe ſentences, 'What hath Chriſt to do with Belial? What fel-'lowſhip is there betwixt light and darkneſs?' If ſurplice, corner-cap, and tippet, have been the badges of idolatry, in the very act of their idolatry, what have the preachers of Chriſtian liberty, and the rebukers of ſuperſtition ado with the dregs of that Romiſh beaſt? Yea, what is he that ought not to fear, either to take in his hand, or on his forehead, the prints and mark of that odious beaſt? The brethren that refuſe ſuch unprofitable apparel, do neither condemn nor moleſt you who uſe ſuch triſles: on the other ſide, If ye that uſe theſe things, will do the like to your brethren, we doubt not but therein you ſhall pleaſe God, and comfort the hearts of many, who are wounded to ſee extremity uſed againſt theſe godly brethren: human arguments, or coloured rhetoric, we uſe none to perſuade you; only in charity we deſire you to mind the ſentence of Peter, Feed the flock of Chriſt, which is committed to your charge, caring for it, not by conſtraint, but willingly; not being as lords of God's heritage, but being examples to the flock. We further deſire you to meditate upon that ſentence of Paul, Give no offence, neither to Jews nor Gentiles, nor to the church of God. In what condition you and we both travel, at leaſt are bound to travel, for the promoting of Chriſt's kingdom, you are not ignorant; therefore we are the more bold to exhort you to deal more wiſely, than to trouble the godly for ſuch vanities; for all things which ſeem lawful, edify not: if authority urge you further than your conſcience can bear, I pray you remember, that the miniſters of the church are called the Light of the World, and Salt of the Earth. All civil authority hath not always the light of God ſhining before their eyes, in ſtatutes and commands, for their affections ſavour too much of the earth and worldly wiſdom: therefore we tell you, That ye ought to oppoſe yourſelves boldly, not only to all power that doth extol itſelf againſt God, but alſo againſt all ſuch as dare burden the conſciences of the faithful, further than God chargeth them in his own word.

But we hope you will excuſe our freedom, in that we have entered in reaſoning farther than we intended in the beginning. Now again we return to our former requeſt, which is, That the brethren among you, who refuſe the Romiſh rags, may find of you, who uſe and urge them, ſuch favour as our Head and Maſter commandeth each one of his members to ſhew to another; which we look to receive of your courteſy, not only becauſe you will not offend God in troubling your brethren for ſuch vain triſles, but alſo becauſe you will not refuſe the earneſt requeſt of us your brethren and fellow-miniſters, in whom although there appear no worldly pomp, yet we are aſſured you will eſteem us as God's ſervants, travelling to ſet forth his glory againſt the Roman Antichriſt. The days are evil, iniquity aboundeth, and charity, alas! waxeth cold; wherefore we ought to walk diligently, for the hour is uncertain when the Lord ſhall come, before whom we muſt all give an account of our adminiſtrations. In concluſion, yet once more, we deſire you to be favourable one to another. Lord Jeſus rule your hearts in his fear unto the end, and give to you and us victory over that conjured enemy of true religion, the Pope, whoſe wounded head Satan by all means ſtrives to cure again: but to deſtruction ſhall he go, and all his maintainers, by the power of our Lord Jeſus, to whoſe mighty protection we commit you.

From our General Aſſembly,
December 27, 1566.

When John Knox, who penned this letter, wrote thus of the ſuperſtitious apparel, as a ſupplicant for the afflicted brethren, what would he have written, think you, in the other caſe? It is to be obſerved, that, at the ſame time, our worthy brethren in England made their ſtate known to Mr. Beza; who, upon their complaint, wrote a letter in their behalf, at the ſame time, to Dr. Grindal, biſhop of London; wherein he findeth fault with the manner of apparel appointed for miniſters, with kneeling at the communion, and all ſignificant ceremonies; which letter is the eighth in order amongſt his epiſtles. But obtaining no

favour, he wrote the year following (which was in 1567) another letter, which is the twelfth in order amongſt his epiſtles, wherein he giveth his beloved brethren this advice, That rather than they ſhould give their conſent to the order of ordaining their miniſters to uſe the cope and ſurplice, and to the manner of excommunication that was uſed in the church of England, that they ſhould give place to manifeſt violence, and live as private men. It is alſo to be obſerved, That the ſincerer ſort of the miniſtry of England had not yet aſſaulted the juriſdiction and church-government (which they did not till the year 1572, at which time they publiſhed their Firſt and Second Admonition to the Parliament), but only had excepted againſt the ſuperſtitious apparel, and ſome other faults in the Service-book.

By the former aſſembly the reader of Bathgate was cenſured, for baptizing of infants and ſolemnizing of marriage, he being but a ſimple reader, and for taking ſilver for the ſame from ſuch as were without the pariſh. Here you may ſee, That they acknowledge not reading miniſters; that is, that any adminiſter the ſacraments, but he that was able to preach the word.

At the ſame time the biſhop of St. Andrews, by means of the earl of Bothwel, procured a writing from the queen's majeſty, to be obeyed within the dioceſs of his juriſdiction, in all ſuch cauſes as before, in time of Popery, were uſed in the conſiſtory, and therefore to diſcharge the new commiſſioners; and for the ſame purpoſe came to Edinburgh in January, having a company of one hundred horſe, or more, intending to take poſſeſſion, according to his gift lately obtained. The provoſt being advertiſed thereof by the earl of Murray, they ſent to the biſhop three or four of the council, deſiring him to deſiſt from the ſaid matter, for fear of trouble and ſedition that might ariſe thereupon; whereby he was perſuaded to deſiſt at that time. Soon after the queen came to Edinburgh, where ſhe remained a few days.

In the month of January 1567, ſhe was informed, that the king was recovered of the poiſon given him at Stirling; and therefore ſhe paſſed to Glaſgow to viſit him, and there tarried with him ſix days, uſing with wonderful kindneſs, and many gracious and good words, both him, and his father the earl of Lennox; inſomuch that all men marvelled whereto it ſhould turn, conſidering the great contempt and dryneſs that had prevailed ſo long: the queen, notwithſtanding all the contempt that was ſhown him, with a known deſign to take away his life, yet, by her ſweet words, gained ſo far upon the uxorious huſband, and his eaſy father, that he went in company with her to Edinburgh, where ſhe had cauſed to lodge him at the Church of Field, in a lodging lately bought by Mr. James Balfour clerk-regiſter, truly very unmeet for a king. The queen reſorted often to viſit him, and lay in the houſe two nights by him, although her lodging was in the palace of Holyrood-houſe. Every man was ſurpriſed at this reconciliation and ſudden change.

The ninth of February the king was murdered, and the houſe where he lay burnt with powder, about twelve o'clock at night: his body was caſt into a yard, without the town-wall adjoining. There was a ſervant likewiſe murdered beſide him, who had been alſo in the chamber with him. The people ran to behold this ſpectacle; and wondering thereat, ſome judged one thing, ſome another.

Shortly thereafter Bothwel came from the abbey with a company of men of war, and cauſed the body of the king to be carried to the next houſe; where, after a little, the ſurgeons being convened, at the queen's command, to view and conſider the manner of his death, moſt part gave out, to pleaſe the queen, That he was blown in the air, albeit he had no mark of fire, for truly he was ſtrangled.

When many of the common people had gazed long upon the king's corpſe, the queen cauſed it to be brought down to the palace by ſome pioneers. She beheld the corpſe without any outward ſhew or ſign of joy or ſorrow. When the lords had concluded among themſelves, That he ſhould be honourably buried, the queen cauſed his corpſe to be carried by ſome pioneers, in the night, without ſolemnity, and to be laid beſide the ſepulchre of David Rizio.

The queen, according to the ancient cuſtom, ſhould have kept herſelf forty days within, and the doors and windows ſhould have been cloſed, in token of mourning; but the windows were opened to let in light the fourth day. Before the twelfth day ſhe went out to Seton, Bothwel never parting from her ſide: there ſhe went out to the fields, to behold guns and paſtimes. The king's armour, horſe, and houſehold ſtuff, were beſtowed upon the murderers. A certain tailor, when he was to reform the king's apparel to Bothwel, ſaid jeſtingly, He acknowledged here the cuſtom of the country, by which the clothes of the dead fall to the hangman.

This tragical end had Henry Stuart, after he had been king eighteen months; a prince of great lineage, both by mother and father: he was of a

comely ſtature, and none was like unto him within this iſland: he died under the age of twenty-one years; prompt and ready for all games and ſports; much given to hawking, hunting, running of horſe, playing on the lute; and alſo addicted to venery: he was liberal enough: he could write and dictate well: but he was ſomewhat given to wine and much feeding, and likewiſe to inconſtancy; and proud beyond meaſure, and therefore contemned all others: he had learned to diſſemble well enough, being from his youth miſled by Popery. Thus, within two years after his arriving in this realm, he was highly by the queen alone extolled; and finally, had this unfortunate end by her procurement and conſent. To lay all other proofs aſide, her marriage with Bothwel, who was the main executioner of the king, notwithſtanding all the advice and counſel that the king of France and queen of England did earneſtly and carefully give her, as other friends did likewiſe, witneſs their guilt.

Thoſe who laid hands on the king to kill him, by Bothwel's direction, were, Sir James Balfour, Gilbert Balfour, David Chalmers, black John Spence, Francis Sebaſtien, Jo. de Bourdeau, and Joſeph the brother of David Rizio: theſe laſt four were the queen's domeſtics, and ſtrangers. The reaſon why the king's death was ſo haſtened, was, becauſe the affection or paſſion of the earl Bothwel could not bear ſo long a delay as the procurement of a bill of divorce required, although the Romiſh clergy offered their ſervice willingly to the buſineſs; namely, biſhop Hamilton, who thereby became great again at court, and, for the advancement of the buſineſs, did good offices to increaſe the hatred betwixt the king and queen: yea, ſome that had been the chief inſtruments of the marriage of the king and queen, offered their ſervice for the divorce, ſeeing how the queen's inclination lay: ſo unhappy are princes, that men, for their own ends, further them in all their inclinations and undertakings, be they never ſo bad, or deſtructive to themſelves.

The earl of Lennox in the mean time wrote to the queen, to cauſe Bothwel, and his other complices, to be puniſhed, for murdering the king. The queen, not daring openly to reject the earl of Lennox's ſolicitation, did appoint a day for the trial of Bothwel by an aſſize: the members whereof were, the earl of Caithneſs preſident, the earl of Caſſils (who at the firſt refuſed, but thereafter, being threatened to be put in priſon, and under the pain of treaſon, was preſent, by the queen's command), John Hamilton commendator of Aberbrothock, lord Roſs, lord Semple, lord Boyd, lord Herris, lord Oliphant; the maſter of Forbes, the laird of Lochinvar, Langton, Cambuſkenneth, Barnbougle, and Boyn: they, to pleaſe the queen, and from fear, did pronounce Bothwel not guilty, notwithſtanding the manifeſt evidences of the cruel fact committed by Bothwel, who, before the trial, did make himſelf ſtrong by divers means; namely, by the poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Edinburgh, ſo that the accuſers durſt not appear, not being ſtrong enough. The earl of Marr did retire to Stirling, and had committed to his charge the young prince. All this was done in February.

In April Bothwel called together ſundry of the lords, who had come to Edinburgh, to a meeting that was there; and, having gained ſome before, made them all, either from fear, or by fair promiſes, firſt of their private ſtate, and then of advancing the Papiſts religion, to conſent, by their ſubſcriptions, to his marriage with the queen. Then the queen goes to Stirling to ſee her ſon; Bothwel makes a ſhew, as if he was going to the borders to ſuppreſs robbers, and ſo raiſeth ſome men of war; which when he had done, he turneth towards the way to Stirling, where he meets the queen, according to the appointment betwixt them, and carrieth her to Dunbar, as it had been by force, although every one knew it was with the queen's liking. The prime nobility convened at Stirling, and from thence ſent to her, to know whether or not ſhe was taken againſt her will. She anſwered, That it was true, ſhe was taken againſt her will, but, ſince her taking, ſhe had no occaſion to complain; yea, the courteous entertainment ſhe had, made her forget and forgive all former offences. Theſe expreſſions were uſed by way of preface to the pardon, which was granted immediately thereafter to Bothwel; for, by letters patent, he was pardoned by the queen, for laying violent hands upon her majeſty, and for all other crimes: ſo by this, *&c.* the murder of the king was pardoned.

During the queen's abode in Dunbar, there were letters of divorce demanded, and granted unto Bothwel from his lady (who afterward was married to the earl Sutherland): ſhe was ſiſter to the earl of Huntley. The ground of the divorce was, the parties being within the degrees prohibited, could not be lawfully joined: next, becauſe Bothwel was an adulterer, the marriage was void. The bill of divorce was granted by the Papiſtical court of the archbiſhop of St. Andrews. And here

mark how they juggle in ſacred things; for, when it pleaſeth them, they untie the bond of marriage, as now, and as we have ſeen in the Firſt Book of this Hiſtory. When the queen took a diſtaſte to the late king her huſband, it was propoſed unto her to have divorce upon the ſame ground from the king; to which, firſt ear was given, but, after ſecond thoughts, a bill of divorce was too tedious (as we have now ſaid), and could not be ſtaid for, therefore the king muſt be diſpatched.

The queen, when Bothwel had obtained by the archbiſhop a letter of divorce from his lawful wife, ſent a letter, ſigned with her own hand, to Mr. John Craig miniſter of Edinburgh, commanding him to publiſh the bond of matrimony betwixt her and Bothwel. Mr. John Craig, the next ſermon-day thereafter, declared in full congregation, that he had received ſuch a command, but in conſcience he could not obey it: the marriage was altogether unlawful; and of that he would declare the reaſons to the parties, if he had audience of them, otherwiſe he would make known his juſt reaſons in the hearing of the people. Immediately thereafter, Bothwel ſent for Mr. Craig to the council; where Mr. Craig told, firſt, That by an act of the aſſembly it was forbidden to allow the marriage of any divorced for adultery: the divorce of Bothwel, from his lawful wife, was by colluſion; witneſs the quick diſpatch thereof: for it was ſought and had within ten days, and his contracting with the queen inſtantly thereafter: then his rape of the queen, and the guilt of the king's death, which was confirmed by this marriage: withal, he deſired the lords to ſtop the queen from that infamous marriage. The Sunday after, he told publicly to the people what he had ſaid to the council; and took heaven and earth to witneſs, that he deteſted that ſcandalous and infamous marriage; and that he diſcharged his conſcience unto the lords, who ſeemed unto him as ſo many ſlaves, what by flattery, what by ſilence, to give way to that abomination. Upon this he was called to the council again, and was reproved, as if he had exceeded the bounds of his calling. Whereunto he anſwered, 'That the 'bounds of his commiſſion was the word of God, 'right reaſon, and good laws, againſt which he 'had ſaid nothing; and by all theſe offered to 'prove this marriage to be ſcandalous and in-'famous.' At this he was ſtopped by Bothwel, and ſent from the council. Notwithſtanding all this done and ſaid by Mr. Craig, and the oppoſition of many, who wiſhed well to the queen, and were jealous of her honour, the marriage went on, and they were married the 15th day of May. This makes good the Latin proverb, *Mala menſe nubunt Maio.* And a biſhop muſt bleſs the marriage: the good prelate was biſhop of Orkney. If there be a good work to be done, a biſhop muſt do it. Here mark the difference betwixt this worthy miniſter Mr. Craig, and this baſe biſhop.

The earl of Athol, immediately after the murder of the king, had retired home, waiting for an opportunity to revenge the king's death: but ſeeing this abominable marriage, he went to Stirling, where other honeſt lords had a meeting with him, and made a bond, to defend the young prince from the murderers of his father; as already they had had one plot to cut him off, which God in his mercy did prevent. The nobles that entered into this bond, were, the earls of Argyle, Athol, Morton, Marr, and Glencairn, the lords Lindſay and Boyd. Argyle thereafter, ſeduced by ſome fair words, fell off; and Boyd became a great factionary for Bothwel in all things.

The queen ſoon after the marriage, was adviſed to ſend an ambaſſador to acquaint her foreign friends and kindred; and this muſt be a biſhop: it is pity that any good work ſhould be done without a biſhop. Was not this a worthy employment for a paſtor in God's church?

Bothwel, ſeeing the bond made at Stirling, cauſeth the queen to write to ſundry of the nobility. Divers repaired unto her, where they found a bond tendered unto them, by which they were to bind themſelves to defend the queen and Bothwel. Some that were corrupt did willingly ſubſcribe; others from fear did the ſame: and there was not one that came to court that did refuſe, but the earl of Murray; who refuſing abſolutely to enter into a bond with Bothwel, ſaid, 'It was 'not the part of a good ſubject; yet, ſince he had 'been made friends with him ſome time before, he 'would keep his promiſe unto the queen: and to 'enter into a bond with the queen, it was need-'leſs and unfit, ſince he was to obey her in all 'lawful and juſt things.' Upon this he got leave, although with great difficulty, to go into France.

The queen now receives Hamilton, archbiſhop of St. Andrews, into favour, ſince theſe changes; who was no leſs a faithful counſellor to her, than he was a good paſtor of Chriſt's flock; that is, he betrayed her, and diſobeyed God. With this a proclamation comes out in favour of the poor Proteſtants; whereby the queen declares, 'That

'she will keep and confirm all that she had pro-
'mised at her arrival in Scotland.' This was done to stop the people's mouths; but all in vain, for they were universally against the abomination of the court.

Within few days, Bothwel and the queen were raising men, under pretext to go to the borders to repress the robbers there; but in effect, to go to Stirling, to have the prince in their custody, that they might dispose of him according to their mind. Then a new proclamation came out, 'That the 'queen hereafter would rule only by the advice of 'the nobles of the land, as her best predecessors 'had done.' The lords at Stirling, hearing of this plot, strive to prevent it, and to this purpose they determined with the lord Home to besiege the castle of Borthwick, where the queen and Bothwel were; but because the earl of Athol did not come at the hour appointed, they had not men enough to inviron and encompass the castle; so that Bothwel having notice given him of the business, escaped to Dunbar, and the queen after him in man's clothes. The lords failing of their design at Borthwick-castle, went to Edinburgh, which they made themselves masters of easily, having the affections of the people, notwithstanding the earl of Huntley and the archbishop of St. Andrews's persuasion to the contrary: these two, with their associates, were constrained to retire to the castle, where they were received by Sir James Balfour, left there by Bothwel.

The twelfth of June, which was the next day following, the lords caused to publish a proclamation, at Edinburgh, whereby they declared, 'That 'the earl of Bothwel, who had been the principal 'author, deviser, and actor, of the cruel murder 'of the late king, had since laid hands upon the 'queen's person, and had her for the present in 'Dunbar in his power; and finding her utterly 'destitute of all good counsel, had seduced her to 'a dishoneſt and unlawful marriage with himself; 'yea, that now he was gathering forces, and stir-'ring himself to get the young prince in his hands, 'that he might murder the child, as he had mur-'dered the father.' This wicked man the nobles of the land resolved to withstand, and deliver the queen out of his bondage; wherefore they did charge all lieges within the kingdom that could come to them, to be in readiness at three hours warning to assist them, the nobles, for the freeing of the queen from captivity, and bringing the said earl Bothwel to a legal trial, and condign punish-ment, for the aforesaid murder, and other crimes: and such as would not side with the lords, were, by this proclamation, commanded to depart from Edinburgh within four hours, under the pain of being accounted enemies, *&c.*

Notwithstanding this proclamation, the people did not join unto these lords, as was expected; for sundry of the nobles were adversaries to the business, and others stood as neuters; and withal, these that were convened together were not well provided with arms and ammunition for exploits of war; so that they were even thinking to dissolve and leave off their enterprise till another time, and had absolutely done so: but God had ordain-ed otherwise, as the event did shew (if the queen and Bothwel could have had patience to stay at Dunbar for three or four days without any stir); but the queen and Bothwel having gathered to-gether about four or five thousand men, trusting in their force (the queen being puffed up by flat-terers), set forth and marched towards Leith; being come forward as far as Gladsmuir, she caused pub-lic proclamation against the aforesaid lords, call-ing them a number of Conspirators, and that she now discerned their inward malice against her and her husband the duke of Orkney (for so they now called Bothwel): after they had endeavoured to apprehend her and her husband at Borthwick, and had made a seditious proclamation, under pretence of seeking the revenge of the king her late hus-band, and to free her from captivity, giving out, 'That the duke her husband had a mind to invade 'the prince her son; all which was false, for the 'duke her husband had used all means to clear 'himself, both by a legal way, and by the offer 'of a combat to any that did accuse him, as they 'knew well enough. As touching her captivity, 'she was in none; but was in company with her 'husband, unto whom she was publicly married 'in the view of the world, and many of the nobles 'had given their consent unto this her marriage. 'As for the prince her son, it was but a specious 'pretence to the treason and rebellion against her, 'their natural sovereign, and her posterity, which 'they intended to overthrow; wherefore she de-'clared herself necessitated to take up arms, hop-'ing that all her faithful subjects would adhere 'unto her, and that those who were already as-'sembled with her, would, with good hearts and 'hands, stand to her defence; and for the recom-'pence of their valour, they should have the lands 'and goods of these unnatural rebels.' After this proclamation the army went on, and the queen that night came to Seton, where she lay.

About midnight, the lords at Edinburgh were advertiſed of the queen's approach: preſently they took arms; and at the ſun-riſing they were at Muſſelburgh, where they refreſhed themſelves with meat and reſt. The queen's camp was not yet ſtirring. About mid-day the ſcouts that the lords had ſent out, brought word that the enemy was marching towards them: preſently they put themſelves in two battalions; the firſt was conducted by the earl Morton and the lord Hume; the ſecond by the earls Athol, Glencairn, the lords Lindſay, Ruthven, Semple, and Sanquhar, with the lairds Drumlanerk, Tullibardin, Ceſford, and Grange, with divers others: their number was almoſt as great as the queen's, and their men better, being many of them very expert. The queen had gained a hill called Carberry, which the lords (by reaſon of the ſteepneſs of the aſcent) could not well come at; wherefore they wheeled about, to get a more convenient place to go to the hill where the enemy was, and to have the ſun behind them in the time of the fight. At firſt the queen ſeeing them thus going about, did imagine they were flying away to Dalkeith; but when ſhe ſaw them come directly towards her, ſhe found herſelf deceived.

The French ambaſſador ſeeing them ready to fight, ſtrived to take up the buſineſs; and having ſpoken with the queen, went to the lords, telling them, 'That the queen was diſpoſed to peace, and 'to forgive and pardon this inſurrection; where-'fore it was very fit to ſpare blood, to agree in a 'peaceable way.' The earl of Morton, in the name of all the reſt, anſwered, 'That they had 'taken up arms, not againſt the queen, but againſt 'the murderer of the king; whom if ſhe would 'deliver to be puniſhed, or at leaſt put from her 'company, ſhe ſhould find a continuation of duti-'ful obedience by them, and all other good ſub-'jects; otherwiſe no peace: beſides, we are not 'to aſk pardon for any offence done by us.' The ambaſſador ſeeing their reſolution to ſtand to the right of their cauſe, withdrew, and went to Edinburgh.

While the French ambaſſador was thus labouring for accommodation, Bothwel came out of the camp (which was in the trench that the Engliſh had left when they were laſt in theſe places, as we have ſaid in the former Books), well mounted, with a defiance to any that would fight with him. James Murray, brother to the laird of Tullibardin, who before had accepted of Bothwel's challenge, when he made the rodomontade at Edinburgh, immediately after the king's death; but then James Murray did not make known his name. Bothwel refuſed to fight with James Murray, alledging he was not his equal. Upon this the elder brother William Murray, laird of Tullibardin, anſwered, That he would fight with him, as being his better in eſtate, and in antiquity of houſe, many degrees above him; yet Bothwel refuſed him, ſaying, That he was not a peer of the kingdom, as he was. Then ſundry lords would have gone to fight with Bothwel, but the lord Lindſay namely, who ſaid to the reſt of the lords and gentlemen, 'That he 'would take it as a ſingular favour of them, and 'as a recompence of his ſervice done to the ſtate, 'if they would ſuffer him to fight with the brag-'gadocio.' Bothwel, ſeeing that there was no more ſubterfuge or excuſe, under-hand made the queen to forbid him.

After this challenge and anſwers, Bothwel's complices and followers were very earneſt to fight; but others, that had come only for the queen's ſake, became a little cold, ſaying, 'That Bothwel would 'do well to fight himſelf, and ſpare the blood of 'divers gentlemen that were there.' Some adviſed to delay the battle till the Hamiltons came, whom they did expect. All this the queen heard with anger; and riding up and down, burſt out into tears, and ſaid, 'They were all cowards and traitors 'that would not fight.' Immediately after thus vapouring, the queen, perceiving ſundry to leave her, adviſed Bothwel to look unto himſelf; for ſhe ſaid to him, 'She would render herſelf unto the 'noblemen.' Upon this ſhe ſent for James Kirkcaldy of Grange, with whom ſhe kept diſcourſe for a while, till that ſhe was aſſured that Bothwel was out of danger. Then ſhe went to the lords, whom ſhe did entertain with many fair words, telling them, That it was neither fear, nor want of hope of victory, that made her come unto them, but a deſire to ſpare ſhedding of innocent blood: withal ſhe promiſed to be ruled and adviſed by them.

On this ſhe was received with all reſpect: but ſhortly after, declaring that ſhe would go to the Hamiltons, with promiſe to return, they reſtrained her liberty, and brought her along with them to Edinburgh at night: ſhe was very ſlow in marching, looking to be reſcued by the Hamiltons; but in vain: ſhe lay that night in the provoſt's houſe. The next day the lords ſent the queen to the caſtle that is on an iſland in Lochlevin. Sir James Balfour, ſeeing the queen committed, and Bothwel conſequently defeated, capitulated with the lords for the delivery of the caſtle. Bothwel finding himſelf thus in diſorder, ſent a ſervant to Sir James

Balfour, to ſave a little ſilver cabinet, which the queen had given him. Sir James Balfour delivers the cabinet to the meſſenger, and under-hand giveth advice of it to the lords. In this cabinet had Bothwel kept the letters of privacy he had from the queen: thus he kept her letters, to be an aweband upon her, in caſe her affection ſhould change. By the taking of this cabinet, many particulars betwixt the queen and Bothwel were clearly diſcovered: theſe letters were afterwards printed: they were in French; along with ſome ſonnets of her own making. About this time the earl Bothwel was declared, by open proclamation, not only the murderer of the king, but alſo the committer of it with his own hand; and a thouſand crowns were offered to any man that would bring him in.

Few days after the commitment of the queen, the earl of Glencairn, with his domeſtics, went to the chapel of Holyrood-houſe, where he broke down the altars and images; which deed as it did content the zealous Proteſtants, ſo did it highly offend the popiſhly affected. The nobles, who had ſo proceeded againſt Bothwel, and dealt ſo with the queen, hearing that the Hamiltons had a great number of men, and had drawn the earls of Argyle and Huntley to their ſide, ſent to Hamilton, deſiring thoſe that were there to join with them, for the redreſs of the diſorders of the kirk and ſtate: but the Hamiltons thinking that now they had a fair occaſion to have all again in their hands, and to diſpoſe of all according to their own mind, did refuſe audience to the meſſage ſent by the lords.

Upon this the lords moved the general aſſembly, then met at Edinburgh, in the month of June, to write to the lords, that either were actually declared for the Hamiltons, or were neuters: and ſo ſeveral letters were directed to the earls of Argyle, Huntley, Caithneſs, Rothes, Crawford, and Monteith; to the lords Boyd, Drummond, Graham, Cathcart, Yeſter, Fleming, Livingſton, Seton, Glammis, Ochiltrie, Gray, Oliphant, Methven, Innermeth, and Somervel; as alſo to divers other men of note. Beſides the letters of the aſſembly, commiſſioners were ſent from the aſſembly to the lords above named; *viz.* John Douglas, John Row, John Craig, and John Knox, who had inſtructions, conform to the tenor of the letters, to deſire theſe lords, and others, to come to Edinburgh, and join with the lords there, for the ſettling of God's true worſhip in the church, and policy reformed according to God's word, a maintenance for the miniſters, and ſupport for the poor; but neither the commiſſioners, nor the letters, did prevail with theſe men; they excuſed themſelves, ſaying, That they could not repair to Edinburgh with freedom, where there were ſo many armed men, and a garriſon ſo ſtrong: but for the church-affairs, they would not be any ways wanting to do what lay in them.

The lords at Edinburgh ſeeing this, join abſolutely with the aſſembly (which had been prorogued to the 20th of July, upon the occaſion of theſe letters and commiſſioners aforeſaid), and promiſe to make good all the articles they thought fit to reſolve upon in the aſſembly; but in what manner they performed their promiſes, God knows. The articles they agreed upon were theſe;

1. THAT the acts of parliament holden at Edinburgh, the 24th of Auguſt 1560, touching religion, and aboliſhing the pope's authority, ſhould have the force of a public law, and conſequently this parliament defended, as a lawful parliament, and confirmed by the firſt parliament that ſhould be kept next.

2. That the thirds of the tithes, or any more reaſonable proportion of benefices, ſhould be allowed towards the maintenance of the miniſtry; and that there ſhould be a charitable courſe taken concerning the exacting of the tithes of the poor labourers. Moreover, that nothing ſhould paſs in parliament, till the affairs of the kirk be firſt conſidered, approven, and eſtabliſhed.

3. That none ſhould be received in the univerſities, colleges, or ſchools, for inſtruction of the youth, but after due trial both of capacity and ability.

4. That all crimes and offences againſt God, ſhould be puniſhed according to God's word; and that there ſhould be a law made thereanent, at the firſt parliament to be holden.

5. As for the horrible murder of the late king, huſband to the queen, which was ſo heinous before God and man, all true profeſſors, in whatſoever rank or condition, did promiſe to ſtrive, that all perſons ſhould be brought to condign puniſhment, who are found guilty of the ſame crime.

6. They all promiſed to protect the young prince againſt all violence, leſt he ſhould be murdered, as his father was; and that the prince ſhould be committed to the care of four wiſe and godly men, that, by a good education, he might be fitted for that high calling he was to execute one day.

7. The nobles, barons, and others, do promiſe to beat down and aboliſh Popery, idolatry, and

ſuperſtition, with any thing that may contribute unto it: as alſo, to ſet up and further the true worſhip of God, his government, the church, and all that may concern the purity of religion and life; and for this to convene and take arms, if need require.

8. And that all princes and kings hereafter in this realm, before their coronation, ſhall take oath to maintain the true religion now profeſſed in the church of Scotland, and ſuppreſs all things contrary to it, and that are not agreeing with it.

To theſe articles ſubſcribed the earls of Morton, Glencairn, and Marr, the lords Hume, Ruthven, Sanquhar, Lindſay, Graham, Innermeth, and Ochiltrie, with many other barons, beſides the commiſſioners of the burghs.

This being agreed upon, the aſſembly was diſſolved. Thereafter the lords Lindſay and Ruthven were ſent to Lochlevin to the queen, to preſent unto her two writs; the one contained a renunciation of the crown and royal dignity in favour of the prince her ſon, with a commiſſion to inveſt him in the kingdom, according to the manner accuſtomed; which, after ſome reluctancy, with tears, ſhe ſubſcribed, by the advice of the earl of Athol, who had ſent to her, and of ſecretary Lethington, who had ſent to her Robert Melvil for that purpoſe: ſo there was a procuration given to the lords Lindſay and Ruthven, by the queen, to give up and reſign the rule of the realm, in preſence of the ſtates.

The ſecond writ was, to ordain the earl of Murray regent, during the prince's minority, if he would accept the charge; and, in caſe he refuſed to accept the ſaid office upon his ſingle perſon, that he, with the duke Chattelarault, the earls of Lennox, Argyle, Athol, Morton, Glencairn, and Marr, ſhould govern conjunctly. Theſe writs were publiſhed the 29th of July 1567, at the market-croſs of Edinburgh.

Then at Stirling was the prince crowned king, where John Knox preached the ſermon. The earl Morton and the lord Hume took the oath for the king, that he ſhould conſtantly live in the profeſſion of the true religion, and maintain it; and that he ſhould govern the kingdom according to the laws thereof, and do juſtice equally to all.

In the beginning of Auguſt, the earl Murray being ſent for, cometh home: in all haſte he viſits the queen at Lochlevin, ſtrives to draw the lords that had taken part with the Hamiltons, or were neutral, to join with thoſe that had bound themſelves to ſtand for the king's authority: he was very earneſt with divers, by reaſon of their old friendſhip, but to little purpoſe. The 20th of Auguſt he received his regency, after mature and ripe deliberation, at the deſire of the queen, and lords that were for the king, and ſo was publicly proclaimed regent, and obedience ſhewed unto him by all that ſtood for the young king.

THE END OF BOOK FIFTH.

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THE

APPELLATION

OF

JOHN KNOX,

FROM

The Cruel and moſt Unjuſt SENTENCE pronounced againſt him, by the Falſe Biſhops and Clergy of SCOTLAND;

WITH

His Supplication and Exhortation to the Nobility, States, and Commonalty of the Realm, 1558.

To the NOBILITY *and* ESTATES *of* SCOTLAND,

JOHN KNOX *wiſheth Grace, Mercy, and Peace, from God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, with the Spirit of righteous Judgment.*

IT is not only the love of this temporal life, right honourable, neither yet the fear of corporal death, that moveth me at this preſent to expoſe unto you the injuries done againſt me, and to crave of you, as of lawful powers by God appointed, redreſs of the ſame; but partly it proceedeth from that reverence which every man oweth to God's eternal truth, and partly from a love which I bear to your ſalvation, and to the ſalvation of my brethren abuſed in that realm, by ſuch as have no fear of God before their eyes. It hath pleaſed God of his infinite mercy, not only to illuminate the eyes of my mind, and ſo to touch my dull heart, that clearly I ſee, and by his grace unfeignedly believe, That there is no other name given to men under heaven, in which ſalvation conſiſteth, ſave the name of Jeſus alone, 'Who by that ſa-'crifice which he did once offer upon the croſs, 'hath ſanctified for ever all thoſe that ſhall inherit 'the kingdom promiſed:' but alſo, it hath pleaſed him, of his ſuperabundant grace, to make and appoint me, moſt wretched of many thouſands, a witneſs, miniſter, and preacher of the ſame doctrine; the ſum whereof I did not ſpare to communicate with my brethren, being with them in the realm of Scotland in the year 1556; becauſe I know myſelf to be a ſteward, and that accounts of the talent committed to my charge ſhall be required of me by him, who will admit no vain excuſe which fearful men pretend: I did therefore, as

God's miniſter, during the time I was converſant with them, God is record and witneſs, truly and ſincerely, according to the gift granted unto me, divide the word of ſalvation, teaching all men to hate ſin, which before God was, and is ſo odious, that no other ſacrifice would ſatisfy his juſtice, except the death of his only Son; and to magnify the mercies of our heavenly Father, who did not ſpare the ſubſtance of his own glory, but did give him to the world, to ſuffer the ignominious and cruel death of the croſs, by that means to reconcile his choſen children to himſelf: teaching further, what is the duty of ſuch as do believe themſelves purged by ſuch a price, from their former filthineſs; *viz.* That they are bound to walk in newneſs of life, fighting againſt the luſts of the fleſh, and ſtudying at all times to glorify God by ſuch good works, as he hath prepared his people to walk in.

In doctrine I did further affirm (ſo taught by my Maſter Chriſt Jeſus), 'That whoſoever denieth 'him, yea, or is aſhamed of him before this wick-'ed generation, him ſhall Chriſt Jeſus deny, and 'of him ſhall he be aſhamed, when he ſhall appear 'in his majeſty;' and therefore I feared not to affirm, That of neceſſity it is, that ſuch as hope for life everlaſting, avoid all ſuperſtition, vain religion, and idolatry: vain religion and idolatry I call whatſoever is done in God's ſervice or honour, without the expreſs commandment of his own word.

This doctrine I did believe to be ſo conformable to God's holy Scriptures, that I thought no creature could have been ſo impudent as to have condemned any point or article of the ſame: yet nevertheleſs, me as an heretic, and this doctrine as heretical, have your falſe biſhops and ungodly clergy condemned, pronouncing againſt me a ſentence of death; in teſtification whereof, they have burned a picture. From which falſe and cruel ſentence, and from all judgment of that wicked generation, I make it known unto your honours, That I appeal to a lawful and general council, to ſuch, I mean, as the moſt ancient laws and canons do approve to be holden; by ſuch, as whoſe manifeſt impiety is not to be reformed in the ſame: moſt humbly requiring of your honours, That as God hath appointed you princes in that people, and, by reaſon thereof, requireth of your hands the defence of innocents troubled in your dominion, in the mean time, and till the controverſies that this day are in religion be lawfully decided, ye receive me, and ſuch others as moſt unjuſtly by thoſe cruel beaſts are perſecuted, into your defence and protection.

Your honours are not ignorant, That it is not I alone, who doth ſuſtain this cauſe againſt the peſtilent generation of Papiſts, but that the moſt part of Germany, the country of Helvetia, the king of Denmark, the nobility of Polonia, together with many other cities and churches reformed, appeal from the tyranny of that Antichriſt, and moſt earneſtly call for a lawful and general council, wherein may all controverſies in religion be decided, by the authority of God's moſt ſacred word.

And unto this ſame, as is ſaid, do I appeal yet once again; requiring of your honours to hold my ſimple and plain Appellation of no leſs value nor effect, than if it had been made with greater circumſtance, ſolemnity, and ceremony; and that you receive me calling unto you, as to the powers of God ordained, into your protection and defence, againſt the rage of tyrants; not to maintain me in any iniquity, error, or falſe opinion, but to let me have ſuch equity, as God by his word, ancient laws and determinations of moſt godly councils, grant to men accuſed or infamed.

The word of God wills, that no man ſhall die, except he be found criminal and worthy of death for offence committed, of which he muſt be manifeſtly convicted by two or three witneſſes. Ancient laws do permit juſt defences to ſuch as be accuſed (be their crimes never ſo horrible). And godly councils will, that neither biſhop nor perſon eccleſiaſtical whatſoever, accuſed of any crime, ſhall ſit in judgment, conſultation, or council, where the cauſe of ſuch men as do accuſe them is to be tried.

Theſe things require I of your honours to be granted unto me, *viz.* That the doctrine which our adverſaries condemn for hereſy, may be tried by the ſimple and plain word of God; that the juſt defences be admitted to us that ſuſtain the battle againſt this peſtilent generation of Antichriſt; and that they be removed from judgment in our cauſe; ſeeing that our accuſation is not intended againſt any one particular perſon, but againſt that whole kingdom, which we doubt not to prove to be a power uſurped againſt God, againſt his commandment, and againſt the ordinance of Chriſt Jeſus eſtabliſhed in his church by his chief apoſtles; yea, we doubt not to prove the kingdom of the pope to be the kingdom and power of Antichriſt: and therefore, my lords, I cannot ceaſe, in the name of Chriſt Jeſus, to require of you, that the matter may come to examination; and that ye the

eſtates of the realm, by your authority, compel ſuch as will be called Biſhops, not only to deſiſt from their cruel murdering of ſuch as do ſtudy to promote God's glory, in detecting and diſcloſing the damnable impiety of that man of ſin the Roman Antichriſt; but alſo, that ye compel them to anſwer to ſuch crimes as ſhall be laid to their charge, for not righteouſly inſtructing the flock committed to their cares.

But here I know two things ſhall be doubted; the former, whether that my Appellation is lawful, and to be admitted, ſeeing that I am condemned as an heretic: and ſecondly, Whether your honours are bound to defend ſuch as call for your ſupport in that caſe, ſeeing that your biſhops (who, in matters of religion, claim all authority to appertain to them) have by their ſentence already condemned me.

The one and the other I nothing doubt moſt clearly to prove; *Firſt*, That my Appellation is moſt lawful and juſt: and *ſecondly*, That your honours cannot refuſe to defend me, thus calling for your aid; for, in refuſing, ye declare yourſelves rebellious to God, maintainers of murderers, and ſhedders of innocent blood.

How juſt cauſe I have by the civil law (as for their canon, it is accurſed of God) to appeal from their unjuſt ſentence, my purpoſe is not to make long diſcourſe; only I will touch the points which all men confeſs to be the juſt cauſes of appellation: *Firſt*, Lawfully could I not be ſummoned by them, being for that time abſent from their juriſdiction, charged with the preaching of Chriſt's goſpel in a free city, not ſubject to their tyranny.

Secondly, To me was no intimation made of their ſummons; but ſo ſecret was their ſurmiſed malice, that the copy of ſummons, being required, was denied.

Thirdly, To the realm of Scotland could I have had no free nor ſure acceſs, being before compelled to quit the ſame by their unjuſt tyranny.

And *laſtly*, To me they neither could, nor can be competent and indifferent judges; for that before any ſummons was raiſed againſt me, I had accuſed them by letters publiſhed to the queen-dowager, and had intended againſt them all crimes, offering myſelf with hazard of life to prove the ſame; for the which they are not only unworthy of eccleſiaſtical authority, but alſo of any ſufferance within a commonwealth profeſſing Chriſt. This my accuſation preceding their ſummons, neither by the law of God, neither yet by the law of man, can they be to me competent judges, till place be granted unto me openly to prove my accuſation intended againſt them, and they be compelled to make anſwer as criminals: for I will plainly prove, That not only biſhops, but alſo popes, have been removed from all authority, and pronouncing of judgment, till they have purged themſelves of accuſations laid againſt them. Yea, further I will prove, That biſhops and popes have moſt juſtly been deprived of all honours and adminiſtration, for ſmaller crimes than I have to charge the whole rabble of your biſhops.

But becauſe this is not my chief ground, I will ſtand content for this preſent to ſhow, That it is lawful to God's prophets, and to preachers of Chriſt Jeſus, to appeal from the ſentence and judgment of the viſible church, to the knowledge of the temporal magiſtrate, who, by God's law, is bound to hear their cauſes, and to defend them from tyranny.

The prophet Jeremiah was commanded by God to ſtand in the court of the houſe of the Lord, and to preach this ſermon in effect, That Jeruſalem ſhould be deſtroyed, and be expoſed in opprobry to all nations of the earth; and that alſo that famous temple of God ſhould be made deſolate, like unto Shiloh, becauſe the prieſts, the prophets, and the people, did not walk in the law which God had propoſed unto them, neither would they obey the voice of the prophets, whom God ſent to call them to repentance.

For this ſermon was Jeremiah apprehended, and a ſentence of death pronounced againſt him, and that by the prieſts, by the prophets, and by the people: which things being reported in the ears of the princes of Judah, they paſſed up to the king's houſe, to the temple of the Lord, and ſat down in judgment for further knowledge of the cauſe: but the prieſts and prophets continued in their cruel ſentence, which before they had pronounced, ſaying, 'This man is worthy of death, for he hath 'propheſied againſt this city, as your ears have 'heard.' But Jeremiah, ſo moved by the Holy Ghoſt, began his defence againſt that their tyrannous ſentence, in theſe words; 'The Lord (ſaith he) hath 'ſent me to propheſy againſt this houſe, and a-'gainſt this city, all the words which you have 'heard. Now therefore make good your ways, 'and hear the voice of the Lord your God, and 'then ſhall he repent of the evil which he hath 'ſpoken againſt you. And as for me, behold, I 'am in your hands (ſo doth he ſpeak to the prin-'ces), do to me as you think good and right: never-'theleſs, know you this moſt aſſuredly, that if ye

'murder or ſlay me, ye ſhall make yourſelves, this 'city, and the inhabitants of the ſame, criminal 'and guilty of innocent blood; for of a truth the 'Lord hath ſent me to ſpeak in your ears all theſe 'words.'

'Then the princes and the people (ſaith the 'text) ſaid, This man is not worthy of death, for 'he hath ſpoken to us in the name of the Lord our 'God.' And ſo, after ſome contention, was the prophet delivered from that danger. This fact and hiſtory manifeſtly proveth whatſoever before I have affirmed; *viz.* That it is lawful for the ſervants of God to call for the help of the civil magiſtrate, againſt the ſentence of death, if it be unjuſt, by whomſoever it is pronounced; and alſo, that the civil ſword hath power to repreſs the fury of the prieſts, and to abſolve whom they have condemned: for the prophet of God was condemned by thoſe, who then only in earth were known to be the viſible church; *viz.* the prieſts and prophets who were in Jeruſalem, the ſucceſſors of Aaron, to whom was given a charge to ſpeak to the people in the name of God, and a precept given to the people to hear the law from their mouths; to the which, if any ſhould be rebellious or inobedient, he ſhould die the death without mercy. Theſe men, I ſay, thus authorized by God, firſt did excommunicate Jeremiah, for that he did preach otherwiſe than did the common ſort of the prophets in Jeruſalem; and laſt, apprehended him, as you have heard, pronouncing againſt him this ſentence above written; from the which nevertheleſs the prophet appealed, that is, ſought help and defence againſt the ſame, and that moſt earneſtly did he crave of the princes: for albeit he ſaith, 'I am in your hands, do with 'me as ye think righteous,' he doth not contemn or neglect his life, as though he regarded not what ſhould become of him; but in thoſe his words moſt vehemently did he admoniſh the princes and rulers of the people, giving them to underſtand what God ſhould require of them; as if he ſhould ſay, Ye princes of Judah, and rulers of the people, to whom appertaineth indifferently to judge betwixt party and party, to juſtify the juſt man, and to condemn the malefactor, you have heard a ſentence of death pronounced againſt me, by thoſe whoſe lips ought not to ſpeak deceit, becauſe they are ſanctified and appointed by God himſelf, to ſpeak his law, and to pronounce judgment with equity; but as they have left the Living God, and have taught the people vanity, ſo are they become mortal enemies to all God's true ſervants, of whom I am one, rebuking their iniquity, apoſtacy, and defection from God, which is the only cauſe they ſeek my life. But a thing moſt contrary to all equity, law, and juſtice it is, that I, a man ſent of God, to call them his people, and you again to the true ſervice of God, from the which you are all declined, ſhall ſuffer the death, becauſe that my enemies do ſo pronounce ſentence. I ſtand in your preſence, whom God hath made princes; your power is above their tyranny; before you do I expoſe my cauſe; I am in your hands, and cannot reſiſt to ſuffer what ye think juſt: but leſt that my lenity and patience ſhould either make you negligent in the defence of me, in my juſt cauſe, appealing to your judgment, either yet encourage my enemies in ſeeking my blood, this one thing I dare not conceal, That if ye murder me (which thing ye do, if ye defend me not), ye make not only my enemies guilty of my blood, but alſo yourſelves, and this whole city.

By theſe words, I ſay, it is evident, that the prophet of God, being condemned by the prieſts, and by the prophets of the viſible church, did ſeek aid, ſupport, and defence, at the princes and temporal magiſtrates threatening his blood to be required at their hands, if they, by their authority, did not defend him from the fury of his enemies; alledging alſo juſt cauſes of his appellation, and why he ought to have been defended; *viz.* That he was ſent of God, to rebuke their vices and defection from God; that he taught no doctrine which God before had not pronounced in his law; that he deſired their converſion to God, continually calling upon them to walk in the ways which God had approved: and therefore doth he boldly crave of the princes, as of God's lieutenants, to be defended from the blind rage and tyranny of the prieſts, notwithſtanding that they claimed to themſelves authority to judge all matters of religion. And the ſame did he when he was caſt in priſon, and thereafter was brought to the preſence of king Zedekiah. After, I ſay, he had defended his innocence, affirming, That he neither had offended againſt the king, againſt his ſervants, nor againſt the people, at laſt he made interceſſion to the king for his life, ſaying, 'But now, my lord 'the king, take heed, I beſeech thee, let my 'prayer fall into thy preſence; command me not 'to be carried again into the houſe of Jonathan 'the ſcribe, that I die not there.'

And the text witneſſeth, That the king commanded the place of his impriſonment to be

changed. Whereof it is evident, that the prophet did oftener than once ſeek help at the civil power; and that firſt the princes, and thereafter the king, did acknowledge, That it appertained to their office to deliver him from the unjuſt ſentence which was pronounced againſt him. If any man think that Jeremiah did not appeal, becauſe he only declared the wrong done unto him, and did but crave defence according to his innocence; let the ſame man underſtand, that no otherwiſe do I appeal from that falſe and cruel ſentence, which your biſhops pronounced againſt me; neither yet can there be any juſt cauſe of appellation, but innocence hurt, or ſuſpected to be hurt, whether it be by ignorance of a judge, or by malice and corruption of thoſe, who, under the title of juſtice, do exerciſe tyranny. If I were a thief, murderer, blaſphemer, open adulterer, or any offender, whom God's word commandeth to ſuffer for a crime committed, my Appellation were vain, and to be rejected: but I, being innocent, yea, the doctrine which your biſhops have condemned in me being God's eternal verity, have no leſs liberty to crave your defence againſt that cruelty, than had the prophet Jeremiah to ſeek aid of the princes and kings of Judah.

But this ſhall more plainly appear in the fact of St. Paul, who, after that he was apprehended in Jeruſalem, did firſt claim the liberty of the Roman citizens, for avoiding torment, when the captain would have examined him by queſtions: thereafter in the council, where no righteous judgment was to be hoped for, he affirmed, that he was a Phariſee, and that he was accuſed of the reſurrection of the dead; and laſt, in the preſence of Feſtus, he appealed from all knowledge and judgment of the prieſts at Jeruſalem, to the emperor: of which laſt point, becauſe it doth chiefly appertain to this my cauſe, I will ſomewhat ſpeak.

After that Paul had divers times been accuſed, as in the Acts of the Apoſtles is manifeſt, at the laſt the chief prieſts, and their faction, came to Ceſarea, with Feſtus the preſident, who preſented unto them Paul in judgment, whom they accuſed of horrible crimes, which nevertheleſs they could not prove: the apoſtle maintaining, That he had offended neither againſt the law, neither againſt the temple, neither yet againſt the emperor.

'But Feſtus willing to gratify the Jews, ſaid to 'Paul, Wilt thou go up to Jeruſalem, and there 'be judged of theſe things in my preſence? But 'Paul ſaid, I ſtand at the juſtice-ſeat of the em-'peror, where it behoveth me to be judged; I 'have done no wrong to the Jews, as thou bet-'ter knoweſt: if I have done any thing unjuſtly, 'or yet committed any crime worthy of death, I 'refuſe not to die: but if there be nothing of 'theſe things true whereof they accuſe me, no 'man may give me to them: I appeal to Ceſar.' It may appear at the firſt ſight, that Paul did great injury to Feſtus the judge, and to the whole order of the prieſthood, who did hope greater equity in a cruel tyrant, than in all that ſeſſion, and learned company; which thing, no doubt, Feſtus did underſtand, pronouncing theſe words; 'Haſt thou appealed to Ceſar? Thou ſhalt go to 'Ceſar.' As if he would ſay, I, as a man willing to underſtand the truth, before I pronounce ſentence, have required of thee to go to Jeruſalem, where the learned of thine own nation may hear thy cauſe, and decern in the ſame. The controverſy ſtandeth in matters of religion: thou art accuſed as an apoſtate from the law, as a violator of the temple, and a tranſgreſſor of the traditions of their fathers, in which matters I am ignorant; and therefore deſire information by thoſe that be learned in the ſame religion, whereof the queſtion is: and doſt thou refuſe ſo many godly fathers to hear thy cauſe, and doſt appeal to the emperor, preferring him to all our judgments, of no purpoſe, belike, but to delay time? Thus, I ſay, it might have appeared that Paul did not only injury to the judge and to the prieſts, but alſo that the cauſe was greatly to be ſuſpected, partly for that he did refuſe the judgment of thoſe that had moſt knowledge (as all men ſuppoſed) of God's will and religion; and partly, becauſe he appealed to the emperor, who then was at Rome, far abſent from Jeruſalem, a man ignorant of God, and enemy to all virtue. But the apoſtle conſidering the nature of his enemies, and what things they had intended againſt him, even from the firſt day he began freely to ſpeak in the name of Chriſt, did not fear to appeal from them, and from the judge that would have gratified them. They had profeſſed themſelves plain enemies to Chriſt Jeſus, and to his bleſſed goſpel, and fought the death of Paul, yea, even by factions and treaſonable conſpiracy; and therefore by no means would he admit them either as judges in his cauſe, or auditors of the ſame, as Feſtus required: but grounding himſelf upon ſtrong reaſons, *viz.* That he had not offended the Jews, neither againſt the law, but that he was innocent; therefore that no judge ought to give him into the hands of his enemies; grounding, I ſay, his appellation upon

theſe reaſons, he neither regarded the diſpleaſure of Feſtus, neither yet the report of the ignorant multitude, but boldly did appeal from all cognoſcence of them, to the judgment of the emperor, as is ſaid.

By theſe two examples, I doubt not but your honours do underſtand, That it is lawful to the ſervants of God, oppreſſed by tyrants, to ſeek remedy againſt the ſame, be it by appellation from their ſentence, or by imploring the help of civil magiſtrates: for what God hath approved in Jeremiah and Paul, he can condemn in none that are ſo dealt withal. I might alledge ſome hiſtory of the primitive church, ſerving to the ſame purpoſe; as of Ambroſe and Athanaſius, of whom the one would not be judged but at Milan, where that his doctrine was heard of all his church, and received and approved by many; and the other would in no ways give place to thoſe councils, where he knew that men conſpiring againſt the truth of God, ſhould ſit in judgment and conſultation: but becauſe the Scriptures of God are my only foundation and aſſurance in all matters of weight and importance, I have thought the two former teſtimonies ſufficient, as well to approve my Appellation reaſonable and juſt, as to declare to your honours, that with ſafe conſcience ye cannot refuſe to admit the ſame.

If any think it arrogance or fooliſhneſs in me to compare myſelf with Jeremiah and Paul, let the ſame man underſtand, That as God is immutable, ſo is the verity of his glorious goſpel of equal dignity, whenſoever it is impugned, be the members ſuffering never ſo weak. What I think touching mine own perſon, God will reveal, when the ſecrets of all hearts ſhall be diſcloſed; and ſuch as with whom I have been converſant, can witneſs what arrogance or pride they eſpy in me: but touching the doctrine and cauſe, which that adulterous and peſtilent generation of Antichriſt's ſervants (who will be called Biſhops amongſt you) have condemned in me, I neither fear nor ſhame to confeſs and avow, before man and angel, to be the eternal truth of the Eternal God. And, in that caſe, I doubt not to compare myſelf with any member in whom the truth hath been impugned ſince the beginning: for as it was the truth which Jeremiah did preach in theſe words, 'The prieſts 'have not known me, ſaith the Lord, but the pa-'ſtors have treacherouſly declined and fallen back 'from me. The prophets have propheſied in Baal, 'and have gone after thoſe things which cannot 'help. My people have left the fountain of living 'water, and have digged themſelves pits, which 'can contain no water.'

As it was a truth, That the paſtors and watchmen, in the days of Iſaiah, were become dumb dogs, blind, ignorant, proud, and avaricious; and finally, as it was a truth, That the princes and the prieſts were murderers of Jeſus Chriſt, and cruel perſecutors of his apoſtles; ſo likewiſe it is a truth, and that moſt infallible, That thoſe who have condemned me (the whole rabble of the Papiſtical clergy) have declined from the true faith, have given ear to deceivable ſpirits, and to doctrine of devils, and are the ſtars fallen from the heaven to the earth, are fountains without water; and finally, are enemies to Jeſus Chriſt, deniers of his virtue, and horrible blaſphemers of his death and paſſion. And further, As that viſible church had no crime whereof juſtly they could accuſe either prophets, or the apoſtles, except their doctrine only; ſo have not ſuch as ſeek my blood other crime to lay to my charge, except that I affirm, as always I offer to prove, That the religion which now is maintained by fire and ſword, is no leſs contrarious to the true religion taught and eſtabliſhed by the apoſtles, than is darkneſs to light, or the devil to God; and alſo, That ſuch as now do claim the title and name of church, are no more the elect ſpouſe of Chriſt Jeſus, than was the ſynagogue of the Jews the true church of God, when it crucified Chriſt Jeſus, condemned his doctrine, and perſecuted his apoſtles. And therefore, ſeeing that my battle is againſt the proud and cruel hypocrites of this age, as that battle of thoſe moſt excellent inſtruments was againſt the falſe prophets and malignant church of their ages; neither ought any man to think it ſtrange that I compare myſelf with them, with whom I ſuſtain a common cauſe: neither ought your lordſhips to judge yourſelves leſs addebted and bound to me, calling for your ſupport, than did the princes of Judah think themſelves bound to Jeremiah, whom for that time they delivered, notwithſtanding the ſentence of death pronounced againſt him by the viſible church.

And thus much for the right of my Appellation, which, in the bowels of Chriſt Jeſus, I require your honours not to eſteem as a thing ſuperfluous and vain, but that ye admit it, and alſo accept me in your protection and defence, that, by you aſſured, I may have acceſs to my native country, which I never offended; to the end that freely and openly, in the preſence of the whole realm, I may give my confeſſion of all ſuch points as this day be in controverſy; and alſo, that you, by

your authority which ye have of God, compel ſuch as of long time have blinded and deceived both yourſelves and the people, to anſwer to ſuch things as ſhall be laid to their charge.

But leſt that ſome doubt remain, that I require more of you than you of conſcience are bound to grant; in few words, I hope my petition to be ſuch as without God's heavy diſpleaſure ye cannot deny. My petition is, That ye, whom God hath appointed heads in your commonwealth, with ſingle eye do ſtudy to promote the glory of God, to provide that your ſubjects be rightly inſtructed in his true religion; that they be defended from all oppreſſion and tyranny; that true preachers may be maintained, and ſuch as blind and deceive the people, together alſo with all idle bellies, which do rob and oppreſs the flock, may be removed and puniſhed, as God's law preſcribeth. And to the performance of every one of theſe, do your offices and names, the honours and benefits which ye receive, the law of God univerſally given to all men, and the examples of moſt godly princes, bind and oblige you.

My purpoſe is not to labour greatly to prove, that your whole ſtudy ought to be to promote the glory of God; neither yet will I ſtudy to alledge all reaſons that juſtly may be brought to prove, that ye are not exalted to reign above your brethren, as men without care and ſolicitude; for theſe are principles ſo grafted in nature, that very Ethnics have confeſſed the ſame: for ſeeing that God only hath placed you in his chair, hath appointed you to be his lieutenants, and by his own ſeal hath marked you to be magiſtrates, and to rule above your brethren, to whom nature nevertheleſs hath made you like in all points (for in conception, birth, life, and death, ye differ nothing from the common ſort of men; but God only, as is ſaid, hath promoted you, and of his ſpecial favour hath given you this prerogative, to be called Gods). How horrible ingratitude were it then, that you ſhould be found unfaithful to him, that hath thus honoured you! And further, What a monſter were it, that you ſhould be proved unmerciful to them above whom ye are appointed to reign, as fathers above their children? Becauſe, I ſay, that the very Ethnics have granted, that the chief and firſt care of princes, and of ſuch as are appointed to rule above others, ought to be, to promote the glory and honour of their gods, and to maintain that religion which they ſuppoſed to have been true; and that their ſecond care was, to maintain and defend the ſubjects committed to their charge in all equity and juſtice: I will not labour to ſhew unto you what ought to be your ſtudy in maintaining God's true honour, leſt that, in ſo doing, I ſhould ſeem to make you leſs careful to God's true religion than were the Ethnics over their idolatry.

But becauſe other petitions may appear more hard and difficult to be granted, I purpoſe briefly, but yet freely, to ſpeak what God by his word doth aſſure me to be true; *viz. Firſt*, That in conſcience you are bound to puniſh malefactors, and to defend innocents imploring your help. *Secondly*, That God requireth of you, to provide that your ſubjects be rightly inſtructed in his true religion; and that the ſame be by you reformed, whenſoever abuſes do creep in by the malice of Satan, and negligence of men. And *laſtly*, That ye are bound to remove from honour, and to puniſh with death, if the crime ſo require, ſuch as deceive the people, or defraud them of that food of their ſouls, I mean, God's lively word. The firſt and ſecond are moſt plain by the words of St. Paul, thus ſpeaking of lawful powers:

'Let every ſoul, ſaith he, ſubmit himſelf unto 'the higher powers; for there is no power but of 'God: whoſoever reſiſteth therefore the power, 'reſiſteth the ordinance of God; and they that 'reſiſt, ſhall receive to themſelves damnation: for 'rulers are not to be feared of thoſe that do well, 'but thoſe that do evil. Wilt thou then be without fear of the power? Do that which is good, 'and ſo ſhalt thou be praiſed of the ſame; for he 'is the miniſter of God for thy well: but if thou 'do that which is evil, fear; for he beareth not 'the ſword for nought; for he is the miniſter of 'God, to take vengeance on them that do evil.'

As the apoſtle in theſe words moſt ſtrictly commandeth obedience to be given to lawful powers, pronouncing God's wrath and vengeance againſt ſuch as ſhall reſiſt the ordinance of God; ſo doth he aſſign to the powers their offices, which are, to take vengeance upon evil doers, to maintain the well doers, and ſo to miniſter and rule in their office, that the ſubjects by them may have a benefit, and be praiſed in well-doing. Now, if ye be powers ordained by God (and that I hope all men will grant), then, by the plain words of the apoſtle, is the ſword given unto you by God, for maintenance of the innocent, and for puniſhment of malefactors: but I, and my brethren with me accuſed, do offer not only to prove ourſelves innocents in all things laid to our charge, but alſo we offer moſt evidently to prove your biſhops to be the very peſtilence, who have infected all Chriſtianity: and therefore by the

plain doctrine of the apoſtle, you are bound to maintain us, and puniſh the other, being evidently convicted, and proved criminal.

Moreover, the former words of the apoſtle do teach, how far high powers are bound to their ſubjects; *viz.* that becauſe they are God's miniſters, by him ordained for the profit and utility of others, moſt diligently ought they to attend upon the ſame: for that cauſe aſſigneth the Holy Ghoſt, commanding ſubjects to obey, and to pay tribute, ſaying, 'For this do ye pay tribute and toll;' that is, becauſe they are God's miniſters, bearing the ſword for your utility. Wherefore it is plain, that there is no honour without a charge annexed. And this one point I wiſh your wiſdoms deeply to conſider, That God hath not placed you above your brethren, to reign as tyrants, without reſpect of either profit or commodity. You hear the Holy Ghoſt witneſs the contrary, affirming, That all powers are God's miniſters, ordained for the well, profit, and ſalvation of their ſubjects, and not for their deſtruction.

Could it be ſaid, I beſeech you, That magiſtrates incloſing their ſubjects in a city without all victuals, or giving unto them no other victuals but ſuch as were poiſoned, did rule for the profit of their ſubjects? I truſt that none will be ſo fooliſh as ſo to affirm; but that rather every diſcreet perſon would boldly affirm, That ſuch as ſo did, were unworthy of government. If we will not deny that which Chriſt Jeſus affirmeth to be a truth infallible, *viz.* That the ſoul is greater and more precious than is the body, then ſhall we eaſily eſpy how unworthy of authority are thoſe that this day debar their ſubjects from hearing of God's word, and by fire and ſword compel them to feed upon the very poiſon of their ſouls, the damnable doctrine of Antichriſt. And therefore in this point, I ſay, I cannot ceaſe to admoniſh your honours diligently to take heed over your charge, which is greater than the moſt part of men ſuppoſe.

It is not enough that you abſtain from violent wrong and oppreſſion, which ungodly men exerciſe againſt their ſubjects, but ye are further bound, *viz.* That ye rule above them for their well, which ye cannot do, if that ye either by negligence, not providing true paſtors, or yet by your maintenance of ſuch as are ravening wolves, ſuffer their ſouls to ſtarve and periſh for lack of the true food, which is Chriſt's goſpel ſincerely preached. It will not excuſe you in his preſence, who will require account of every talent committed to your charge, to ſay, That ye ſuppoſed that the charge of the ſouls had been committed to your biſhops: no, no, my lords, ſo ye cannot eſcape God's judgment; for if your biſhops are proved to be no biſhops, but deceivable thieves, and ravening wolves (which I offer myſelf to prove by God's word, by law, and councils; yea, by the judgment of all the godly learned, from the primitive church to this day), then ſhall your permiſſion and defence be reputed before God a participation with their theft and murder: for thus accuſed the prophet Iſaiah the princes of Jeruſalem: 'Thy princes (ſaith he) 'are apoſtates (that is, obſtinate refuſers of God), 'and they are companions of thieves.' This grievous accuſation was laid againſt them, albeit that they ruled in that city, which ſometime was called Holy, where then were the temple, rites, and ordinances of God; becauſe that not only they were wicked themſelves, but chiefly becauſe they maintained wicked men, their prieſts and falſe prophets, in honours and authority: if they did not eſcape this accuſation of the Holy Ghoſt in that age, look ye neither to eſcape the accuſation nor the judgment of wicked men; *viz.* That the one and the other ſhall drink the cup of God's wrath and vengeance together. And leſt ye ſhould deceive yourſelves, eſteeming your biſhops to be virtuous and godly, this do I affirm, and offer myſelf to prove the ſame, That more wicked men than are the whole rabble of your clergy, were never from the beginning univerſally known in any age; yea, Sodom and Gomorrah may be juſtified in reſpect of them, for they permitted juſt Lot to dwell amongſt them, without any violence done to his body, which that peſtilent generation of your ſhaven ſort doth not, but moſt cruelly perſecute, by fire and ſword, the true members of Chriſt's body, for no other cauſe, but for the true ſervice and honouring of God.

And therefore I fear not to affirm that, which God will one day juſtify, That by your offices ye are bound, not only to repreſs their tyranny, but alſo to puniſh them as thieves and murderers, as idolaters and blaſphemers of God; and in their rooms ye are bound to place true preachers of Chriſt's goſpel, for the inſtruction, comfort, and ſalvation of your ſubjects, above whom elſe ſhall never the Holy Ghoſt acknowledge, That you rule in juſtice for their profit. If ye pretend to poſſeſs the kingdom with Chriſt Jeſus, ye may not take example neither by the ignorant multitude of princes, neither by the ungodly and cruel rulers of the earth, of whom ſome paſs their time in ſloth, inſolence, and riot, without reſpect had to God's ho-

nour, or to the ſalvation of their brethren; and others moſt cruelly oppreſs, with proud Nimrod, ſuch as are ſubject to them: but your pattern and example muſt be the practice of thoſe whom God hath approved by the teſtimony of his word, as after ſhall be declared.

Of the premiſes it is evident, That to lawful powers is given the ſword, for puniſhment of malefactors, for maintenance of innocents, and for the profit and utility of their ſubjects. Now, let us conſider, Whether the reformation of religion fallen in decay, and puniſhment of falſe teachers, do appertain to the civil magiſtrate and nobility of any realm. I am not ignorant, that Satan of old time, for maintenance of his darkneſs, hath obtained of the blind world two chief points: the former, he hath perſuaded to princes, rulers, and magiſtrates, That the feeding of Chriſt's flock appertaineth nothing to their charge, but that it is rejected upon the biſhops, and ſtate eccleſiaſtical: And *ſecondly*, That the reformation of religion, be it never ſo corrupt, and the puniſhment of ſuch as be ſworn ſoldiers in their kingdom, are exempted from all civil power, and are reſerved to themſelves, and to their cognizance. But that no offender may juſtly be exempted from puniſhment, and that the ordering and reformation of religion, with the inſtruction of ſubjects, doth eſpecially appertain to the civil magiſtrate, ſhall God's perfect ordinance, his plain word, and the facts and examples of thoſe that of God are highly praiſed, moſt evidently declare.

When God did eſtabliſh his law, ſtatutes, and ceremonies, in the midſt of Iſrael, he did not exempt the matters of religion from the power of Moſes; but as he gave him charge over the civil policy, ſo he put in his mouth and his hand; that is, he firſt revealed to him, and thereafter commanded to put in practice, whatſoever was to be taught or done in matters of religion. Nothing did God reveal particularly to Aaron, but altogether was he commanded to depend from the mouth of Moſes; yea, nothing was he permitted to do to himſelf, or to his children, either in his or their inauguration and ſanctification to the prieſthood, but all was committed to the care of Moſes: and therefore were theſe words ſo frequently repeated to Moſes, 'Thou ſhalt ſeparate Aaron and his ſons 'from the midſt of the people of Iſrael, that they 'may execute the office of the prieſthood: thou 'ſhalt make unto them garments, thou ſhalt anoint 'them, thou ſhalt waſh them, thou ſhalt fill their 'hands with ſacrifice:' and ſo forth of every rite and ceremony, that was to be done unto them, eſpecial commandment was given unto Moſes, that he ſhould do it.

Now, if Aaron and his ſons were ſo ſubject to Moſes, that they did nothing but at his commandment, Who dare be ſo bold as to affirm, That the civil magiſtrate hath nothing to do in matters of religion? For ſeeing that then God did ſo ſtrictly require, That even thoſe, who did bear the figure of Chriſt, ſhould receive from the civil power, as it were, their ſanctification, and entrance into their office; and ſeeing alſo that Moſes was ſo far preferred to Aaron, that the one commanded, and the other did obey; Who dare eſteem that the civil power is now become ſo profane in God's eyes, that it is ſequeſtered from all intromiſſion with the matters of religion? The Holy Ghoſt, in divers places, declareth the contrary. For one of the chief precepts commanded to the king, when that he ſhould be placed in his throne, was to write the example of the book of the Lord's law, that it ſhould be with him, that he might read in it all the days of his life, that he might learn to fear the Lord his God, and to keep all the words of his law and his ſtatutes to do them. This precept requireth not only that the king ſhould himſelf fear God, keep his law and ſtatutes; but that alſo he, as the chief ruler, ſhould provide that God's true religion ſhould be kept inviolated of the people and flock, which by God was committed to his charge.

And this did not only David and Solomon perfectly underſtand, but alſo ſome godly kings in Judah, after the apoſtacy and idolatry that infected Iſrael by the means of Jeroboam, did employ their underſtanding, and execute their power, in ſome notable reformations: for Aſa and Jehoſhaphat, kings in Judah, finding the religion altogether corrupt, did apply their hearts, ſaith the Holy Ghoſt, to ſerve the Lord, and to walk in his ways: and thereafter did witneſs, that Aſa removed from honours his mother, ſome ſay grandmother, becauſe ſhe had committed, and laboured to maintain idolatry. And Jehoſhaphat did not only refuſe ſtrange gods himſelf, but alſo, deſtroying the chief monuments of idolatry, did ſend forth the Levites to inſtruct the people. Whereof it is plain, That the one and the other did underſtand ſuch reformations to appertain to their duties. But the facts of Hezekiah, and of Joſiah, do more clearly prove the power and duty of the civil magiſtrate in reformation of religion: before the reign of Hezekiah religion was ſo corrupt, that the doors of the

houſe of the Lord were ſhut up, the lamps were extinguiſhed, no ſacrifice was orderly made; but in the firſt year of his reign, in the firſt month of the ſame, did the king open the doors of the temple, bring in the prieſts and Levites, and aſſembling them together, did ſpeak unto them as followeth: 'Hear me, O ye Levites! and be ye ſanc-'tified now, and ſanctify alſo the houſe of the 'Lord God of your fathers, and carry forth all 'filthineſs (he meaneth, all monuments and veſſels 'of idolatry), for our fathers have tranſgreſſed, and 'have committed wickedneſs in the eyes of the 'Eternal our God: they have left him, and turn-'ed their faces from the tabernacle of the Lord; 'and therefore is the wrath of the Lord come upon 'Judah and Jeruſalem: behold, our fathers have 'fallen by the ſword, our ſons, daughters, and 'wives, are led into captivity; but now have I 'purpoſed in my heart to make a covenant with 'the Lord God of Iſrael, that he may turn the wrath 'of his fury from us. And therefore, my ſons (he 'ſweetly exhorteth), be not faint, for the Lord hath 'choſen you to ſtand in his preſence, and to ſerve 'him.'

Such as are no more than blind, clearly may perceive that the king doth acknowledge, That it appertained to his charge, to reform the religion, to appoint the Levites to their charges, and to admoniſh them of their duty and office: which thing he moſt evidently declareth, writing his letters to all Iſrael, to Ephraim and Manaſſeh, and ſent the ſame by the hands of meſſengers, having this tenor:

'Ye ſons of Iſrael, return to the Lord God of 'Abraham, Iſaac, and Iſrael, and he ſhall return 'to the reſidue that reſteth from the hands of 'Aſhur: be not as your fathers and as your bre-'thren were, who have tranſgreſſed againſt the 'Lord God of their fathers, who hath made them 'deſolate, as you ſee. Hold not your heart there-'fore, but give your hand unto the Lord, return 'unto his ſanctuary, ſerve him, and he ſhall ſhew 'mercy unto you, to your ſons and daughters that 'are in bondage; for he is pitiful, and eaſy to be 'entreated.'

Thus far did Hezekiah, by letters and meſſengers, urge the people, declined from God, to repentance; not only in Judah, where he reigned lawful king, but alſo in Iſrael, ſubject then to another king: and albeit that by ſome wicked men his meſſengers were mocked, yet as they lacked not their juſt puniſhment (for within ſix years after Samaria was deſtroyed, and Iſrael led captive by Shalmaneſer), ſo did not the zealous king Hezekiah deſiſt to proſecute his duty, in reſtoring the religion to God's perfect ordinance, removing all abominations.

The ſame is to be read of Joſiah, who did not only reſtore the religion, but did further deſtroy all monuments of idolatry, which of long time had remained: for it is written of him, That after that the book of the law was found, and that he aſked counſel at the propheteſs Huldah, he ſent and gathered all the elders of Judah and Jeruſalem, and ſtanding in the temple of the Lord, he made a covenant, That all the people, from the great to the ſmall, ſhould walk after the Lord, ſhould obſerve his law, ſtatutes, and teſtimonies, with all their heart, and with all their ſoul; and that they ſhould ratify and confirm whatſoever was written in the book of God. He further commanded Hilkiah the high prieſt, and the prieſts of the inferior order, that they ſhould carry forth of the temple of the Lord all the veſſels that were made to Baal, which he burnt, and did carry their powder to Bethel. He did further deſtroy all monuments of idolatry, yea, even thoſe that had remained from the days of Solomon; he did burn them, ſtamp them to powder, whereof one part he ſcattered in the brook Kidron, and the other part upon the ſepulchres and graves of the idolaters, whoſe bones he did burn upon the altars, where before they made ſacrifice, not only in Judah, but alſo in Bethel, where Jeroboam had erected his idolatry: yea, he further proceeded, and did kill the prieſts of the high places, who were idolaters, and had deceived the people; he did kill them, I ſay, and burnt their bones upon their own altars, and ſo returned to Jeruſalem. This reformation made Joſiah, and for the ſame obtained this teſtimony of the Holy Ghoſt, That neither before him nor after him was there any ſuch king, who returned to God with his whole ſoul, and with all his ſtrength, according to all the law of Moſes.

Of which hiſtories it is evident, That the reformation of religion in all points, together with the puniſhment of falſe teachers, doth appertain to the power of the civil magiſtrate: for what God required of them, his juſtice muſt require of others having the like charge and authority; what he did approve in them, he cannot but approve in all others, who with like zeal and ſincerity do enterpriſe to purge the Lord's temple and ſanctuary. What God required of them, it is before declared, *viz.* that moſt diligently they ſhould obſerve his law, ſtatutes, and ceremonies. And how accept-

able were their facts to God, doth he himself witness; for to some he gave most notable victories, without the hand of man; and, in their most desperate dangers, did declare his especial favour towards them, by signs supernatural: to others he so established the kingdom, that their enemies were compelled to stoop under their feet. And the names of all he hath registered, not only in the book of life, but also in the blessed remembrance of all posterities since their days, which also shall continue till the coming of the Lord Jesus, who shall reward with the crown of immortality, not only them, but also such as unfeignedly study to do the will, and to promote the glory of his heavenly Father, in the midst of this corrupted generation.

In consideration whereof, ought you, my lords, all delay set apart, to provide for the reformation of religion in your dominions and bounds, which now is so corrupt, that no part of Christ's institution remaineth in the original purity; and therefore of necessity it is, that speedily ye provide for reformation, or else ye declare yourselves not only void of love towards your subjects, but also to live without care of your own salvation, yea, without all fear and true reverence of God.

Two things perchance may move you to esteem these histories, before briefly touched, to appertain nothing to you; *first*, Because you are no Jews, but Gentiles; and *secondly*, Because you are no kings, but nobles in your realm.

But be not deceived; for neither of both can excuse you in God's presence from doing your duty: for it is a thing more than certain, that whatsoever God required of the civil magistrate in Israel or Judah, concerning the observation of true religion, during the time of the law, the same doth he require of lawful magistrates professing Christ Jesus in the time of the gospel, as the Holy Ghost hath taught us by the mouth of David (Psalm ii.), saying, 'Be learned, you that judge the earth: 'kiss the Son, lest that the Lord wax angry, and 'that ye perish away.' This admonition doth not extend to the judges under the law only, but doth also include all such as are promoted to honours in the time of the gospel; when Christ Jesus doth reign and fight in his spiritual kingdom, whose enemies, in that psalm, are first most sharply taxed, their fury expressed, and vanity mocked; and then are kings and judges, who think themselves free from all law and obedience, commanded to repent of their former blind rage; and judges are charged to be learned; and lastly, are commanded to serve the Eternal God in fear, to rejoice before him in trembling, to kiss the Son, that is, to give him most humble obedience: wherefore it is evident, that the rulers, magistrates, and judges, now in Christ's kingdom, are no less bound to obedience unto God, than were those under the law; And how is it possible that any should be obedient, who despiseth his religion, in which standeth the chief glory that man can give to God, and is a service which God especially requireth of kings and rulers?

Which thing St. Augustine plainly did note, writing to one Bonifacius a man of war, according to the same argument and purpose which I labour to persuade your honours: for after that he hath, in that his epistle, declared the difference betwixt the heresy of the Donatists and Arians, and hath somewhat spoken of their cruelty, he sheweth the way how their fury should and ought to be repressed, and that it is lawful for the unjustly afflicted, to seek support and defence at godly magistrates; for thus he writeth, 'Either must the verity be kept 'close, or else must their cruelty be sustained.' But if the verity should be concealed, not only should none be saved, but also should many be lost through their deceit: but if by preaching of the verity their fury should be provoked more to rage, and by that means yet some were delivered, and made strong; yet should fear hinder many weaklings to follow the verity, if their rage be not staid.

In these first words, Augustine sheweth three reasons why the afflicted church, in those days, called for the help of the emperor, and of godly magistrates, against the fury of the persecutors. The *first*, The verity must be spoken, or else mankind shall perish in error. The *second*, The verity being plainly spoken, provoketh the adversaries to rage. And because that some did alledge, that rather we ought to suffer all injury, than to seek support by man, he addeth the third reason, *viz.* That many weak ones are not able to suffer persecution and death for the truth's sake, to whom not the less respect ought to be had, that they may be won from their error, and so be brought to greater strength.

Oh that the rulers of this age would ponder and weigh the reasons of this godly writer, and provide the remedy which he requireth, in these words following! 'Now, when the church was 'thus afflicted, if any think, that rather they 'should have sustained all calamity, than that help 'should have been asked of Christian emperors by 'the godly, he doth not well advert, that of such 'negligence no good counts nor reason could be

'given: for where such as would that no just laws 'should be made against their impiety, alledged, 'that the apostles sought no such things of the 'kings of the earth, they do not consider that the 'time was otherwise than it is now, and that all 'things are done in their own time. What em-'peror then believed in Christ, that he should 'serve him in making laws for godliness against 'impiety? While that saying of the prophet was 'complete,' "Why have the nations raged, and "people have imagined vanity? The kings of the "earth stood up, and princes have convened to-"gether against the Lord, and against his anoint-"ed;" 'that which is after in the same psalm, 'was not yet come to pass,' "And now under-"stand, O ye kings! be learned, you that judge "the earth, serve the Lord in fear, and rejoice "to him with trembling." 'How do kings serve 'the Lord in fear, but in punishing, and by a 'godly severity forbidding those things which are 'done against the commandment of the Lord? 'For otherwise doth he serve the Lord in so far 'as he is man, otherwise in so far as he is king. 'In so far as he is a man, he serveth him by living 'faithfully; but because he is also king, he serv-'eth, establishing laws, that command the things 'that be just, and that with a convenient rigour 'forbid things contrary. As Hezekiah served, 'destroying the groves, the temples of idols, and 'the places which were builded against God's com-'mandment; so served also Josiah, doing the same; 'so the king of the Ninevites, compelling the 'whole city to mitigate the fury of the Lord; 'so served Darius, giving into the power of Da-'niel the idol to be broken, and his enemies to 'be cast to the lions; so served Nebuchadnezzar, 'by a terrible law, forbidding all that were in his 'realm to blaspheme God. Herein therefore do 'kings serve the Lord, in so far as they are kings, 'when they do these things to serve him, which 'none except kings are able to do.' He further proceedeth and concludeth, 'That as when wic-'ked kings do reign, impiety cannot be bridled by 'laws, but rather is tyranny exercised under the 'title of the same; so is it a thing without all 'reason, that kings, professing the knowledge and 'honour of God, should not regard nor care who 'did defend, nor who did oppugn, the kirk of God 'in their dominions.'

By these words of this ancient and godly writer, your honours may perceive what I require of you, *viz.* To repress the tyranny of your bishops, and to defend the innocents professing the truth. He did require of the emperor and kings in his days professing Christ, and manifestly concludeth, 'That they cannot serve Christ, except that so 'they do.' Let not your bishops think that Augustine speaketh for them, because he nameth the kirk: let them read and understand, that Augus-tine writeth for that church which professeth the truth, and doth suffer persecution for the defence of the same, which your bishops do not; but ra-ther, with the Donatists and Arians, do cruelly per-secute all such as boldly speak Christ's eternal ve-rity, to manifest their impiety and abomination. But this much we have of Augustine, That it ap-pertaineth to the obedience and service which kings owe to God, as well now in the time of the go-spel, as before under the law, to defend the afflict-ed for matters of religion, and to repress the fury of the persecutors by the rigour and severity of godly laws. For which cause, no doubt, Isaiah the prophet saith, That kings should be nourishers of the church of God, that they should abase their heads, and lovingly embrace the children of God. And thus, I say, your honours may evidently see, that the same obedience doth God require of rulers and princes in the time of the gospel, that he re-quired in the time of the law.

If you do think that the reformation of religion, and defence of the afflicted, doth not appertain to you, because you are no kings, but nobles and states of a realm; in two things you are deceived: *first*, In that you do not advert, That David requireth as well that the princes and judges of the earth be learned, and that they serve and fear God, as that he requireth that kings repent: if you therefore be judges and princes, as no man can deny you to be, then, by the plain words of David, you are charged to be learned, to serve and fear God; which ye cannot do, if ye despise the reformation of his re-ligion. And this is your first error.

The *second* is, That ye neither know your duty which ye owe to God, neither yet your authority which of him ye have received, if ye, for pleasure or fear of any earthly man, despise God's true re-ligion, and contemn your brethren that in his name call for your support. Your duty is to hear the voice of the Eternal, your God, and un-feignedly to study to follow his precepts; who, as is before said, of special mercy hath promoted you to honours and dignity. His chief and prin-cipal precept is, That with reverence ye receive and embrace his only beloved Son Jesus; that ye promote to the uttermost of your powers his true religion; and that ye defend your brethren and

ſubjects, whom he hath put under your charge and care. Now, if your king be a man ignorant of God, enemy to his true religion, blinded by ſuperſtition, and a perſecutor of Chriſt's members, ſhall ye be excuſed, if with ſilence ye paſs over his iniquity? Be not deceived, my lords, ye are placed in authority for another purpoſe than to flatter your king in his folly and blind rage, *viz.* that as with your bodies, ſtrength, riches, and wiſdom, ye are bound to aſſiſt and defend him in all things which by your advice he ſhall take in hand for God's glory, and for the preſervation of his commonwealth and ſubjects; ſo by your authorities, counſel, and admonition, ye are bound to correct and repreſs whatſoever ye know him to attempt expreſsly repugning to God's word, honour, and glory, or what ye ſhall eſpy him to do, be it by ignorance, or be it by malice, againſt his ſubjects, great or ſmall: of which laſt part of your obedience, if you defraud your king, ye commit againſt him no leſs treaſon, than if ye did extract from him your due and promiſed ſupport, when by his enemies unjuſtly he were purſued.

But this part of their duty, I fear, do a ſmall number of the nobility of this age rightly conſider; neither yet will they underſtand that for that purpoſe hath God promoted them: for now the common ſong of all men is, 'We muſt obey our kings, 'be they good or bad, for God hath commanded 'it.' But horrible ſhall the vengeance be, that ſhall be poured forth upon ſuch blaſphemers of God's holy name and ordinance; for it is no leſs blaſphemy to ſay, That God hath commanded kings to be obeyed, when they command impiety, than to ſay, That God, by his precept, is author and maintainer of all iniquity. True it is, God hath commanded kings to be obeyed; but like true it is, that in things which they commit againſt his glory, or when cruelly, without cauſe, they rage againſt their brethren the members of Chriſt's body, he hath commanded no obedience, but rather he hath approved, yea, and greatly rewarded ſuch as have oppoſed themſelves to their ungodly commandments and blind rage, as in the examples of the three children, of Daniel, and Ebed-melech, it is evident.

The three children would neither bow nor ſtoop before the golden image, at the commandment of the great king Nebuchadnezzar; Daniel did openly pray, his windows being open, againſt the eſtabliſhed law of Darius and of his council; and Ebed-melech feared not to enter in before the preſence of Zedekiah, and boldly to defend the cauſe and innocence of Jeremiah the prophet, whom the king and his council had condemned to death. Every one of theſe facts ſhould this day be judged fooliſh, by ſuch as will not underſtand what God doth require of his children, when his verity is oppugned, or his glory called in doubt; ſuch men, I ſay, as prefer man to God, and things preſent, to the heavenly inheritance, ſhould have judged every one of theſe ſtubborn diſobedience, fooliſh preſumption and ſingularity, or elſe bold controlling of the king and his wiſe council.

But how acceptable in God's preſence was this reſiſtance to the ungodly commandments and determinations of their king, the end did witneſs; for the three children were delivered from the furnace of fire, and Daniel from the den of lions, to the confuſion of their enemies, to the better inſtruction of the ignorant kings, and to the perpetual comfort of God's afflicted children. And Ebed-melech, in the day of the Lord's viſitation, when the king and his council did drink the bitter cup of God's vengeance, did find his life for a prey, and did not fall by the edge of the ſword, when many thouſands did periſh: and this was ſignified unto him by the prophet himſelf, at the commandment of God, before that Jeruſalem was deſtroyed. This promiſe and cauſe were recited unto him, in theſe words; 'I will bring my words upon 'this city unto evil, and not unto good; but moſt 'aſſuredly I ſhall deliver thee, becauſe thou haſt 'truſted in me, ſaith the Lord.'

The truſt and hope which Ebed-melech had in God, made him bold to oppoſe himſelf, being but one, to the king and to his whole council, who had condemned to death the prophet, whom his conſcience did acknowledge to be innocent: for thus did he ſpeak in preſence of the king, ſitting in the port of Benjamin; 'My lord the king,' ſaith Ebed-melech, 'theſe men do wickedly in all 'things that they have done to Jeremiah the pro-'phet.'

Advert and take heed, my lords, that the men who had condemned the prophet, were the king, his princes, and council; and yet did one man accuſe them all of iniquity, and did boldly ſpeak in the defence of him, of whoſe innocence he was perſuaded: and the ſame, I ſay, is the duty of every man in his vocation, but chiefly of the nobility, which are joined with their kings, to bridle and repreſs their folly and blind rage: which thing if the nobility do not, neither yet labour to do, as they are traitors to their kings, ſo do they provoke the wrath of God againſt themſelves, and

againſt the realm; in which they abuſe the authority which they have received of God, to maintain virtue, and to ſuppreſs vice. And hereof I would your honours were moſt certainly perſuaded, that God will neither excuſe nobility nor people, but the nobility leaſt of all, that obey and follow their kings in manifeſt iniquity; but with the ſame vengeance will God puniſh the prince, people, and nobility, conſpiring together againſt him and his holy ordinances, as in the puniſhment upon Pharaoh, Iſrael, Judah, and Babylon, is evidently to be ſeen; for Pharaoh was not drowned alone, but his captains, chariots, and great army, drank the ſame cup with him. The kings of Iſrael and Judah were not puniſhed without company, but with them were murdered the counſellors, their princes impriſoned, and their people led captive: And why? Becauſe none was found ſo faithful to God, that he durſt enterpriſe to reſiſt, nor gainſtand the manifeſt impiety of their princes. And therefore was God's wrath poured forth upon the one and the other.

But the more ample diſcourſe of this argument I defer to better opportunity; only at this time I thought expedient to admoniſh you, That, before God, it ſhall not excuſe you to alledge, We are no kings, and therefore neither can we reform religion, nor yet defend ſuch as are perſecuted. Conſider, my lords, That ye are powers ordained of God (as before is declared), and therefore doth the reformation of religion, and the defence of ſuch as unjuſtly are oppreſſed, appertain to your charge and care; which thing ſhall the law of God (univerſally given to be kept of all men) moſt evidently declare; which is my laſt and moſt aſſured reaſon, why, I ſay, ye ought to remove from your honours, and to puniſh with death, ſuch as God hath condemned by his own mouth.

After that Moſes had declared what was true religion, *viz.* To honour God as he commanded, adding nothing to his word, neither yet diminiſhing any thing from it; and after alſo that vehemently he had exhorted the ſame law to be obſerved, he denounced the puniſhment againſt the tranſgreſſors, in theſe words; 'If thy brother, ſon, 'daughter, wife, or neighbour, whom thou loveſt 'as thine own life, ſolicit thee ſecretly, ſaying, 'Let us go ſerve other gods, whom neither thou 'nor thy fathers have known, conſent not to him, 'hear him not, let not thine eye ſpare him, ſhew 'him no indulgence or favour, hide him not, but 'utterly kill him; let thy hand be the firſt up'on him, that he may be ſlain, and after, the hand 'of the whole people.' Of theſe words of Moſes are two things appertaining to our purpoſe to be noted; the *firſt* is, That ſuch as ſolicit only to idolatry, ought to be puniſhed to death, without favour or reſpect of perſon: for he that will not ſuffer man to ſpare his ſon, his daughter, nor his wife, but ſtrictly commandeth puniſhment to be taken upon the idolatrous (have they never ſo nigh conjunction with us), will not wink at the idolatry of others, of what ſtate or condition ſoever they be.

It is not unknown, that the prophets had revelations of God, which were not common to the people; as Samuel had the revelation, that Eli and his poſterity ſhould be deſtroyed; that Saul ſhould firſt be king, and thereafter that he ſhould be rejected; that David ſhould reign for him: Micaiah underſtood by viſion, that Ahab ſhould be killed in the battle againſt the Syrians: Elijah ſaw that dogs ſhould eat Jezebel in the forts of Jezreel: Eliſha did ſee hunger come upon Iſrael, for the ſpace of ſeven years: Jeremiah did forſee the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and the time of their captivity. And ſo divers other prophets had divers revelations of God, which the people did not otherwiſe underſtand, but by their affirmation; and therefore, in thoſe days, were the prophets named Seers, becauſe that God did open unto them that which was hid from the multitude. Now, if any man might have claimed any privilege from the rigour of the law, or might have juſtified his fact, it ſhould have been the prophet: for he might have alledged for himſelf his ſingle prerogative, that he had above other men, to have God's will revealed unto him by viſion or by dream; or that God had declared particularly unto him, that his pleaſure was, to be honoured in that manner, in ſuch a place, and by ſuch means. But all ſuch excuſes doth God remove, commanding, That the prophet that ſhall ſolicit the people to ſerve ſtrange gods ſhall die the death, notwithſtanding that he alledge for himſelf dream, viſion, or revelation; yea, although he promiſe miracles; and although that ſuch things as he promiſed ſhould come to paſs; yet, I ſay, commandeth God that no credit be given to him, but that he die the death, becauſe he teacheth apoſtacy and defection from God.

Hereby your honours may eaſily ſee, That none provoking the people to idolatry ought to be exempted from the puniſhment of death: for if neither that inſeparable conjunction, which God himſelf hath ſanctified betwixt man and wife, neither that unſpeakable love grafted in nature, which

is betwixt the father and the ſon, neither yet that reverence which God's people ought to bear to the prophets, can excuſe any man to ſpare the offender, or to conceal his offence; What excuſe can man pretend, which God will accept? Evident it is, That no ſtate, condition, nor honour, can exempt the idolater from the hands of God, when he ſhall call him to account, or ſhall inflict puniſhment upon him for his offence: How ſhall it then excuſe the people, that they, according to God's commandment, puniſh not to death ſuch as ſhall ſolicit, or violently draw the people to idolatry?

And this is the firſt, which I would your honours ſhould note, of the former words, *viz.* That no perſon is exempted from puniſhment, if he can be manifeſtly convicted to have provoked or led the people to idolatry: and this is moſt evidently declared in that ſolemn oath and covenant which Aſa made with the people, to ſerve God, and to maintain his religion; adding this penalty to the tranſgreſſors of it, *viz.* That whoſoever ſhould not ſeek the Lord God of Iſrael ſhould be killed, were he great, or were he ſmall; were it man, or were it woman. And of this oath was the Lord well pleaſed; he was found of them, and gave them reſt on every part, becauſe they ſought him with their whole heart, and did ſwear to puniſh the offenders, according to the precept of his law, without reſpect of perſons. And this is it which, I ſay, I would your honours ſhould note for the firſt, That no idolater can be exempted from puniſhment by God's law.

The *ſecond* is, That the puniſhment of ſuch crimes as are idolatry, blaſphemy, and others that touch the majeſty of God, doth not appertain to the king and chief rulers only, but alſo to the whole body of the people, and to every member of the ſame, according to the vocation of every man, and according to that poſſibility and occaſion which God doth miniſter, to revenge the injury done againſt his glory, when that impiety is manifeſtly known; and that doth Moſes more plainly ſpeak in theſe words, 'If in any city, ſaith he, which the 'Lord thy God giveth to thee to dwell in them, 'thou ſhalt hear this report; There are ſome men 'the ſons of Belial paſſed from thee, and have 'ſolicited the citizens of their cities by theſe 'words, Let us go and ſerve ſtrange gods, which 'you have not known; ſearch and inquire diligently, and if it be true that ſuch abomination 'is done in the midſt of thee, thou ſhalt utterly 'ſtrike the inhabitants of that city with the ſword, 'thou ſhalt deſtroy it, and whatſoever is within it; 'thou ſhalt gather the ſpoil of it into the midſt of 'the market-place, thou ſhalt burn that city with 'fire, and the ſpoil of it, to the Lord thy God, that 'it may be a heap of ſtones for ever, neither ſhall 'it be any more builded. Let nothing of that execration cleave to thy hand, that the Lord may 'turn from thee the fury of his wrath, and be 'moved towards thee with inward affection.'

Plain it is, That Moſes ſpeaketh not, nor giveth charge to kings, rulers, and judges only, but he commandeth the whole body of the people, yea, and every member of the ſame, according to their poſſibility; and who dare be ſo impudent, as to deny this to be moſt reaſonable and juſt? For ſeeing that God had delivered the whole body from bondage, and to the whole multitude had given his law, and to the twelve tribes had he ſo diſtributed the inheritance of the land of Canaan, that no family could complain that it was neglected; Was not the whole and every member addebted to confeſs and acknowledge the benefits of God? Yea, had it not been the part of every man to have ſtudied to keep the poſſeſſion which he had received? Which thing God did plainly pronounce they ſhould not do, except that in their hearts they did ſanctify the Lord God; that they embraced and inviolably kept his religion eſtabliſhed; and finally, except they did cut out iniquity from amongſt them, declaring themſelves earneſt enemies to thoſe abominations, which God declared himſelf ſo vehemently to hate, that firſt he commanded the whole inhabitants of that country to be deſtroyed, and all monuments of their idolatry to be broken down: and thereafter he alſo ſtrictly commandeth, That a city declining to idolatry ſhould fall by the edge of the ſword, and that the whole ſpoil of the ſame ſhould be burned, no portion of it reſerved,

To the carnal man this may appear a rigorous and ſevere judgment; yea, it may rather ſeem to be pronounced in a rage, than in wiſdom: for what city was ever yet, in which, to man's judgment, were not to be found many innocent perſons, as infants, children, and ſome ſimple and ignorant ſouls, who neither did nor could conſent to ſuch impiety? and yet we find no exception, but all are appointed to the cruel death. And as concerning the city, and the ſpoil of the ſame, man's reaſon cannot think, but that it might have been better beſtowed than to be conſumed with fire, and ſo to profit no man: but in ſuch caſes God's will is, That all creatures ſtoop, cover their faces, and deſiſt from reaſoning, when commandment is given to execute his judgment.

Albeit I could adduce divers cauſes of ſuch ſeverity, yet will I ſearch none other than the Holy Ghoſt hath aſſigned. *Firſt*, That all Iſrael, hearing the judgment, ſhould fear to commit the like abomination. And *ſecondly*, That the Lord might turn from the fury of his anger, might be moved towards the people with inward affection, be merciful unto them, and multiply them, according to his oath made unto their fathers. Which reaſons, as they are ſufficient in God's children, to correct the murmuring of the grudging fleſh; ſo ought they to provoke every man, as before I have ſaid, to declare himſelf enemy to that, which ſo highly provoketh the wrath of God againſt the whole people: for where Moſes ſaith, 'Let the city be 'burned, and let no part of the ſpoil cleave to thy 'hand, that the Lord may turn from the fury of 'his wrath.' *&c.* He plainly doth ſignify, That by the defection and idolatry of a few, God's wrath is kindled againſt the whole, which is never quenched, till ſuch puniſhment be taken upon the offenders, that whatſoever ſerved them in their idolatry be brought to deſtruction, becauſe that it is execrable and accurſed before God, and therefore he will not that it be reſerved for any uſe of his people.

I am not ignorant that this law was not put in execution as God commanded; but what did thereof enſue and follow, hiſtories declare, *viz.* Plague after plague, till Iſrael and Judah were led in captivity, as the Books of the Kings do witneſs. The conſideration whereof maketh me more bold to affirm, That it is the duty of every man, who deſireth to eſcape the plague and puniſhment of God, to declare himſelf enemy to idolatry, not only in heart, hating the ſame; but alſo in external geſture, declaring that he lamenteth, if he can do no more, for ſuch abominations. Which thing was ſhewed to the prophet Ezekiel, when he gave him to underſtand why he would deſtroy Judah with Iſrael; and that he would remove his glory from the temple and place that he had choſen, and ſo pour forth his wrath and indignation upon the city that was full of blood and apoſtacy, which became ſo impudent, that it durſt be bold to ſay, 'The Lord hath left the earth, and ſeeth not.' At this time, I ſay, the Lord revealed in viſion to his prophet, who they were that ſhould find favour in that miſerable deſtruction, *viz.* Thoſe that did mourn and lament for all the abominations done in the city, in whoſe foreheads God did command to print and ſeal *Tau*, to the end that the deſtroyer, who was commanded to ſtrike the reſt without mercy, ſhould not hurt them in whom that ſign was found.

Of theſe premiſes, I ſuppoſe it is evident, That the puniſhment of idolatry doth not appertain to kings only, but alſo to the whole people; yea, to every member of the ſame, according to his poſſibility; for that is a thing moſt aſſured, That no man can mourn, lament, and bewail, for thoſe things which he will not remove to the uttermoſt of his power. If this be required of the whole people, and of every man in his vocation, what ſhall be required of you, my lords, whom God hath raiſed up to be princes and rulers above your brethren, whoſe hands he hath armed with the ſword of his juſtice, yea, whom he hath appointed to be as bridles, to repreſs the rage and inſolence of your kings, whenſoever they pretend manifeſtly to tranſgreſs God's bleſſed ordinance?

If any think that this my affirmation, touching the puniſhment of idolaters, is contrary to the practice of the apoſtles, who finding the Gentiles in idolatry, did call them to repentance, requiring no ſuch puniſhment; let the ſame man underſtand, That the Gentiles, before the preaching of Chriſt, lived, as the apoſtle ſpeaketh, 'Without God in 'the world,' drowned in idolatry, according to the blindneſs and ignorance in which then they were holden, as a profane nation, whom God had never openly avowed to be his people, had never received in his houſehold, neither given unto them laws to be kept in religion nor policy; and therefore did not the Holy Ghoſt, calling them to repentance, require of them any corporal puniſhment, according to the rigour of the law, unto the which they were never ſubjects, as they that 'were ſtrangers from the commonwealth of Iſrael.' But if any think, That after that the Gentiles were called from their vain converſation, and, by embracing Chriſt Jeſus, were received in the number of Abraham's children, and ſo made one people with the Jews believing; if any think, I ſay, That then they were not bound to the ſame obedience which God required of his people Iſrael, when he confirmed his league and covenant with them; the ſame appeareth to make Chriſt inferior to Moſes, and contrarious to the law of his heavenly Father; for if the contempt or tranſgreſſion of Moſes's law was worthy of death, What ſhould we judge the contempt of Chriſt's ordinances to be (I mean after they are once received)? And if Chriſt be not come to diſſolve, but to fulfil the law of his heavenly Father, ſhall the liberty of his goſpel be an occaſion, that the eſpecial glory of his

Father be trodden under foot, and regarded of no man? God forbid. The eſpecial glory of God is, That ſuch as profeſs themſelves to be his people, ſhould hearken to his voice; and amongſt all the voices of God revealed to the world, touching puniſhment of vices, none is more evident, neither more ſevere, than that which is pronounced againſt idolatry, the teachers and maintainers of the ſame: and therefore I fear not to affirm, That the Gentiles (I mean, every city, realm, province, or nation amongſt the Gentiles, embracing Chriſt Jeſus and his true religion) be bound to the ſame league and covenant, that God made with his people Iſrael, when he promiſed to root out the nations before them, in theſe words, 'Beware that 'thou make any covenant with the inhabitants 'of the land, to the which thou comeſt, leſt perchance that this come in ruin, that is, be deſtruction to thee; but thou ſhalt deſtroy their altars, break their idols, and cut down their groves: 'fear no ſtrange gods, nor worſhip them, neither 'yet make you ſacrifice to them: but the Lord, 'who in his great power, and out-ſtretched arm, 'hath brought you out of the land of Egypt, ſhall 'you fear, him ſhall you honour, him ſhall you 'worſhip, to him ſhall you make ſacrifice, his ſtatutes, judgments, laws, and commandments, you 'ſhall keep and obſerve. This is the covenant 'which I have made with you, ſaith the Eternal, 'forget it not, neither yet fear ye other gods; but 'fear you the Lord your God, and he ſhall deliver 'you from the hands of all your enemies.'

To this ſame law and covenant are the Gentiles no leſs bound than ſometime were the Jews. Whenſoever God doth illuminate the eyes of any multitude, province, people, or city, and putteth the ſword in their own hand, to remove ſuch enormities from amongſt them as before God they know to be abominable; then, I ſay, are they no leſs bound to purge their dominions, cities, and countries from idolatry, than were the Iſraelites, at the time they received the poſſeſſion of the land of Canaan. And moreover, I ſay, If any go about to erect and ſet up idolatry, or to teach defection from God, after that the verity hath been received and approved, that then, not only the magiſtrates, to whom the ſword is committed, but alſo the people, are bound by that oath which they have made to God, to revenge, to the utmoſt of their power, the injury done againſt his majeſty.

In univerſal defections, and in a general revolt, ſuch as was in Iſrael after Jeroboam, there is a diverſe conſideration; for then, becauſe the whole people were together conſpired againſt God, there could none be found that would execute the puniſhment which God had commanded, till God raiſed up Jehu, whom he had appointed for that purpoſe. And the ſame is to be conſidered in all other general defections, ſuch as this day are in the Papiſtry, where all are blinded, and all are declined from God, and that of long continuance, ſo that no ordinary juſtice can be executed, but the puniſhment muſt be reſerved to God, and unto ſuch means as he ſhall appoint; but I ſpeak of ſuch a number, as, after they have received God's perfect religion, do boldly profeſs the ſame, notwithſtanding that ſome, or the moſt part, fall back (as of late days was in England), unto ſuch a number, I ſay, it is lawful to puniſh the idolaters with death, if by any means God give them power: for ſo did Joſhua and Iſrael determine to have done againſt the children of Reuben, Gad, and Manaſſeh, for their ſuſpected apoſtacy and defection from God. And the whole tribes did in very deed execute that ſharp judgment againſt the tribe of Benjamin, for a leſs offence than for idolatry. And the ſame ought to be done whereſoever Chriſt Jeſus and his goſpel is ſo received in any realm, province, or city, that the magiſtrates and people have ſolemnly vowed and promiſed to defend the ſame, as under king Edward, of late days, was done in England.

In ſuch places, it is not only lawful to puniſh to the death, ſuch as labour to ſubvert the true religion, but the magiſtrates and people are bound ſo to do, unleſs they will provoke the wrath of God againſt themſelves; and therefore, I fear not to affirm, That it had been the duty of the nobility, judges, rulers, and people of England, to have reſiſted and gain-ſtood Mary their queen, with all the ſort of her idolatrous prieſts, together with all ſuch as ſhould have aſſiſted her, when that ſhe and they openly began to ſuppreſs Chriſt's goſpel, to ſhed the blood of the ſaints of God, and to erect that moſt deviliſh idolatry, the Papiſtical abominations, and his uſurped tyranny, which once moſt juſtly, by common oath, was baniſhed from that realm.

But becauſe I cannot at preſent diſcuſs this argument as it appertaineth, I am compelled to omit it to better opportunity; and ſo returning to your honours, I ſay, That if ye confeſs yourſelves baptized in the Lord Jeſus, as of neceſſity ye muſt confeſs, that the care of religion doth appertain to your charge: and if ye know that in your hands God hath put the ſword, for the cauſes above ex-

preſſed, then can ye not deny, but that the puniſhment of obſtinate and malapert idolaters (ſuch as all your biſhops are) doth appertain to your office, if after admonition they continue obſtinate. I am not ignorant what are the vain defences of your proud prelates: they claim, *firſt*, A prerogative and privilege, that they are exempted, and that by conſent of councils and emperors, from all juriſdiction of the temporality: and *ſecondly*, When they are convicted of manifeſt impiety, abuſes, and enormities, as well in their manners as in religion, neither fear nor ſhame they to affirm, That things ſo long eſtabliſhed, cannot ſuddenly be reformed, although they be corrupted; but with proceſs of time they promiſe to take order. But in few words,

I anſwer, That no privilege granted againſt the ordinance and ſtatutes of God is to be obſerved, although all councils and men on the earth have appointed the ſame: but againſt God's ordinance it is, that idolaters, murderers, falſe teachers, and blaſphemers, ſhall be exempted from puniſhment, as before is declared; and therefore in vain it is, that they claim for privilege, when God ſaith, 'The murderer ſhalt thou drive from my altar, 'that he may die the death.' And as to the order and reformation which they promiſe, that is to be looked or hoped for, when Satan, whoſe children and ſlaves they are, can change his nature. This anſwer, I doubt not, ſhall ſuffice the ſober and godly reader; but yet, to the end that they may further ſee their own confuſion, and that your honours may better underſtand what ye ought to do in ſo manifeſt a corruption and defection from God, I aſk of them, What aſſurance they have of this their immunity, exemption, or privilege? Who is the author of it? And what fruit hath it produced? And firſt, I ſay, That of God they have no aſſurance, neither yet can he be proved to be author of any ſuch privilege: but the contrary is eaſy to be ſeen; for God, in eſtabliſhing his orders in Iſrael, did ſo ſubject Aaron (in his prieſthood, being the figure of Chriſt) to Moſes, that he feared not to call him in judgment, and to conſtrain him to give accounts of his wicked deed in conſenting to idolatry, as the hiſtory doth plainly witneſs: for thus it is written; 'Then Moſes took the calf 'which they had made, and burned it with fire, 'and did grind it to powder; and ſcattering it in 'the water, gave it to drink to the children of Iſ'rael,' declaring thereby the vanity of their idol, and the abomination of the ſame: and thereafter Moſes ſaid to Aaron, 'What hath this people done 'to thee, that thou ſhouldſt bring upon them ſo 'great a ſin?'

Thus, I ſay, doth Moſes call Aaron, and accuſe him of the deſtruction of the whole people; and yet he perfectly underſtood, that God had appointed him to be the high prieſt, that he ſhould bear upon his ſhoulders and upon his breaſt the names of the twelve tribes of Iſrael, for whom he was appointed to make ſacrifice, prayers, and ſupplications. He knew his dignity was ſo great, that only he might enter within the moſt holy place; but neither could his office nor dignity exempt him from judgment, when he had offended. If any object, Aaron at that time was not anointed, and therefore was he ſubject to Moſes; I have anſwered, that Moſes being taught by the mouth of God, did perfectly underſtand to what dignity Aaron was appointed, and yet he feared not to call him in judgment, and to compel him to make anſwer for his wicked fact. But if this anſwer doth not ſuffice, yet ſhall the Holy Ghoſt witneſs further in the matter.

Solomon removed from honour Abiathar, being the high prieſt, and commanded him to ceaſe from all function, and to live as a private man. Now, if the unction did exempt the prieſt from juriſdiction of the civil magiſtrate, Solomon did offend, and injured Abiathar; for he was anointed, and had carried the ark before David: but God doth not reprove the fact of Solomon, neither yet doth Abiathar claim any prerogative by reaſon of his office; but rather doth the Holy Ghoſt approve the fact of Solomon, ſaying, 'Solomon ejected 'forth Abiathar, that he ſhould not be the prieſt 'of the Lord, that the word of the Lord might 'be performed, which he ſpake upon the houſe of 'Eli.' And Abiathar did think that he obtained great favour, in that he did eſcape the preſent death, which by his conſpiracy he had deſerved. If any yet reaſon, that Abiathar was no otherwiſe ſubject to the judgment of the king, but as he was appointed to be the executer of that ſentence, which God before had pronounced; as I will not greatly deny that reaſon, ſo require I that every man conſider, that the ſame God who pronounced ſentence againſt Eli and his houſe, hath pronounced alſo, that idolaters, whoremongers, murderers, and blaſphemers, ſhall neither have portion in the kingdom of God, neither ought to be permitted to bear any rule in his church and congregation.

Now, if the unction and office ſaved not Abiathar, becauſe that God's ſentence muſt needs be performed, Can any privilege granted by man be

a buckler to malefactors, that they ſhall not be ſubject to the puniſhments pronounced by God? I think no man will be ſo fooliſh as ſo to affirm; for a thing more than evident it is, that the whole prieſthood, in the time of the law, was bound to give obedience to the civil powers; and if any member of the ſame was found criminal, the ſame was ſubject to the puniſhment of the ſword, which God had put into the hand of the magiſtrate. And this ordinance of his Father did not Chriſt diſannul, but rather did confirm the ſame, commanding tribute to be paid for himſelf and for Peter; who perfectly knowing the mind of his maſter, writeth thus in his Epiſtle; 'Submit yourſelves to all manner of ordinance of man (he excepteth ſuch as are expreſsly repugning to God's commandment) for the Lord's ſake, whether it be to the king, as to the chief head, or unto rulers, as unto them that are ſent by him, for puniſhment of evil-doers, and for the praiſe of them that do well.' The ſame doth the apoſtle St. Paul moſt plainly command in theſe words, 'Let every ſoul be ſubject to the ſuperior powers.'

Which places make it evident, That neither Chriſt, neither his apoſtles, have given any aſſurance of this immunity and privilege which men of church (as they will be termed) do this day claim; yea, it was a thing unknown to the primitive church many years after the days of the apoſtles: for Chryſoſtom, who ſerved in the church at Conſtantinople four hundred years after Chriſt's aſcenſion, and after that corruption was greatly increaſed, doth yet thus write upon the foreſaid words of the apoſtle, 'This precept (ſaith he) doth not appertain to ſuch as are called Seculars only, but even to thoſe that are prieſts and religious men:' and after, he addeth, 'Whether thou be apoſtle, evangeliſt, prophet, or whoſoever thou be, thou canſt not be exempted from this ſubjection.' Hereof it is plain, Chryſoſtom did not underſtand that God had exempted any perſon from obedience and ſubjection of the civil power, neither yet that he was author of ſuch exemption and privilege as Papiſts do this day claim. And the ſame was the judgment and uniform doctrine of the primitive church for many years after Chriſt.

Your honours do wonder, I doubt not, from what fountain then did this their immunity (as they term it) and ſingular privilege ſpring; I ſhall ſhortly touch that, which is evident in their own laws and hiſtories. When the biſhops of Rome, the very Antichriſts, had, partly by fraud, and partly by violence, uſurped the ſuperiority of ſome places in Italy, and moſt unjuſtly had ſpoiled the emperors of their rents and poſſeſſions, and had alſo murdered ſome of their officers, as hiſtories do witneſs, then began pope after pope to practiſe and deviſe how they ſhould be exempted from the judgment of princes, and from the equity of laws; and in this point they were moſt vigilant, till at length iniquity did ſo prevail in their hands, according as Daniel had before propheſied of them, that this ſentence was pronounced, 'Neither by the emperor, neither by the clergy, neither yet by the people, ſhall the judge be judged. God wills (ſaith Symmachus) that the cauſes of others be determined by men, but without all queſtion he hath reſerved the biſhop of this ſeat (underſtanding Rome) to his own judgment.' And hereof divers popes, and expoſitors of their laws, would ſeem to give reaſons: for ſaith Agatho, 'All the precepts of the apoſtolic ſeat are aſſured, as by the voice of God himſelf. The author of the Gloſs upon their canon affirmeth, That if all the world would pronounce ſentence againſt the pope, yet ſhould his ſentence prevail; 'For, ſaith he, the pope hath a heavenly will, and therefore he may change the nature of things, he may apply the ſubſtance of one thing to another, and of nothing he may make ſomewhat; and that ſentence, which was nothing, that is, by his mind falſe and unjuſt, he may make ſomewhat that is true and juſt: for, ſaith he, in all things that pleaſe him, his will is for reaſon; neither is there any man that may aſk of him, Why doſt thou ſo? For he may diſpenſe above law, and of injuſtice he may make juſtice; for he hath the fulneſs of all power.' And many other blaſphemous ſentences did they pronounce every one after another, which, for ſhortneſs ſake, I omit, till at the end they obtained this moſt horrible decree, That albeit in life and converſation they were ſo wicked and deteſtable, that not only they condemned themſelves, but that alſo they drew to hell and perdition many thouſands with them, yet that none ſhould preſume to reprehend or rebuke them.

This being eſtabliſhed for the head (albeit not without ſome contradiction, for ſome emperors did require due obedience of them, as God's word commanded, and ancient biſhops had given before to emperors, and to their laws: but Satan ſo prevailed in his ſuit before the blind world, that the former ſentences were confirmed; which power being granted to the head), then began proviſion to be made for the reſt of the members in all realms and countries, where they made reſidence; the

reſult whereof we ſee to be this, that none of that peſtilent generation (I mean, the vermin of the Papiſtical order) will be ſubject to any civil magiſtrate, how enormous ſoever his crime be, but will be reſerved to their own Ordinary, as they term it: and what fruits have hereof enſued, be the world never ſo blind, it cannot but witneſs; for how their head, that Roman Antichriſt, hath been occupied, ever ſince the granting of ſuch privileges, hiſtories do witneſs; and of late the moſt part of Europe, ſubject to the plague of God, to fire and ſword, by his procurement, hath felt, and this day doth feel. The pride, ambition, envy, exceſs, fraud, ſpoil, oppreſſion, murder, filthy life, and inceſt, that is uſed and maintained amongſt that rabble of prieſts, friars, monks, canons, biſhops, and cardinals, cannot be expreſſed.

I fear not to affirm, neither doubt I to prove, that the Papiſtical church is further degenerate from the purity of Chriſt's doctrine, from the footſteps of the apoſtles, and from the manners of the primitive church, than was the church of the Jews from God's holy ſtatutes, at the time it did crucify Chriſt Jeſus the only Meſſiah, and moſt cruelly perſecute his apoſtles: and yet will our Papiſts claim their privileges and ancient liberties; which if you grant unto them, my lords, ye ſhall aſſuredly drink the cup of God's vengeance with them, and ſhall be reputed before his preſence, companions of thieves, and maintainers of murderers, as is before declared: for their immunity and privilege, whereof ſo greatly they boaſt, is nothing elſe, but as if thieves, murderers, or briggands, ſhould conſpire amongſt themſelves, that they would never anſwer in judgment before any lawful magiſtrate, to the end that their theft and murder ſhould not be puniſhed; even ſuch, I ſay, is their wicked privilege, which neither they have of God the Father, neither of Chriſt Jeſus, who hath revealed his Father's will to the world, neither yet of the apoſtles nor primitive church, as before is declared: but it is a thing conſpired amongſt themſelves, to the end that their iniquity, deteſtable life and tyranny, may never be repreſſed, nor reformed.

And if they object, That godly emperors did grant and confirm the ſame; I anſwer, that the godlineſs of no man is, or can be ſufficient authority to juſtify a fooliſh and ungodly fact, ſuch, I mean, as God hath not allowed by his word: for Abraham was a godly man, but the denial of his wife was ſuch a fact, as no godly man ought to imitate: the ſame might I ſhew of David, Hezekiah, and Joſiah, unto whom I think no man of judgment will prefer any emperor ſince Chriſt, in holineſs and wiſdom; and yet are not all their facts, not even ſuch as they appeared to have done for good cauſes, to be approved nor followed. And therefore, I ſay, as error and ignorance remain always with the moſt perfect men in this life, ſo muſt their works be examined by another rule than by their own holineſs, if they ſhall be approved.

But if this anſwer doth not ſuffice, then will I anſwer more ſhortly, That no godly emperor, ſince Chriſt's aſcenſion, hath granted any ſuch privilege to any ſuch church or perſon, as they, the whole generation of Papiſts, be at this day.

I am not ignorant, that ſome emperors, of a certain zeal, and for ſome conſiderations, granted liberties to the true church, afflicted for their maintenance againſt tyrants; but what ſerveth this for the defence of their tyranny? If the law muſt be underſtood according to the mind of the lawgiver, then muſt they firſt prove themſelves Chriſt's true and afflicted church, before they can claim any privilege to appertain to them; for only to that church were the privileges granted. It will not be their glorious titles, neither yet the long poſſeſſion of the name, that can prevail in this ſo weighty a cauſe; for all thoſe had the church of Jeruſalem, which did crucify Chriſt, and did condemn his doctrine. We offer to prove by their fruits and tyranny, by the prophets, and plain Scriptures of God, what trees and generation they be, *viz.* unfruitful and rotten, apt for nothing, but to be cut and caſt into hell-fire; yea, that they are the very kingdom of Antichriſt, of whom we are commanded to beware.

Therefore, my lords, to return to you, ſeeing that God hath armed your hands with the ſword of juſtice, ſeeing that his law moſt ſtrictly commandeth idolaters and falſe prophets to be puniſhed with death, and that you be placed above your ſubjects, to reign as fathers over their children; and further, ſeeing that not only I, but with me many thouſand famous, godly, and learned perſons, accuſe your biſhops, and the whole rabble of the Papiſtical clergy, of idolatry, of murder, and of blaſphemy againſt God committed; it appertaineth to your honours to be vigilant and careful in ſo weighty a matter. The queſtion is not of earthly ſubſtance, but of the glory of God, and of the ſalvation of yourſelves, and of your brethren ſubject to your charge; in which if you, after this plain admonition, be negligent, there reſteth no excuſe by reaſon of ignorance; for, in the name of God, I require of you, That the cauſe

of religion may be tried in your preſence, by the plain and ſimple word of God; that your biſhops be compelled to deſiſt from their tyranny; that they be compelled to make anſwer for the neglecting of their office; for the ſubſtance of the poor, which unjuſtly they uſurp, and prodigally they do ſpend; but principally for the falſe and deceivable doctrine which is taught and defended by their falſe prophets, flattering friars, and other ſuch venomous locuſts: which thing if with ſingle eyes ye do (preferring God's glory and the ſalvation of your brethren to all worldly commodity), then ſhall the ſame God, who ſolemnly doth pronounce to honour thoſe that do honour him, pour his benedictions plentifully upon you; he ſhall be your buckler, protection, and captain, and ſhall repreſs, by his ſtrength and wiſdom, whatſoever Satan, by his ſuppoſts, ſhall imagine againſt you.

I am not ignorant that great troubles ſhall enſue your enterpriſe; for Satan will not be expelled from the poſſeſſion of his uſurped kingdom without reſiſtance: but if you, as is ſaid, preferring God's glory to your own lives, unfeignedly ſeek and ſtudy to obey his bleſſed will, then ſhall your deliverance be ſuch, as evidently it ſhall be known, that the angels of the Eternal do watch, make war and fight for thoſe that unfeignedly fear the Lord: but if you refuſe this my moſt reaſonable and juſt petition, what defence that ever you appear to have before men, then ſhall God, whom in me you contemn, refuſe you; he ſhall pour forth contempt upon you, and upon your poſterity after you; the ſpirit of boldneſs and wiſdom ſhall be taken from you, your enemies ſhall reign, and you ſhall die in bondage; yea, God ſhall cut down the unfruitful trees, when they do appear moſt beautifully to flouriſh, and ſhall ſo burn the root, that after of you ſhall neither twig nor branch again ſpring to glory.

Hereof I need not to adduce unto you examples from the former ages, and ancient hiſtories: for your brethren the nobility of England are a mirror and glaſs, in the which ye may behold God's juſt puniſhment; for as they have refuſed him and his goſpel, which once in mouth they did profeſs, ſo hath he refuſed them, and hath taken from them the ſpirit of wiſdom, boldneſs, and of counſel: they ſee and feel their own miſery, and yet they have no grace to avoid it: they hate the bondage of ſtrangers, the pride of prieſts, and the monſtrous empire of a wicked woman; and yet are they compelled to bow their necks to the yoke of the devil, to obey whatſoever the proud Spaniards and miſled Mary liſt to command; and finally, to ſtand like ſlaves, with cap in hand, till the ſervants of Satan, the ſhaven ſort, call them to council: this fruit do they reap and gather of their former rebellion and unfaithfulneſs towards God; they are left confuſed in their own counſels: he whom, in his members, for the pleaſure of a wicked woman, they have exiled, perſecuted, and blaſphemed, doth now laugh them to ſcorn, ſuffereth them to be pined in bondage of moſt wicked men; and finally, ſhall adjudge them to the fire everlaſting, except that ſpeedily and openly they repent of their horrible treaſon, which againſt God, againſt his Son Chriſt Jeſus, and againſt the liberty of their own native country, they have committed. The ſame plagues ſhall fall upon you, be you aſſured, if ye refuſe the defence of his ſervants that call for your ſupport.

My words are ſharp; but conſider, my lords, that they are not mine, but that they are the threatenings of the Omnipotent, who aſſuredly will perform the voice of his prophets, how that ever carnal men deſpiſe his admonitions. The ſword of God's wrath is already drawn, which of neceſſity muſt needs ſtrike, when grace offered is obſtinately refuſed. You have been long in bondage of the devil, blindneſs, error, and idolatry prevailing againſt the ſimple truth of God in that your realm, in which God hath made you princes and rulers: but now doth God, of his great mercy, call you to repentance, before he pour forth the uttermoſt of his vengeance; he crieth to your ears, that your religion is nothing but idolatry; he accuſeth you of the blood of his ſaints, which hath been ſhed by your permiſſion, aſſiſtance, and powers: for the tyranny of theſe raging beaſts ſhould have no force, if by your ſtrength they were not maintained. Of thoſe horrible crimes doth God now accuſe you, not of purpoſe to condemn you, but mercifully to abſolve and pardon you, as ſometime he did thoſe whom Peter accuſed to have killed the Son of God, ſo that ye be not of mind nor purpoſe to juſtify your former iniquity. Iniquity I call not only the crimes and offences, which have been, and yet remain, in your manners and lives, but that alſo which appeareth before men moſt holy, which, with hazard of my life, I offer to prove abomination before God; that is, your whole religion to be ſo corrupt and vain, that no true ſervant of God can communicate with it, becauſe that, in ſo doing, he ſhould manifeſtly deny Chriſt Jeſus and his eternal verity.

I know that your biſhops, accompanied with the ſwarm of the Papiſtical vermin, ſhall cry, 'A 'damned heretic ought not to be heard.' But remember, my lords, what I proteſted in the beginning, upon which ground I continually ſtand, *viz.* That I am no heretic, nor deceivable teacher, but the ſervant of Chriſt Jeſus, a preacher of his infallible verity, innocent in all that they can lay to my charge concerning my doctrine, and therefore by them, being enemies to Chriſt, I am unjuſtly condemned: from which cruel ſentence I have appealed, and do appeal, as before mention is made; in the mean time, moſt humbly requiring your honours to take me in your protection, to be auditors of my juſt defences, granting unto me the ſame liberty which Ahab a wicked king, and Iſrael at that time a blinded people, granted to Elijah, in the like caſe; that is, that your biſhops, and the whole rabble of your clergy, may be called before you, and before that people whom they have deceived: that I be not condemned by multitude, by cuſtom, by authority or law deviſed by man; but that God himſelf may be judge betwixt me and my adverſaries: let God, I ſay, ſpeak by his law, by his prophets, by Chriſt Jeſus, or by his apoſtles, and ſo, let him pronounce what religion he approveth; and then, be my enemies never ſo many, and appear they never ſo ſtrong and ſo learned, no more do I fear victory, than did Elijah, being but one man, againſt the multitude of Baal's prieſts.

And if they think to have advantage by their councils and doctors, this I further offer, to admit the one and the other as witneſſes in all matters debatable, three things, which juſtly cannot be denied, being granted unto me: *Firſt*, That the moſt ancient councils nigheſt to the primitive church, in which the learned and godly fathers did examine all matters by God's word, may be holden of moſt authority. *Secondly*, That no determinations of councils, nor man, be admitted againſt the plain verity of God's word, nor againſt the determination of thoſe four chief councils, whoſe authority hath been, and is holden by them equal with the authority of the four evangeliſts. And *laſtly*, That to no doctor be given greater authority, than Auguſtine requireth to be given to his writings; *viz.* if he plainly prove not his affirmation by God's infallible word, that then his ſentence be rejected, and imputed to the error of a man.

Theſe things granted and admitted, I ſhall no more refuſe the teſtimonies of councils and doctors, than ſhall my adverſaries. But if they will juſtify thoſe councils, which maintain their pride and uſurped authority, and will reject thoſe which plainly have condemned all ſuch tyranny, negligence, and wicked life, as biſhops now do uſe: and if further, they will ſnatch a doubtful ſentence of a doctor, and refuſe his mind when he ſpeaketh plainly; then will I ſay, That all men are liars; that credit ought not to be given to an inconſtant witneſs; and that no councils ought to prevail, nor be admitted againſt the ſentence which God hath pronounced.

And thus, my lords, in few words to conclude, I have offered unto you a trial of my innocence; I have declared unto you what God requireth of you, being placed above his people, as rulers and princes; I have offered unto you, and to the inhabitants of the realm, the verity of Chriſt Jeſus; and, with the hazard of my life, I preſently offer to prove the religion which amongſt you is maintained by fire and ſword, to be falſe, damnable, and diabolical. Which things if ye refuſe, defending tyrants in their tyranny, then I dare not flatter, but as it was commanded to Ezekiel boldly to proclaim, ſo muſt I cry to you, That you ſhall periſh in your iniquity; that the Lord Jeſus ſhall refuſe ſo many of you as maliciouſly withſtand his eternal verity; and in the day of his apparition, when all fleſh ſhall appear before him, that he ſhall repel you from his company, and ſhall command you to the fire which never ſhall be quenched; and then, neither ſhall the multitude be able to reſiſt, neither yet the counſels of man be able to prevail againſt that ſentence, which he ſhall pronounce.

'God, the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by 'the power of his Holy Spirit, ſo rule and diſpoſe 'your hearts, that with ſimplicity ye may conſider 'the things that be offered; and that ye may take 'ſuch order in the ſame, as God in you may be 'glorified, and Chriſt's flock by you may be edi'fied and comforted, to the praiſe and glory of our 'Lord Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe omnipotent Spirit rule 'your hearts in his true fear to the end. Amen.

To his beloved Brethren, the COMMONALTY of SCOTLAND,

JOHN KNOX *wiſheth Grace, Mercy, and Peace, with the Spirit of righteous Judgment.*

WHAT I have required of the queen regent, ſtates, and nobility, as of the chief heads, for this preſent, of the realm, I cannot ceaſe to require of you, dearly beloved brethren, which be the commonalty and body of the ſame, *viz.* That it (notwithſtanding that falſe and cruel ſentence which your diſguiſed biſhops have pronounced againſt me) would pleaſe you to be ſo favourable unto me, as to be indifferent auditors of my juſt purgation; which to do, if God earneſtly move your hearts, as I nothing doubt but that your enterpriſe ſhall redound to the praiſe and glory of his holy name; ſo am I aſſured, that ye and your poſterity ſhall by that means receive moſt ſingular comfort, edification, and profit; for when ye ſhall hear the matter debated, ye ſhall eaſily perceive and underſtand, upon what ground and foundation is builded that religion, which amongſt you is this day defended by fire and ſword.

As for mine own conſcience, I am moſt aſſuredly perſuaded, that whatſoever is uſed in the Papiſtical church, is altogether repugning to Chriſt's bleſſed ordinance, and is nothing but mortal venom; of which whoſoever drinketh, I am aſſuredly perſuaded, that therewith he drinketh death and damnation, except, by true converſion unto God, he be purged from the ſame. But becauſe that long ſilence of God's word hath begotten ignorance almoſt in all ſorts of men, and ignorance, joined with long cuſtom, hath confirmed ſuperſtition in the hearts of many; I therefore, in the name of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, deſire audience, as well of you the commonalty, my brethren, as of the ſtates and nobility of the realm, that in public preaching I may have place amongſt you at large to utter my mind, in all matters of controverſy this day in religion. And further, I deſire, that ye, concurring with your nobility, would compel your biſhops and clergy to ceaſe their tyranny: and alſo, that, for the better aſſurance and inſtruction of your conſcience, ye would compel your ſaid biſhops and falſe teachers, to anſwer, by the Scriptures of God, to ſuch objections and crimes, as ſhall be laid againſt their vain religion, falſe doctrine, wicked life, and ſlanderous converſation.

Here I know that it ſhall be objected, That I require of you a thing moſt unreaſonable, *viz.* that ye ſhould call your religion in doubt, which hath been approved and eſtabliſhed by ſo long continuance, and by the conſent of ſo many men before you. But I ſhortly anſwer, That neither is the long continuance of time, neither yet the multitude of men, a ſufficient approbation, which God will allow for our religion: for as ſome of the moſt ancient writers do witneſs, neither can long proceſs of time juſtify an error; neither can the multitude of ſuch as follow it, change the nature of the ſame; but if it was an error in the beginning, ſo is it in the end; and the longer that it be followed, and the more that do receive it, it is more peſtilent, and more to be avoided: for if antiquity or multitude of men could juſtify any religion, then was the idolatry of the Gentiles, and now is the abomination of the Turks, good religion; for antiquity approved the one, and a multitude hath received, and doth defend the other. But otherwiſe to anſwer, Godly men may wonder, from what fountain ſuch a ſentence doth flow, that no man ought to try his faith and religion by God's word, but that he ſafely may believe and follow every thing, which antiquity and a multitude have approved. The Spirit of God doth otherwiſe teach us; for the Wiſdom of God, Chriſt Jeſus himſelf, remitted his adverſaries to Moſes and the Scriptures, to try by them, whether his doctrine was of God or not. The apoſtles Paul and Peter command men to try the religion which they profeſs, by God's plain Scriptures, and do praiſe men for ſo doing. St. John ſtrictly commandeth, That we believe not every ſpirit, but to try the ſpirits, whether they be of God or not.

Now, ſeeing that theſe evident teſtimonies of the Holy Ghoſt will us to try our faith and religion by the plain word of God, wonder it is, that the Papiſts will not be content, that their religion and doctrine come under the trial of the ſame. If this ſentence of Chriſt be true (as it is moſt true, ſeeing it ſpringeth from the Verity itſelf), 'Whoſo 'doth evil hateth the light, neither will he come 'to the light, leſt that his works be manifeſted and 'rebuked;' then do our Papiſts, by their own ſentence, condemn themſelves and their religion; for in ſo far as they refuſe examination and trial, they declare, that they know ſome fault which the light will utter; which is a cauſe of their fear, and why they claim that privilege, that no man diſpute of

their religion. The verity and truth being of the nature of fine purified gold, doth not fear the trial of the furnace; but the ſtubble and chaff of man's inventions, ſuch is their religion, may not abide the flame of fire.

True it is, that Mahomet pronounced this ſentence, That no man ſhould, on pain of death, diſpute or reaſon of the ground of his religion; which law, to this day, by the art of Satan, is obſerved amongſt the Turks, to their mortal blindneſs, and horrible blaſpheming of Chriſt Jeſus, and of his true religion: and from Mahomet (or rather from Satan the father of all lies) hath the pope, and his rabble, learned this former leſſon; *viz.* That their religion ſhould not be diſputed upon, but what the fathers have believed, that ought and muſt the children approve: and, in ſo deviſing, Satan lacked not his foreſight; for no one thing hath more eſtabliſhed the kingdom of that Roman Antichriſt, than this moſt wicked decree, *viz.* That no man was permitted to reaſon of his power, or to call his laws in doubt. This is moſt aſſured, that whenſoever the Papiſtical religion ſhall come to examination, it ſhall be found to have no other ground than hath the religion of Mahomet, *viz.* man's invention, device, and dreams, overſhadowed with ſome colour of God's word; and therefore, brethren, ſeeing that the religion is to man, as the ſtomach to the body, which, if it be corrupted, doth infect the whole members, it is neceſſary that the ſame be examined; and if it be found repleniſhed with peſtilent humours (I mean with the fancies of men), then of neceſſity it is, that thoſe be purged, elſe ſhall your bodies and ſouls periſh for ever: for of this I would ye were moſt certainly perſuaded, that a corrupt religion defileth the whole life of man, appear it never ſo holy.

Neither would I that ye ſhould eſteem the reformation and care of religion leſs to appertain to you, becauſe ye are no kings, rulers, judges, nobles, nor in authority. Beloved brethren, ye are God's creatures, created and formed to his own image and ſimilitude, for whoſe redemption was ſhed the moſt precious blood of the only beloved Son of God, to whom he hath commanded his goſpel and glad tidings to be preached, and for whom he hath prepared the heavenly inheritance; ſo that ye will not obſtinately refuſe, and diſdainfully contemn the means which he hath appointed to obtain the ſame, *viz.* his bleſſed goſpel, which now he offereth unto you, to the end that ye may be ſaved: for the goſpel and glad tidings of the kingdom truly preached, is the power of God to the ſalvation of every believer, which to credit and receive, you the commonalty are no leſs addebted than be your rulers and princes: for albeit God hath put and ordained diſtinction and difference betwixt the king and ſubjects, betwixt the rulers and the common people, in the government and adminiſtration of civil policies, yet in the hope of the life to come, he hath made all equal: for as in Chriſt Jeſus the Jew hath no greater prerogative than hath the Gentile, the man than hath the woman, the learned than the unlearned, the lord than the ſervant, but all are one in him; ſo is there but one way and means to attain to the participation of his benefits and ſpiritual graces, which is a lively faith, working by charity.

And therefore I ſay, that it doth no leſs appertain to you, beloved brethren, to be aſſured, that your faith and religion be grounded and eſtabliſhed upon the true and undoubted word of God, than to your princes or rulers: for as your bodies cannot eſcape corporal death, if with your princes ye eat or drink deadly poiſon (although it be by ignorance or negligence), ſo ſhall ye not eſcape the death everlaſting, if with them ye profeſs a corrupt religion; yea, except in heart ye believe, and with mouth ye confeſs the Lord Jeſus to be the only Saviour of the world (which ye cannot do, except ye embrace his goſpel offered), ye cannot eſcape death and damnation; for as the juſt liveth by his own faith, ſo doth the unfaithful periſh by his infidelity: and as true faith is engendered, nouriſhed, and maintained, in the hearts of God's elect, by Chriſt's goſpel truly preached; ſo is infidelity and unbelief foſtered, by concealing and repreſſing the ſame. And thus, if ye look for the life everlaſting, ye muſt try if ye ſtand in the faith; and if ye would be aſſured of a true and lively faith, ye muſt needs have Chriſt Jeſus truly preached unto you.

And this is the cauſe, dear brethren, that ſo oft I repeat, and ſo conſtantly I affirm, That to you it doth no leſs appertain, than to your king or princes, to provide, that Chriſt Jeſus be truly preached amongſt you, ſeeing that without his true knowledge, can neither of you both attain to ſalvation: and this is the point, wherein, I ſay, all men are equal, 'That as all are deſcended from 'Adam, by whoſe ſin and diſobedience did death 'enter into the world; ſo it behoved all that ſhall 'obtain life, to be ingrafted in one, that is, in the 'Lord Jeſus, who being the juſt ſervant, doth by 'his knowledge juſtify many; *viz.* all that unfeignedly believe in him.'

Of this equality, and that God requireth no leſs of the ſubject, be he never ſo poor, than of the

prince and rich men in matters of religion, he hath given an evident declaration in the law of Moſes; for when the tabernacle was builded, erected, and ſet in order, God did provide, how it, and the things pertaining to the ſame, ſhould be ſuſtained, ſo that they ſhould not fall in decay: and this proviſion (albeit heaven and earth obey his empire) would he not take from the ſecret and hid treaſures which lie diſperſed in the veins of the earth, neither yet would he take it from the rich and potent of the people; but he did command, that every one of the ſons of Iſrael (were he rich, or were he poor), that came in count from twenty years and upward, ſhould yearly pay half a ſhekel for an oblation to the Lord, in remembrance of their redemption, and for an expiation or cleanſing of their ſouls: which money God commanded ſhould be beſtowed upon the ornaments and neceſſaries of the tabernacle of teſtimony. He furthermore added a precept, That the rich ſhould give no more for that uſe, and in that behalf, than ſhould the poor; neither yet that the poor ſhould give any leſs than ſhould the rich in that conſideration.

This law, to man's reaſon and judgment, may appear very unreaſonable; for ſome rich man might have given a thouſand ſhekels with leſs hurt of his ſubſtance, than ſome poor man might have paid the half-ſhekel: and yet God maketh all equal, and wills that the one ſhall pay no more than the other, neither yet the poor any leſs than the rich. This law, I ſay, may appear very unequal: but if the cauſe which God addeth be obſerved, we ſhall find in the ſame the great mercy and ineſtimable wiſdom of God to appear, which cauſe is expreſſed in theſe words; 'This money received from 'the children of Iſrael, thou ſhalt give in for the 'ſervice of the tabernacle, that it may be to the chil-'dren of Iſrael, for a remembrance before the Lord, 'that he may be merciful to your ſouls.' This cauſe, I ſay, doth evidently declare, That as the whole multitude was delivered from the bondage of Egypt, by the mighty power of God alone; ſo was every member of the ſame, without reſpect of perſons, ſanctified by his grace, the richeſt, in that behalf, nothing preferred to the pooreſt: for by no merit and worthineſs of man was he moved to chuſe and to eſtabliſh his habitation and dwelling amongſt them; but their felicity, prerogative, and honour, which they had above all other nations, proceeded only from the fountain of his eternal goodneſs, who loved them freely, as he freely had choſen them to be his prieſtly kingdom, and holy people, from all nations of the earth. Thus to honour them, that he would dwell in the midſt of them, he neither was moved, I ſay, by the wiſdom of the wiſe, by the riches of the potent, neither yet by the virtue and holineſs of any ſtate amongſt them, but of mere goodneſs did he love them, and with his preſence did he honour that whole people; and therefore, to point out the ſame, his common love to the whole multitude, and to cut off occaſions of contention, and doubts of conſcience, he would receive no more from the rich than from the poor, for the maintenance of his tabernacle, by which was repreſented his preſence and habitation amongſt them.

If the rich had been preferred to the poor, then as the one ſhould have been puffed up with pride, as that he had been more acceptable to God, by reaſon of his greater gift; ſo ſhould the conſcience of the other have been troubled and wounded, thinking that his poverty was an impediment, that he could not ſtand in ſo perfect favour with God as did the other, becauſe he was not able to give ſo much as did the rich, to the maintenance of his tabernacle: but he, who of mercy, as is ſaid, did chuſe his habitation amongſt them, and alſo that beſt knoweth what lieth within man, did provide the remedy for the one, and for the other, making them equal in that behalf, who in other things were moſt unequal. If the poor ſhould have found himſelf grieved by reaſon of that tax, and that as much was impoſed upon him as upon the rich, yet had he no ſmall cauſe of joy, that God himſelf would pleaſe to compare him, and to make him equal (in the maintenance of his tabernacle), to the moſt rich and potent in Iſrael.

If this equality was commanded by God, for maintenance of that tranſitory tabernacle, which was but a ſhadow of a better to come, Is not the ſame required of us, who now have the Verity, which is Chriſt Jeſus? who being clad with our nature, is made 'Immanuel, that is, God with 'us; whoſe natural body, albeit it be received 'into the heavens, where he muſt abide till all be 'complete, that is foreſpoken by the prophets, yet 'hath he promiſed to be preſent with us to the 'end of the world.' And for that purpoſe, and for the more aſſurance of his promiſe, he hath erected among us here in the earth, the ſigns of his own preſence with us, his ſpiritual tabernacle, the true preaching of his word, and right adminiſtration of his ſacraments; to the maintenance whereof, is no leſs bound the ſubject than the prince, the poor than the rich: for as the price which was given for man's redemption is one, ſo God requireth of all that ſhall be partakers of the benefits of the ſame a like duty; which is a plain con-

feſſion, that by Chriſt Jeſus alone we have received whatſoever was loſt in Adam.

Of the prince doth God require, That he refuſe himſelf, and that he follow Jeſus Chriſt; of the ſubject he requireth the ſame. Of the kings and judges it is required, That they kiſs the Son; that is, give honour, ſubjection, and obedience to him: and from ſuch reverence doth not God exempt the ſubject that ſhall be ſaved; and this is that equality which is betwixt the kings and ſubjects, the moſt rich or noble, and betwixt the pooreſt and men of loweſt eſtate; *viz.* That as the one is obliged to believe in heart, and with mouth to confeſs the Lord Jeſus to be the only Saviour of the world, ſo alſo is the other. Neither is there any of God's children (who hath attained to the years of diſcretion) ſo poor, but that he hath thus much to beſtow upon the ornaments and maintenance of their ſpiritual tabernacle, when neceſſity requireth; neither yet is there any ſo rich, of whoſe hands God requireth any more: for albeit that David gathered great ſubſtance, for the building of the temple; that Solomon, with earneſt diligence, and incredible expences, erected and finiſhed the ſame; that Hezekiah and Joſiah purged the religion, which before was corrupted; yet to them was God no further debtor in that reſpect, than he was to the moſt ſimple of the faithful poſterity of faithful Abraham: for their diligence, zeal, and works, gave rather teſtimony and confeſſion before men, what honour they did bear to God, what love to his word, and reverence to his religion, than that any work proceeding from them did either eſtabliſh, or yet increaſe God's favour towards them, who freely did love them, in Chriſt his Son, before the foundation of the world was laid: ſo that theſe forenamed, by their notable works, gave teſtimony of their unfeigned faith: and the ſame doth the pooreſt, that unfeignedly and openly profeſſeth Chriſt Jeſus, and doth embrace his glad tidings offered, that doth abhor ſuperſtition, and fly from idolatry.

The pooreſt, I ſay, and moſt ſimple that this day on earth, in the days of this cruel perſecution, firmly believeth in Chriſt, and boldly doth confeſs him before this wicked generation, is no leſs acceptable before God, neither is judged in his preſence to have done any leſs in promoting Chriſt's cauſe, than is the king, that by the ſword and power, which he hath received of God, rooteth out idolatry, and ſo advanceth Chriſt's glory. But to return to our former purpoſe, it is no leſs required, I ſay, of the ſubject to believe in Chriſt, and to profeſs his true religion, than of the prince and king: and therefore I affirm, That in God's preſence it ſhall not excuſe you, to alledge, That ye were no chief rulers, and therefore that the care and reformation of religion did not appertain unto you.

Ye, dear brethren, as before is ſaid, are the creatures of God, created to his own image and ſimilitude; to whom it is commanded, to hear the voice of your heavenly Father, to embrace his Son Chriſt Jeſus, to fly from all doctrine and religion which he hath not approved by his own will, revealed to us in his moſt bleſſed word; to which precepts and charges, if ye be found diſobedient, ye ſhall periſh in your iniquity, as rebels and ſtubborn ſervants, that have no pleaſure to obey the good will of their ſovereign Lord, who moſt lovingly doth call for your obedience: and therefore, brethren, in this behalf, it is your part to be careful and diligent; for the queſtion is not of things temporal, which, although they be endangered, yet by diligence and proceſs of time may after be redreſſed; but it is of the damnation of your bodies and ſouls, and of the loſs of life everlaſting, which once loſt can never be recovered: and therefore, I ſay, that it behoveth you to be careful and diligent in this ſo weighty a matter, leſt that ye, contemning this occaſion, which God now offereth, find not the like, although that after, with groaning and ſobs, ye languiſh for the ſame. And that ye be not ignorant of what occaſion I mean, in few words I ſhall expreſs it.

Not only I, but with me alſo divers other godly and learned men, do offer unto you our labours, faithfully to inſtruct you in the ways of the Eternal, our God, and in the ſincerity of Chriſt's goſpel, which this day, by the peſtilent generation of Antichriſt (I mean, by the pope, and by his moſt ungodly clergy), are almoſt hid from the eyes of men: we offer to jeopard our lives for the ſalvation of your ſouls, and by manifeſt Scriptures to prove that religion, which amongſt you is maintained by fire and ſword, to be falſe, vain, and diabolical. We require nothing of you, but that patiently ye will hear our doctrine, which is not ours, but the doctrine of ſalvation revealed to the world by the only Son of God; and that ye will examine our reaſons, by which we offer to prove the Papiſtical religion to be abominable before God: and laſtly, we require, That by your power the tyranny of thoſe cruel beaſts (I mean, of prieſts and friars) may be bridled, till we have uttered our minds in all matters this day debatable in religion: if theſe things, in the fear of God, ye grant to me, and unto others that unfeignedly, for your ſalvation,

and for God's glory, require the ſame, I am aſſured, that of God ye ſhall be bleſſed, whatſoever Satan ſhall deviſe againſt you. But if ye contemn or refuſe God, who thus lovingly offereth unto you ſalvation and life, ye ſhall neither eſcape plagues temporal, which ſhortly ſhall apprehend you; neither yet the torment prepared for the devil, and for his angels; except by ſpeedy repentance ye return to the Lord, whom ye now refuſe, if that ye refuſe the meſſengers of his word.

But yet I think ye doubt what ye ought, and may do, in this ſo weighty a matter. In few words I will declare my conſcience in the one and in the other: ye ought to prefer the glory of God, the promoting of Chriſt's goſpel, and the ſalvation of your ſouls, to all things that be in the earth: and ye, although ye be but ſubjects, may lawfully require of your ſuperiors, be it of your king, be it of your lords, rulers, and powers, that they provide for you true preachers; and that they expel ſuch as, under the name of paſtors, devour and deſtroy the flock, not feeding the ſame as Chriſt Jeſus hath commanded: and if in this point your ſuperiors be negligent, or yet pretend to maintain tyrants in their tyranny, moſt juſtly ye may provide true teachers for yourſelves, paſtors according to the mind and heart of God, by whom ye may be fed with that moſt comfortable food of your ſouls, Chriſt's goſpel truly preached. Ye may moreover, in a peaceable manner, without ſedition, with-hold the fruits and profits which your falſe biſhops and clergy moſt unjuſtly receive of you, unto ſuch time as they ſhall faithfully do their charge and duties; which is, To preach unto you Chriſt Jeſus truly, rightly to miniſter the ſacraments according to his own inſtitution; and ſo to watch for the ſalvation of your ſouls, as is commanded by Chriſt Jeſus himſelf, and by his apoſtles Paul and Peter.

If God ſhall move your hearts in his true fear, to begin to practiſe theſe things, and to demand and crave the ſame of your ſuperiors, which moſt lawfully ye may do, then I doubt not but, of his great mercy and free grace, he will illuminate the eyes of your minds, that his undoubted verity will be a lantern to your feet, to guide and lead you in all the ways which godly wiſdom doth approve: he will make your enemies tremble before your faces: he will eſtabliſh his goſpel amongſt you, to the ſalvation and perpetual comfort of yourſelves, and of your poſterity after you. But if, as God forbid, the love of friends, the fear of your princes, and the wiſdom of the world, draw you back from God, and from his Son Chriſt Jeſus, be ye certainly perſuaded, That ye ſhall drink the cup of his vengeance; ſo many, I mean, as ſhall contemn and deſpiſe this loving calling of your heavenly Father.

It will not excuſe you, dear brethren, in the preſence of God, neither yet will it avail you in the day of his viſitation, to ſay, 'We were but 'ſimple ſubjects; we could not redreſs the faults 'and crimes of our rulers, biſhops, and clergy; 'we called for reformation, and wiſhed for the 'ſame: but lords brethren were biſhops, their 'ſons were abbots, and the friends of great men 'had the poſſeſſion of the church, and ſo were 'we compelled to give obedience to all that they 'demanded.' Theſe vain excuſes,' I ſay, will nothing avail you in the preſence of God, who requireth no leſs of the ſubjects, than of their rulers; that they decline from evil, and that they do good; that they abſtain from idolatry, ſuperſtition, blaſphemy, murder, and other ſuch horrible crimes, which his law forbiddeth; and yet nevertheleſs are openly committed and maliciouſly defended in that miſerable realm.

And if ye think that ye are innocent, becauſe ye are not the chief actors of ſuch iniquity, ye are utterly deceived; for God doth not only puniſh the chief offenders, but with them doth he condemn the conſenters to ſuch iniquity; and all are judged to conſent, that, knowing impiety committed, give no teſtimony that the ſame diſpleaſeth them. To ſpeak this matter more plain, As your princes and rulers are criminal with your biſhops of all idolatry committed, and of all the innocent blood that is ſhed for the teſtimony of Chriſt's truth, and that becauſe they maintain them in their tyranny; ſo are you (I mean ſo many of you as give no plain confeſſion to the contrary) criminal and guilty with your princes and rulers of the ſame crimes; becauſe you aſſiſt and maintain your princes in their blind rage, and give no declaration that their tyranny diſpleaſeth you.

This doctrine, I know, is ſtrange to the blind world; but the verity of it hath been declared in all notable puniſhments from the beginning. When the original world periſhed by water; when Sodom and Gomorrah were conſumed by fire; and finally, when Jeruſalem was horribly deſtroyed; doth any man think that all were alike wicked before the world? Evident it is that they were not, if they be judged according to their external facts: for ſome were young, and could not be oppreſſors, neither yet could defile themſelves with unnatural and beaſtly luſts; ſome were pitiful and gentle of nature, and did not thirſt for the blood of Chriſt,

nor of his apoſtles: But did any eſcape the plagues and vengeance which did apprehend the multitude? Let the Scriptures witneſs, and the hiſtories be conſidered, which plainly do teſtify, That by the waters all fleſh in earth at that time did periſh (Noah and his family excepted); that none eſcaped in Sodom, and in the other cities adjacent, except Lot and his two daughters. And evident it is, That in that famous city Jeruſalem, in that laſt and horrible deſtruction of the ſame, none eſcaped God's vengeance, except ſo many as before were diſperſed.

And what is the cauſe of this ſeverity, ſeeing that all were not alike offenders? Let the fleſh ceaſe to diſpute with God, and let all men, by theſe examples, learn betimes to fly and avoid the ſociety and company of the proud contemners of God, if that they liſt not to be partakers of their plagues. The cauſe is evident, if we can be ſubject to God's judgments without grudging, which in themſelves are moſt holy and juſt: for in the original world none was found, that either did reſiſt tyranny and oppreſſion that univerſally was uſed, nor yet that earneſtly reprehended the ſame: in Sodom was none found that did gainſtand that furious and beaſtly multitude, that did compaſs about and beſiege the houſe of Lot; none would believe Lot, that the city ſhould be deſtroyed: and finally, in Jeruſalem was found none that ſtudied to repreſs the tyranny of the prieſts, who were conjured againſt Chriſt and his goſpel; but all fainted (I except ſuch as gave witneſs with their blood, or their flying, that ſuch impiety diſpleaſed them), all kept ſilence; by the which all approved iniquity, and joined hands with the tyrants, and ſo were all arrayed and ſet, as it had been, in one battle, againſt the Omnipotent, and againſt his Son Jeſus Chriſt: for whoſoever gathereth not with Chriſt in the day of his harveſt, is judged to ſcatter; and therefore of one vengeance temporal were they all partakers.

Which thing, as before I have touched, ought to move you to the deep conſideration of your duties in theſe laſt and moſt perilous times. The iniquity of your biſhops is more than manifeſt; their filthy lives infect the air; the innocent blood which they ſhed, crieth for vengeance in the ears of our God; the idolatry and abomination, which openly they commit, and without puniſhment maintain, doth corrupt and defile the whole land, and none amongſt you do unfeignedly ſtudy for any redreſs of ſuch enormities. Will God in this behalf hold you as innocents? Be not deceived, dear brethren; God hath puniſhed not only the proud tyrants, filthy perſons, and cruel murderers, but alſo ſuch as with them did draw the yoke of iniquity, was it by flattering their offences, obeying their unjuſt commandments, or in winking at their manifeſt iniquity: all ſuch, I ſay, God once puniſhed with the chief offenders. Be aſſured, brethren, that, as he is immutable of nature, ſo will he not pardon you in that which he hath puniſhed in others; and now the leſs, becauſe he hath plainly admoniſhed you of the dangers to come, and hath offered you his mercy before he pour forth his wrath and diſpleaſure upon the diſobedient.

God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who is the Father of glory, and God of all conſolation, give you the Spirit of wiſdom, and open unto you the knowledge of himſelf, by the means of his dear Son, by which ye may attain to the eſperance and hope, that after the troubles of this tranſitory life, ye may be partakers of the glorious inheritance, which is prepared for ſuch as refuſe themſelves, and fight under the banner of Chriſt Jeſus in the day of this his battle: that in deep conſideration of the ſame, ye may learn to prefer the inviſible and eternal joys, to the vain pleaſures that are preſent. God further grant you his Holy Spirit, rightly to conſider, what I, in his name, have required of your nobility, and of you the ſubjects, and move all together ſo to anſwer, that my petition be not a teſtimony of your juſt condemnation, when the Lord Jeſus ſhall appear to revenge the blood of his ſaints, and the contempt of his moſt holy word. Amen.

'Sleep not in ſin, for vengeance is prepared a-
'gainſt the diſobedient. Fly from Babylon, if ye
'will not be partakers of her plagues.'

Be witneſs to my Appellation. Grace be with you.

From Geneva, the 14th
of July, 1558.

Your brother to command in godlineſs,

JOHN KNOX.

A

FAITHFUL ADMONITION

MADE BY

JOHN KNOX,

TO THE

True Professors of the Gospel of CHRIST within the Kingdom of ENGLAND, in the Year 1554.

JOHN KNOX *wisheth Grace, Mercy, and Peace from God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the perpetual Comfort of the Holy Ghost, to be with you for ever and ever, dear Brethren, the afflicted Members of Christ's Church in England.*

HAVING no less desire to comfort such as now be in trouble within the realm of England (and especially you for many causes most dear to me), than hath the natural father to ease the grief and pain of his dearest child; I have considered with myself, what argument or parcel of God's Scriptures was most convenient and meet to be handled for your consolation, in those most dark and dolorous days: and so (as for the same purpose I was turning my book) I chanced to see a note in the margin, written thus in Latin, *Videat Anglia*, Let England beware; which note when I had considered, I found, that the matter written in my book in Latin was this, 'Seldom 'it is that God worketh any notable work to the 'comfort of his church, but that trouble, fear, 'and labour, cometh upon such as God hath used 'for his servants and workmen; and also tribula-'tion most commonly followeth that church where 'Christ Jesus is most truly preached.' This note was made upon a place of Scripture written in the 14th chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel; which place declareth, That after Christ Jesus had used the apostles as ministers and servants to feed (as it had been by their hands) five thousand men, besides women and children, with five barley-loaves and two fishes; he sent them to the sea, commanding them to pass over before him to the other side. Which thing as they attempted to obey, and for the same purpose did travel and row forth in the sea, the night approached, the wind was contrary, the vehement and raging storm arose, and was like to overthrow their poor boat and them. When I considered (as dolour and my simplicity would suffer) the circumstance of the text, I began to reckon and ask account of myself (and, as God knoweth, not without sorrow and sobs), whether at any time I had been so plain by my tongue, as God had opened his holy will and wisdom in that matter unto me, as mine own pen and note bear witness to my conscience: and shortly it came to my mind, that the same place of Scripture I had handled in your presence, when God gave opportunity, and time for you to hear God's messenger speak the words of eternal life. Wherefore I thought nothing more expedient, than shortly to call to mind again such things as then I trust were touched; albeit peradventure neither of me so plainly uttered, neither of you so plainly perceived, as these most dolorous days declare the same to us.

It shall not be necessary to handle the text word by word, but of the whole sum to gather certain

notes and obſervations (which ſhall not far diſagree from the ſtate of thoſe days) it ſhall be ſufficient. And firſt it is to be obſerved, That after this great miracle that Chriſt had wrought, he neither would retain with himſelf the multitude of people whom he had fed, neither yet his diſciples; but the one he ſent away, every man to return to his place of accuſtomed reſidence, and the others he ſent to the danger of the ſeas, not that he was ignorant what ſhould chance unto them, but knowing and foreſeeing the tempeſt, yea, and appointing the ſame ſo to trouble them.

It is not to be judged, that the only and true Paſtor would remove and ſend away from him the wandering and weak ſheep, neither yet that the only provident Governor and Guide would ſet out his rude warriors to ſo great a jeopardy, without ſufficient and moſt juſt cauſe.

Why Chriſt removed and ſent away from him the people, the evangeliſt St. John declareth, ſaying, 'When Jeſus knew that they were come to 'take him, that they might make him a king, he 'paſſed ſecretly (or alone) to the mountain.' Whereof it is plain what chiefly moved Chriſt to ſend away the people from him; becauſe that by him they ſought a carnal and worldly liberty, regarding nothing his heavenly doctrine of the kingdom of God his Father, which before he had taught and declared unto them plainly, ſhewing them, That ſuch as would follow him muſt ſuffer for his name's ſake perſecution, muſt be hated of all men, muſt deny themſelves, muſt be ſent forth as ſheep among wolves: but no part of this doctrine pleaſed them, or could enter into their hearts; but their whole mind was upon their bellies, for ſuffricing whereof they deviſed and imagined, that they would appoint Chriſt Jeſus to be their wordly king; for he had power to multiply bread at his pleaſure. Which vain opinion and imagination perceived by Chriſt Jeſus, he withdrew himſelf from their company, to avoid all ſuch ſuſpicion, and to let them underſtand, That no ſuch honours did agree with his vocation, who came to ſerve, and not to be ſerved: and when this ſame people ſought him again, he ſharply rebuked them, becauſe they ſought him more to have their bellies fed with corruptible meat, than to have their ſouls nouriſhed with lively bread that came down from heaven. And thus in the people there was juſt cauſe why Chriſt ſhould withdraw himſelf from them for a time.

Why the diſciples ſhould ſuffer that great danger, fear, and anguiſh, St. Mark, in his Goſpel, plainly ſheweth, ſaying, 'That their hearts were 'blinded, and therefore did neither remember, nor 'conſider the miracle of the loaves;' that is, albeit with their hands they had touched that bread, by which ſo great a multitude was fed; and albeit alſo they had gathered up twelve baſkets full of that which remained of a few loaves, which, before the miracle, a boy was able to have borne; yet did they not rightly conſider the infinite power of Chriſt Jeſus by this wonderful miracle; and therefore of neceſſity it was, that in their own bodies they ſhould ſuffer trouble, for their better inſtruction.

When I deeply conſider, dearly beloved in our Saviour Chriſt, how abundantly, and how miraculouſly the poor and ſmall flock of Chriſt Jeſus was fed within the realm of England, under that elect and choſen veſſel of God to glory and honour, Edward VI. and now again behold, not only the diſperſion and ſcattering abroad, but alſo the appearing deſtruction of the ſame, under theſe curſed, cruel, and abominable idolaters, methinks I ſee the ſame cauſes to have moved God, not only to withdraw his preſence from the multitude, but alſo to have ſent his well-beloved ſervants to the travels of the ſeas, wherein they were ſore toſſed and turmoiled, and apparently moſt like to periſh.

What were the affections of the greateſt multitude that followed the goſpel in this former reſt and abundance, is eaſy to be judged, if the life and converſation of every man ſhould have been thoroughly examined: For who lived (in that reſt) as that he had refuſed himſelf? Who lived in that reſt, as that he had been crucified with Chriſt? Who lived in that reſt, as that he had certainly looked for trouble to come upon him? Yea, who lived not rather in delicacy and joy, and ſeeking the world and pleaſures thereof, caring for the fleſh and carnal appetites, as though death and ſin had clean been devoured? And what was this elſe, than to make of Chriſt an earthly king? The word that we profeſſed, daily cried in our ears, That our kingdom, our joy, our reſt, and felicity, neither was, is, nor ſhould be upon the earth, neither in any tranſitory thing thereof, but in heaven, 'into which we muſt enter by many tribulations.' But, alas! we ſlept in ſuch ſecurity, that the ſound of the trumpet could of many never be perfectly underſtood, but always we perſuaded ourſelves of a certain tranquillity, as though the troubles, whereof mention is made within the Scriptures of God, appertained nothing at all to this age, but unto ſuch as of long time are paſſed

before us; and therefore was our heavenly Father compelled to withdraw from us the preſence of his verity (whoſe voice in thoſe days we could not believe), to the end that more earneſtly we may thirſt for the ſame, and with more obedience embrace and receive it, if ever it ſhall pleaſe his infinite goodneſs in ſuch abundance to reſtore the ſame again.

I mean nothing of thoſe that followed Chriſt only for their bellies; for ſuch, perceiving that they could not obtain their hearts deſire of Chriſt, have grudged, and left him in body and heart; which thing, their blaſphemous voices ſpake againſt his eternal verity, doth witneſs and declare. For ſuch, brethren, be ye not moved, for in the time of their profeſſion they were not of us, but were very diſſemblers and hypocrites; and therefore God juſtly permitteth that they blaſpheme the truth, which they never loved. I mean not, that ever ſuch diſſembling hypocrites ſhall embrace the verity, but I mean ſuch, as by infirmity of the fleſh, and by natural blindneſs (which in this life is never altogether expelled), then could not give the very obedience which God's word required, neither now, by weakneſs of faith, dare openly and boldly confeſs that, which their hearts know to be moſt true, and yet lament and mourn, both for the imperfection bypaſt and preſent; from ſuch ſhall not the amiable preſence of Chriſt for ever be withdrawn; but yet again ſhall the eyes of their ſore troubled hearts behold and ſee that light of Chriſt's goſpel, wherein they moſt delight. We the miniſters, who were the diſtributors of this bread (the true word of God), wherewith the multitude within England was fed, lacked not our offences, which alſo moved God to ſend us to the ſea. And becauſe the offences of no man are ſo manifeſt unto me as mine own, I will only cenſure myſelf.

Is is not unknown unto many, that I (the moſt wretched) was once of that number whom God appointed to receive that bread (as it was broken by Chriſt Jeſus), to diſtribute and give the ſame to ſuch as he had called to this banquet, in that part of his table, where he appointed me to ſerve. It is not in my knowledge nor judgment to define, nor determine what portion or quantity every man received of this bread, neither yet how that which they received agreed with their ſtomachs; but of this I am aſſured, That the benediction of Chriſt Jeſus ſo multiplied the portion which I received of his hands, that during the banquet (this I write to the praiſe of his name, and to the accuſation of mine own unthankfulneſs) the bread never failed when the hungry ſoul craved or cried for food; and at the end of the banquet, mine own conſcience beareth witneſs, that mine hands gathered up the crumbs that were left in ſuch abundance, that the banquet was full amongſt the reſt. To be plain, mine own conſcience beareth record to myſelf, how ſmall was my learning, and how weak I was of judgment, when Chriſt Jeſus called me to be his ſteward; and how mightily, day by day, and time by time, he multiplied his graces with me, if I ſhould conceal, I were moſt wicked and unthankful.

But, alas! how blinded was my heart, and how little did I conſider the dignity of that office, and the power of God that then multiplied and bleſſed the bread which the people received of my hands, this day mine own conſcience beareth witneſs to myſelf! God I take to record in my conſcience, that I delivered the ſame bread that I received of Chriſt's hands; and that I mixed no poiſon with the ſame; that is, I teached Chriſt's goſpel without any mixture of mens dreams, devices, or phantaſies. But, alas! I did it not with ſuch fervency, with ſuch indifferency, and with ſuch diligence, as this day I know my duty was to have done.

Some complained in thoſe days, That the preachers were indiſcreet perſons (yea, ſome called them Railers, and worſe), becauſe they ſpake againſt the manifeſt iniquity of men, and eſpecially of thoſe that then were placed in authority, as well in court, as in other offices univerſally throughout the realm, in cities, towns, and villages. And amongſt others peradventure my rude plainneſs diſpleaſed ſome, who did complain, that raſhly I did ſpeak of mens faults; ſo that all men might know and perceive of whom I meant. But, alas! this day my conſcience accuſeth me, That I ſpake not ſo plainly as my duty was to have done: for I ought to have ſaid to the wicked man expreſsly by his name, 'Thou ſhalt die the death.' For I find Jeremiah the prophet to have done ſo to Paſhur the high prieſt, and to Zedekiah the king. And not only he, but alſo Elijah, Eliſha, Micah, Amos, Daniel, Chriſt Jeſus himſelf, and after him his apoſtles, expreſsly to have named the blood-thirſty tyrants, abominable idolaters, and diſſembling hypocrites of their days. If that we the preachers within the realm of England, were appointed by God to be the ſalt of the earth (as his other meſſengers were before us), alas! why with-held we the ſalt, where manifeſt compunction did appear? (I accuſe none but myſelf.) The blind love that I did bear to this my wicked carcaſe, was the chief cauſe that I was not fervent and faithful enough in that

behalf: for I had no will to provoke the hatred of all men againſt me; and therefore ſo touched I the vices of men in the preſence of the greateſt, that they might ſee themſelves to be offenders (I dare not ſay that I was the greateſt flatterer); but yet nevertheleſs, I would not be ſeen to proclaim manifeſt war againſt the manifeſt wicked: whereof unfeignedly I aſk my God mercy.

As I was not ſo fervent in rebuking manifeſt iniquity, as it became me to have been; ſo was I not ſo indifferent a feeder, as is required of Chriſt's ſteward: for in preaching Chriſt's goſpel, albeit mine eye (as knoweth God) was not much upon worldly promotion, yet the love of friends, and carnal affection of ſome men, with whom I was moſt familiar, allured me to make more reſidence in one place than in another, having more reſpect to the pleaſure of a few, than to the neceſſity of many. That day I thought I had not ſinned, if I had not been idle; but this day I know it was my duty to have had conſideration how long I had remained in one place, and how many hungry ſouls were in other places, to whom, alas! none took pains to break and diſtribute the bread of life.

Moreover, remaining in one place, I was not diligent as mine office required; but ſome time, by counſel of carnal friends, I ſpared the body; ſome time I ſpent in worldly buſineſs of particular friends; and ſome time in taking recreation and paſtime by exerciſe of the body.

And albeit men may judge theſe to be light and ſmall offences, yet I acknowledge and confeſs, that unleſs pardon ſhould be granted to me in Chriſt's blood, that every one of theſe three offences aforenamed, that is to ſay, Lack of fervency in reproving ſin, the lack of indifferency in feeding thoſe that were hungry, and the lack of diligence in the execution of mine office, deſerved damnation.

And beſide theſe, I was aſſaulted, yea, infected and corrupted with more groſs ſins; that is, my wicked nature deſired the favours, the eſtimation and praiſe of men; againſt which, albeit that ſome time the Spirit of God did move me to fight, and earneſtly did ſtir me (God knoweth I lie not) to ſob and lament for thoſe imperfections; yet never ceaſed they to trouble me, when any occaſion was offered: and ſo privily and craftily did they enter into my breaſt, that I could not perceive my ſelf to be wounded, till vain glory had almoſt gotten the upper-hand.

'O Lord! be merciful to my great offence, and 'deal not with me according to my great iniquity, 'but according to the multitude of thy mercies, re-'move from me the burden of my ſin; for of pur-'poſe and mind, to have avoided the vain diſplea-'ſure of man, I ſpared little to offend thy Majeſty.'

Think not, beloved in the Lord, that thus I accuſe myſelf without juſt cauſe, as though in ſo doing I might appear more holy; or that yet I do it of purpoſe and intent, by occaſion thereof to accuſe others of my brethren, the true preachers of Chriſt, of like or greater offences: no, God is judge to my conſcience, that I do it even from an unfeigned and ſore troubled heart, as I that know myſelf grievouſly to have offended the majeſty of my God, during the time that Chriſt's goſpel had free paſſage in England. And this I do let you underſtand, That the taking away of the heavenly bread, and this great tempeſt that now bloweth againſt the poor diſciples of Chriſt within the realm of England (as touching our part), cometh from the great mercy of our heavenly Father, to provoke us to unfeigned repentance; for that neither preacher nor profeſſor did rightly conſider the time of our merciful viſitation: but altogether ſo we ſpent the time, as though God's word had been preached rather to ſatisfy our fancies, than to reform our evil manners: which thing if we earneſtly repent, then ſhall Jeſus Chriſt appear to our comfort, be the ſtorm never ſo great. 'Haſte, O Lord! for thy name's ſake.'

The ſecond thing that I find to be noted, is, The vehemency of the fear which the diſciples endured in that great danger, being of longer continuance than ever they had at any time before.

In St. Matthew's Goſpel it appeareth, That another time there aroſe a great ſtormy tempeſt, and ſore toſſed the boat wherein Chriſt's diſciples were labouring: but that was nigh the day-light, and then they had Chriſt with them in the ſhip, whom they awaked, and cried for help unto him (for at that time he ſlept in the boat), and ſo were ſhortly delivered from their ſudden fear. But now were they in the midſt of the raging ſea, and it was night, and Chriſt their Comforter abſent from them, and cometh not to them, neither in the firſt, ſecond, nor third watch; What fear think ye were they in? And what thoughts aroſe out of their ſore troubled hearts, during that ſtorm? Such as this day are in like danger within the realm of England, do by this ſtorm better underſtand, than my pen can expreſs. But of one thing I am well aſſured, That Chriſt's preſence would in that great perplexity have been to them more comfortable than ever it was before; and that patiently they would have

ſuffered their incredulity to have been rebuked, ſo that they might have eſcaped the preſent death.

But profitable it ſhall be, and ſomewhat to our comfort, to conſider every parcel of their danger: and firſt, ye ſhall underſtand, That when the diſciples paſſed to the ſea, to obey Chriſt's commandment, it was fair weather, and no ſuch tempeſt ſeen; but ſuddenly the ſtorm aroſe, with a contrarious blaſt of wind, when they were in the midſt of their voyage: for if the tempeſt had been as great in the beginning of their entrance into the ſea, as it was after when they were about the midſt of their paſſage, neither would they have adventured ſuch a great danger; neither yet had it been in their power to have attained to the midſt of the ſea: and ſo it may be evidently gathered, that the ſea was calm when they entered upon their voyage.

Then it is to be remarked, by what means and inſtruments was this ſtorm moved; Was the plunging of their oars, and force of their ſmall boat, ſuch as might ſtir the waves of the great ſea? No doubtleſs; but the Holy Ghoſt declareth, That the ſeas were moved by a vehement and contrary wind, which blew againſt their ſhip in the time of darkneſs: but ſeeing the wind is neither the commander nor mover of itſelf, ſome other cauſe is to be inquired, which hereafter we ſhall touch.

And laſtly, it is to be noted and conſidered, What the diſciples did in all this vehement tempeſt: truly they turned not to be driven back for land or ſhore, by the vehemency of the contrary wind; for ſo it might be thought, that they could not have eſcaped ſhipwreck and death; but they continually laboured in rowing againſt the wind, abiding the ceaſing of that horrible tempeſt.

Conſider and mark, beloved in the Lord, what we read here to have chanced to Chriſt's diſciples, and to their poor boat; and you ſhall well perceive, that the ſame thing hath chanced, doth, and ſhall chance, to the true church and congregation of Chriſt (which is nothing elſe in this miſerable life but a poor ſhip), travelling in the ſeas of this unſtable and troubleſome world, toward the heavenly port, and haven of eternal felicity, which Chriſt Jeſus hath appointed to his elect.

This I might prove by the poſterity of Jacob in Egypt; by the Iſraelites in their captivity; and by the church during the time that Chriſt himſelf did preach (and ſome time after his reſurrection and aſcenſion), againſt whom the vehement ſtorm did not rage immediately after they entered into the ſhip of their travel and tribulation: for the bloody ſentence of Pharaoh was not pronounced againſt the ſeed of Jacob, when he firſt did enter into Egypt; neither was the cruel counſel and deviliſh device of proud Haman invented by and by, after Iſrael and Judah were tranſlated from their poſſeſſions: neither yet, in the time of Chriſt Jeſus, being converſant with his apoſtles in the fleſh, was there uſed any ſuch tyranny againſt the ſaints of God, as ſhortly after followed in the perſecution of St. Stephen, and other diſciples: but all theſe, in the beginning of their travel with a contrary wind, had alway ſome calm; that is, albeit they had ſome trouble, yet had they not extreme perſecution.

Even ſo, moſt dearly beloved, is happened now to the afflicted church of God within the realm of England: at all times the true word of God ſuffered contradiction and repugnancy; and ſo the wind blew againſt us, even from the beginning of the late upriſing of the goſpel in England; but yet it could not ſtop our courſe, till now of late days, that the raging wind bloweth without bridle upon the unſtable ſeas, in the midſt whereof we are in this hour of darkneſs.

To write my mind plainly unto you, beloved brethren; This wind that always hath blown againſt the church of God, is the malice and hatred of the devil, which rightly in this caſe is compared to the wind: for as the wind is inviſible, and yet the poor diſciples feel that it troubleth and hindereth their ſhip; ſo is the peſtilent envy of the devil working always in the hearts of the reprobate, ſo ſubtile and crafty, that it cannot be eſpied by God's elect, nor by his meſſengers, till firſt they feel the blaſts thereof to blow their ſhip backward: and as the vehement wind cauſeth the waves of the ſea to rage, and yet the dead water neither knoweth what it doth, neither yet can it ceaſe nor refrain, ſo that both it is troubled by the wind, and alſo itſelf doth trouble Chriſt's diſciples in their poor ſhip; ſo by the envy and malice of the devil, are wicked and cruel, as well ſubjects as princes (whoſe hearts are like the raging ſea), compelled to perſecute and trouble the true church of Chriſt; and yet ſo blinded are they, and ſo enthralled under the bondage of the devil, that neither can they ſee their manifeſt iniquity, neither yet can they ceaſe to run to their own deſtruction. And hereof, England, haſt thou manifeſt experience; for (in the time of king Henry VIII.) how the wolf, and wicked Wincheſter, and others, by the vehement wind of ſix bloody articles (by the devil deviſed), intended to have overthrown the

poor ſhip and Chriſt's diſciples, is evidently known already. But then had we Chriſt Jeſus with us ſleeping in the ſhip, who did not deſpiſe the faithful crying of ſuch as then were in trouble; but by his mighty power, gracious goodneſs, and invincible force of his holy word, he compelled thoſe wicked winds to ceaſe, and the raging of thoſe ſeas to be ſtilled and calm; ſo that all the hearts of God's elect, within the realm of England, did wonder at that ſudden change, while that under a lamb the fearful edge of that devouring ſword was taken from the necks of the faithful; and the tyranny of thoſe ravening and blood-thirſty wolves (I mean of wily Wincheſter, and of ſome other his brethren, the ſons of Belial) was repreſſed for a time: but yet ceaſed not the devil to blow his wind, by his wicked inſtruments, who found the means, how, againſt nature, the one brother ſhould aſſent to the death of the other: but that could not hinder the courſe of the travelling boat, but forth ſhe goeth in deſpite of the devil, who then more cruelly raged, perceiving his own honour and ſervice, that is, his deteſtable maſs, to be diſcloſed and opened before the people, to be damnable idolatry, and aſſured damnation to ſuch as put their truſt in it; and therefore began he more craftily to work, and finding the ſame inſtruments apt enough, whoſe labours he had uſed before, he blew ſuch mortal hatred between two, which appeared to be the chief pillars under the king; for that wretched, alas! and miſerable Northumberland could not be ſatisfied, till ſuch time as ſimple Somerſet moſt unjuſtly was bereft of his life. What the devil, and his members, the peſtilent Papiſts, meant, by his away-taking, God compelled my tongue to ſpeak in more places than one; and ſpecially before you, and in Newcaſtle, as Sir Robert Bradling did not forget a long time after: God grant that he may underſtand all other matters ſpoken before him then, and at other times, as rightly as he did that mine interpretation of the vineyard, whoſe hedges, ditches, towers, and wine-preſs, God deſtroyed, becauſe it would bring forth no good fruit; and that he may remember, that whatever was ſpoken by my mouth that day, is now complete, and come to paſs, except that final deſtruction and vengeance is not yet fallen upon the greateſt offenders, as aſſuredly ſhortly it ſhall, unleſs that he, and ſome other of his ſort, that then were enemies to God's truth, will ſpeedily repent (and that earneſtly) of their ſtubborn diſobedience. God compelled my tongue, I ſay, openly to declare, That the devil and his miniſters intended only the ſubverſion of God's true religion, by that mortal hatred among thoſe which ought to have been moſt aſſuredly knit together by Chriſtian charity, and by benefits received; and eſpecially that the wicked and envious Papiſts (by that ungodly breach of charity) diligently minded the overthrow of him, that to his own deſtruction procured the death of his innocent friend: thus, I ſay, I was compelled of conſcience oftener than once to affirm, That ſuch as ſaw, and invented the means how the one ſhould be taken away, ſaw, and ſhould find the means alſo to take away the other; and that all that trouble was deviſed by the devil and his inſtruments, to ſtop and hinder Chriſt's diſciples and their poor boat; but that was not able, becauſe ſhe was not yet come to the midſt of the ſea.

Tranſubſtantiation, the bird that the devil hatched by pope Nicholas, and ſince that time foſtered and nouriſhed by all his children, prieſts, friars, monks, and others his conjured and ſworn ſoldiers, and in theſe laſt days, chiefly by Stephen Gardner, and his black brood in England; tranſubſtantiation, I ſay, was then clearly confuted and mightily overthrown; and therefore God hath put wiſdom in the tongues of his miniſters and meſſengers to diſcloſe that vanity; and ſpecially gave ſuch ſtrength to that reverend father in God Thomas Cranmer, to cut the knots of deviliſh ſophiſtry, linked and knit by the devil's Gardner, and his blind buzzards, to hold the verity of the ever Living God under bondage, that rather I think they ſhall condemn his works (which notwithſtanding ſhall continue and remain to their confuſion), than they ſhall enterpriſe to anſwer the ſame. And alſo God gave boldneſs and knowledge to the court of parliament, to take away the round-clipped god, wherein ſtandeth all the holineſs of Papiſts, and to command common bread to be uſed at the Lord's table, and alſo to take away the moſt part of ſuperſtitions (kneeling at the Lord's ſupper excepted), which before profaned Chriſt's true religion. Then, dear brethren, was the boat in the midſt of the ſea, and ſuddenly ariſeth the horrible tempeſt, moſt fearful and dolorous; 'Our king is 'taken away from us:' and the devil bloweth in ſuch organs, as always he had found obedient to his precepts, and by them he inflameth the heart of that wretched and unhappy man (whom I judge more to be lamented than hated), to covet the imperial crown of England to be eſtabliſhed to his poſterity; and what thereupon hath ſucceeded, it is not now neceſſary to be written.

Of this ſhort diſcourſe, beloved in the Lord, you may conſider and perceive two ſpecial notes;

1. That the whole malice of the devil hath always this end, to vex and overthrow Chriſt's afflicted church; for what elſe intended the devil and his ſervants, the peſtilent Papiſts, by all theſe their crafty policies, during the time that Chriſt's goſpel was preached in England, than the ſubverſion of the ſame goſpel, and that they might recover power to perſecute the ſaints of God, as this day, in the hour of darkneſs, they have obtained for a time, to their own deſtruction? Let no man wonder though I ſay, that the crafty policies of peſtilent Papiſts wrought all the miſchief; for who could more eaſier and better work greater miſchief than ſuch as bore authority and rule? And who, I pray you, ruled the roſt in the court all this time, by ſtout courage and proudneſs of ſtomach, but Northumberland? But who, I pray you, under king Edward, ruled all by counſel and wit? Shall I name the man? I will write no more plainly now than my tongue ſpake, the laſt ſermon that it pleaſed God that I did make before that innocent and moſt godly king Edward VI. and before his council at Weſtminſter, and even to the faces of ſuch as of whom I meant; handling this place of Scripture, *Qui edit mecum panem, ſuſtulit adverſus me calcaneum ſuum;* that is, He that eateth bread with me, hath lifted up his heel againſt me; I made this affirmation, That commonly it was ſeen, that the moſt godly princes had officers and chief counſellors moſt ungodly, conjured enemies to God's true religion, and traitors to their princes; not that their wickedneſs and ungodlineſs was ſpeedily perceived and eſpied out, of the ſaid princes and godly men, but that for a time thoſe crafty colourers could ſo cloke their malice againſt God and his truth, and their hollow hearts toward their loving maſters, that by worldly wiſdom and policy at length they attained to high promotions. And, for the proof of this mine affirmation, I recited the hiſtories of Ahithophel, Shebnah, and Judas; of whom the two former had high offices and promotions, with great authority, under the moſt godly princes David and Hezekiah; and Judas was purſe-maſter with Chriſt Jeſus. And when I had made ſome diſcourſe on that matter, I moved this queſtion:

'Why permitted ſo godly princes ſo wicked men 'to be of their council, and to bear office and au-'thority under them?'

To which I anſwered, That either they ſo abounded in worldly wiſdom, foreſight, and experience, touching the government of a commonwealth, that their counſel appeared to be ſo neceſſary, that the commonwealth could not lack them; and ſo, by the colour to preſerve the tranquillity and quietneſs in realms, they were maintained in authority; or elſe they kept their malice, which they bore towards their maſters and God's true religion, ſo ſecret in their breaſts, that no man could eſpy it, till, by God's permiſſion, they waited for ſuch occaſion and opportunity, that they uttered all their miſchief ſo plainly, that all the world might perceive it: and that was moſt evident by Ahithophel and Shebnah; for of Ahithophel it is written, that he was David's moſt ſecret counſellor; and that becauſe his counſel in thoſe days was like the oracle of God. And Shebnah was unto good king Hezekiah ſome time comptroller, ſome time ſecretary, and laſt of all treaſurer; to the which offices he had never been promoted under ſo godly a prince, if the treaſon and malice which he bore againſt the king, and againſt God's true religion, had been manifeſtly known. No, ſay I, Shebnah was a crafty fox, and could ſhew ſuch a fair countenance to the king, that neither he nor his council could eſpy his malicious treaſon; but the prophet Iſaiah was commanded by God to go to his preſence, and to declare his traiterous heart and miſerable end.

Was David, ſaid I, and Hezekiah, princes of great and godly gifts and experience, abuſed by crafty counſellors and diſſembling hypocrites? What wonder is it then, that a young and innocent king be deceived by crafty, covetous, wicked, and ungodly counſellors? I am greatly afraid, that Ahithophel is counſellor, that Judas bears the purſe, and that Shebnah is ſcribe, comptroller, and treaſurer.

This, and ſomewhat more I ſpake that day, not in a corner (as many yet can witneſs), but even before thoſe whom my conſcience judged worthy of accuſation: and this day no more do I write (albeit I may juſtly, becauſe they have declared themſelves moſt manifeſtly), but yet do I affirm, that under that innocent king, peſtilent Papiſts had greateſt authority. Oh! who was judged to be the ſoul and life to the council, in every matter of weighty importance? Who but Shebnah, who could beſt diſpatch buſineſs, that the reſt of the council might hawk and hunt, and take their pleaſure? None like unto Shebnah. Who was moſt frank and ready to deſtroy Somerſet, and ſet up Northumberland? Was it not Shebnah? Who was

moſt bold to cry Baſtard, baſtard, inceſtuous baſtard, Mary ſhall never reign over us? And who, I pray you, was moſt buſy to ſay, Fear not to ſubſcribe with my lords of the king's majeſty's moſt honourable privy council? Agree to his majeſty's laſt will and perfect teſtament, and let never that obſtinate woman come to authority, ſhe is an arrant Papiſt, ſhe will ſubvert the true religion, and will bring in ſtrangers, to the deſtruction of this commonwealth. Which of the council, I ſay, had theſe and greater perſuaſions againſt Mary, to whom now he coucheth and kneeleth? Shebnah the treaſurer. And what intended ſuch traiterous and diſſembling hypocrites by all theſe and ſuch-like crafty ſlights and counterfeit conveyance? Doubtleſs, the overthrow of Chriſt's true religion, which then began to flouriſh in England, the liberty whereof fretted ſuch peſtilent Papiſts, who now have gotten the days which they long looked for, but yet to their own deſtruction and ſhame; for, in the ſpite of their hearts, the plagues of God ſhall ſtrike them, they ſhall be comprehended in the ſnare which they prepare for others: for their own counſels ſhall make themſelves ſlaves to a proud, miſchievous, unfaithful, and vile nation.

Now to the ſecond note of our diſcourſe, which is this; Albeit the tyrants of this earth have learned by long experience, that they are never able to prevail againſt God's truth; yet, becauſe they are bound ſlaves to their maſter the devil, they cannot ceaſe to perſecute the members of Chriſt, when the devil blows his wind in the darkneſs of the night; that is, when the light of Chriſt's goſpel is taken away, and the devil reigneth by idolatry, ſuperſtition, and tyranny.

This moſt evidently may be ſeen from the beginning of the world to the time of Chriſt, and from thence till this day. Iſhmael might have perceived, that he could not prevail againſt Iſaac, becauſe God had made his promiſe unto him, as no doubt Abraham their father taught to his whole houſehold; Eſau likewiſe underſtood the ſame of Jacob; Pharaoh might plainly have ſeen, by many miracles, that Iſrael was God's people, whom he could not utterly deſtroy: and alſo the ſcribes and Phariſees, and chief prieſts, were utterly convinced in their conſcience, that Chriſt's whole doctrine was of God, and that to the profit and commodity of man, his miracles and works were wrought by the power of God; and therefore, that they could never prevail againſt him; and yet, as the devil ſtirred them, none of thoſe could refrain from perſecuting him, whom they knew moſt certainly to be innocent.

This I write, that you ſhall not wonder, albeit now ye ſee the poiſoned Papiſts, wicked Winchеſter, and dreaming Dureſme, with the reſt of the faction (who ſometimes were ſo confounded, that neither they durſt, nor could ſpeak nor write in the defence of their hereſies), now ſo to rage and triumph againſt the eternal truth of God, as though they had never aſſayed the power of God ſpeaking by his true meſſengers.

Wonder not hereat, I ſay, beloved brethren, that the tyrants of this world are ſo obedient, and ready to follow the cruel counſels of ſuch diſguiſed monſters; for neither can the one nor the other refrain, becauſe both ſorts are as ſubject to obey the devil, their prince and father, as the unſtable ſea is to lift up the waves, when the vehement wind bloweth upon it.

It is fearful to be heard, that the devil hath ſuch power over any man, but yet the word of God hath ſo inſtructed us; and therefore, albeit it be contrary to our fancy, yet we muſt believe it: for the devil is called the prince and god of this world, becauſe he reigneth, and is honoured by tyranny and idolatry in it.

He is called the prince of darkneſs, that hath power in the air; it is ſaid, That he worketh in the children of unbelief, becauſe he ſtirreth them to trouble God's elect; as he invaded Saul, and compelled him to perſecute David; and likewiſe he entered into the heart of Judas, and moved him to betray his Maſter. He is called prince over the ſons of pride, and father of all thoſe that are liars and enemies to God's truth; over whom he hath no leſs power this day, than ſometimes he had over Annas and Caiaphas, whom no man denieth to have been led and moved by the devil, to perſecute Chriſt Jeſus and his moſt true doctrine: and therefore, wonder not, I ſay, that now the devil rageth in his obedient ſervants, wily Winchеſter, dreaming Dureſme, and bloody Bonner, with the reſt of their bloody butcherly brood; for this is their hour and power granted unto them; they cannot ceaſe nor aſſwage their furious fumes, for the devil their fire ſtirreth and moveth, and carrieth them even at his will. But in this that I declare, the power of the devil working in cruel tyrants, think you that I attribute or give to him or them power at their pleaſure? No, not ſo, brethren, not ſo: for as the devil hath no power to trouble the elements, but as God ſhall ſuffer; ſo hath worldly tyrants (albeit the devil

hath fully poſſeſſed their hearts) no power at all to trouble the ſaints of God, but as their bridle ſhall be looſed by God's hands.

And herein, dear brethren, ſtandeth my ſingular comfort this day, when I hear, that thoſe bloody tyrants, within the realm of England, do kill, murder, deſtroy, and devour man and woman, as ravenous lions now looſed from bonds; I lift up therefore the eyes of mine heart (as my iniquity and preſent dolour will ſuffer), and to my heavenly Father will I ſay,

'O Lord! thoſe cruel tyrants are looſed by thy 'hand, to puniſh our former ingratitude, whom, 'we truſt, thou wilt not ſuffer to prevail for ever; 'but when thou haſt corrected us a little, and haſt 'declared unto the world the tyranny that lurked 'in their boldened breaſts, then wilt thou break 'their jaw-bones, and wilt ſhut them up in their 'caves again, that the generation and poſterity fol-'lowing may praiſe thy holy name before thy con-'gregation. Amen.'

When I feel any taſte or motion of theſe promiſes, then think I myſelf moſt happy, and that I have received a juſt compenſation, albeit I, and all that to me in earth belongeth, ſhould ſuffer preſent death, knowing, that God ſhall yet ſhew mercy to his afflicted church within England, and that he ſhall repreſs the pride of theſe preſent tyrants, like as he hath done of thoſe that were before our days.

And therefore, beloved brethren, in our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, hold up to God your hands that are faint through fear; and let your hearts, that have in theſe dolorous days ſlept in ſorrow, awake, and hear the voice of your God, who ſweareth by himſelf, That he will not ſuffer his church to be oppreſſed for ever, neither that he will deſpiſe our ſobs to the end, if we will row and ſtrive againſt this vehement wind: I mean, if that ye will not run back headlong to idolatry, then ſhall this ſtorm be aſſwaged in deſpite of the devil; Chriſt Jeſus ſhall come with ſpeed to your deliverance, he ſhall pierce through the wind, and the raging ſeas ſhall obey, and bear his feet and body, as the maſſy, ſtable, and dry land. Be not moved from the ſure foundation of your faith; for albeit that Chriſt Jeſus be abſent from you (as he was from his diſciples in that great ſtorm) by his bodily preſence, yet is he preſent by his mighty power and grace: he ſtandeth upon the mountain in ſecurity and reſt; that is, his fleſh and whole humanity is now in heaven, and can ſuffer no ſuch trouble as ſometimes he did, and yet he is full of pity and compaſſion, and doth conſider all our travel, anguiſh, and labours; wherefore it is not to be doubted, but that he will ſuddenly appear to our great comfort. The tyranny of this world cannot keep back his coming, any more than the bluſtering wind and raging ſeas could keep Chriſt from coming to his diſciples, when they looked for nothing but preſent death.

And therefore, yet again I ſay, beloved in the Lord, let your hearts attend to the promiſes that God hath made unto true repentant ſinners, and be fully perſuaded with a conſtant faith, that God is always true, and juſt in his performance of his promiſes. You have heard theſe days ſpoken of very plainly, when your hearts could fear no danger, becauſe you were nigh the land, and the ſtorm was not yet riſen; that is, ye were young ſcholars of Chriſt, when no perſecution was felt or ſeen: but now ye are come into the midſt of the ſea, (for what part of England heard not of your profeſſion?) and the vehement ſtorm, whereof we then almoſt in every exhortation ſpake of, is now ſuddenly riſen up. But what! Hath God brought you ſo far forth, that you ſhall both in ſouls and bodies every one periſh? Nay, my whole truſt in God's mercy and truth is to the contrary. For God brought not his people into Egypt, and from thence through the Red Sea, to the intent they ſhould periſh, but that he in them ſhould ſhew a moſt glorious deliverance: neither ſent Chriſt his apoſtles into the midſt of the ſea, and ſuffering the ſtorm to aſſault them and their ſhip, to the intent they ſhould there periſh; but becauſe he would the more have his great goodneſs towards them felt and received, in ſo mightily delivering them out of the fear of periſhing; giving us thereby an example, that he would do the like to us, if we abide conſtant in our profeſſion and faith, withdrawing ourſelves from ſuperſtition and idolatry.

We gave you warning of thoſe days long ago: for the reverence of Chriſt's blood, let theſe words be noted; 'The ſame truth that ſpake before of 'theſe dolorous days, foreſpake alſo of the ever-'laſting joy prepared for ſuch as ſhould continue 'to the end.' The trouble is come, O dear brethren! look for the comfort, and (after the example of the apoſtle) abide in reſiſting this vehement ſtorm a little ſpace.

The third watch is not yet ended: remember that Chriſt Jeſus came not to his diſciples till it was the fourth watch, and they were then in no leſs danger than you are now; for their faith fainted, and their bodies were in danger. But

Chriſt Jeſus came when they looked not for him; and ſo ſhall he do to you, if you will continue in the profeſſion that you have made. This dare I be bold to promiſe, in the name of him whoſe eternal verity and glorious goſpel ye have heard and received, who alſo putteth into my heart an earneſt thirſt (God knoweth I lie not) of your ſalvation, and ſome care alſo for your bodies, which now I will not expreſs.

Thus ſhortly have I paſſed through the outrageous tempeſt, wherein the diſciples of Chriſt were tempted, after that the great multitude were by Chriſt fed in the deſart, omitting many profitable notes which might well have been marked in the text, becauſe my purpoſe is at this preſent not to be tedious, nor yet curious, but only to note ſuch things as be agreeable to theſe moſt dolorous days.

And ſo, let us now ſpeak of the end of this ſtorm and trouble, in which I find four things chiefly to be noted:

Firſt, That the diſciples, at the preſence of Chriſt, were more afraid than they were before.

Secondly, That Chriſt uſeth no other inſtrument but his word, to pacify their hearts.

Thirdly, That Peter, in a fervency, firſt left his ſhip, and yet after feared.

Fourthly and *laſtly*, That Chriſt permitted neither Peter, nor the reſt of his diſciples, to periſh in that fear, but gloriouſly delivered all, and pacified the tempeſt.

Their great fear, and the cauſe thereof, are expreſſed in the text, in theſe words; 'When the 'diſciples ſaw him walking upon the ſea, they 'were afraid, ſaying, It is a ſpirit; and they cried 'through fear.'

It is not my purpoſe in this treatiſe to ſpeak of ſpirits, nor yet to diſpute, whether ſpirits, good or bad, may appear and trouble men; neither yet to inquire, why man's nature is afraid of ſpirits, and ſo vehemently abhorreth their preſence and company: but my purpoſe is only to ſpeak of things neceſſary for this time.

And, firſt, let us conſider that there were three cauſes why the diſciples knew not Chriſt, but judged him to be a ſpirit.

The firſt cauſe was, The darkneſs of the night.

The ſecond was, The unaccuſtomed viſion that appeared.

And the third was, The danger and the tempeſt, in which they ſo earneſtly laboured for the ſafeguard of themſelves.

The darkneſs, I ſay, of the night prevented their eyes from ſeeing him; and it was above nature, that a maſſy, heavy, and weighty body of a man (ſuch as they underſtood their Maſter Chriſt to have) ſhould walk, go upon, or be borne up by the water of the raging ſea, and not ſink. And finally, the horror of the tempeſt, and great danger that they were in, perſuaded them to look for none other, but certainly to be drowned.

And ſo all theſe three things concurring together, confirmed in them this imagination, 'That 'Chriſt Jeſus, who came to their great comfort 'and deliverance, was a fearful and wicked ſpirit 'appearing to their deſtruction.'

What here happened to Chriſt Jeſus himſelf, that I might prove to have chanced, and daily to happen, to the verity of his bleſſed word in all ages from the beginning.

For as Chriſt himſelf, in this their trouble, was judged and eſteemed by his diſciples at the firſt ſight a ſpirit, or fantaſtical body; ſo is the truth and ſincere preaching of his glorious goſpel, ſent by God for man's comfort, deliverance from ſin, and quietneſs of conſcience, when it is firſt offered, and truly preached, it is (I ſay) no leſs than judged to be hereſy and deceivable doctrine, ſent by the devil for man's deſtruction.

The cauſe hereof is the dark ignorance of God, which in every age, ſince the beginning, ſo overwhelmed the world, that ſometimes God's very elect were in like blindneſs and error with the reprobate; as Abraham was an idolater; Moſes was inſtructed in all the ways of the Egyptians; Paul, a proud Phariſee, conjured againſt Chriſt and his doctrine: and many in this our age, when the truth of God was offered unto them, were ſore afraid, and cried againſt it, only becauſe the dark clouds of ignorance had troubled them before. But this matter I omit and let paſs, till further opportunity.

The chief note that I would have you well obſerve and mark, in this prepoſterous fear of the diſciples, is this;

'The more nigh deliverance and ſalvation ap-'proacheth, the more ſtrong and vehement is the 'temptation of the church of God; and the more 'nigh that God's vengeance approacheth to the 'wicked, the more proud, cruel, and arrogant are 'they.'

Whereby it commonly cometh to paſs, that the very meſſengers of life are judged and deemed to be the authors of all miſchief; and this in many hiſtories is evident. When God had appointed to deliver the afflicted Iſraelites, by the hand of Moſes, from the tyranny of the Egyptians, and Moſes was

ſent to the preſence of Pharaoh for the ſame purpoſe, ſuch was their affliction and anguiſh by the cruelty which newly was exerciſed over them, that with open mouths they curſed Moſes (and, no doubt, in their hearts they hated God who ſent him), alledging, That Moſes and Aaron were the whole cauſe of their laſt extreme trouble.

The like is to be ſeen in the Book of the Kings, both under Eliſha and Iſaiah the prophets: for in the days of Joram, ſon of Ahab, was Samaria beſieged by the king of Syria: in which Samaria, no doubt (albeit the king and moſt of the multitude were wicked), there were yet ſome members of God's elect church, who were brought to ſuch extreme famine, that not only things of ſmall price were ſold beyond all meaſure, but alſo women, againſt nature, were compelled to eat their own children: in this ſame city Eliſha the prophet moſt commonly was converſant, and dwelt, by whoſe counſel and commandment, no doubt, the city was kept; for it appeareth, the king laid that to his charge, when he, hearing of the piteous complaint of the woman (who, for hunger, had eaten her own ſon), rent his clothes, with a ſolemn oath and vow, that the head of Eliſha ſhould not ſtand upon his ſhoulders that day. If Eliſha had not been of counſel, that the city ſhould have been kept, Why ſhould the king have more fumed againſt him than againſt others? But whether he was the author of the defending of the city, or not, all is one to my purpoſe; for before the deliverance was the church in ſuch extremity, that the chief paſtor of that time was ſought to be killed by ſuch as ſhould have defended him.

The like is read of Hezekiah, who defending his city Jeruſalem, and reſiſting proud Sennacherib, no doubt obeying the counſel of Iſaiah, at length was ſo oppreſſed with ſorrow and ſhame, by the blaſphemous words of Rabſhakeh, that he had no other refuge but in the temple of the Lord, as a man deſperate and without comfort, to open the diſdainful letters ſent unto him by that haughty and proud tyrant.

By theſe and many hiſtories more, it is moſt evident, that the more nigh ſalvation and deliverance approacheth, the more vehement is the temptation and trouble.

This I write to admoniſh you, that albeit yet you ſhall ſee tribulation ſo abound, that nothing ſhall appear but extreme miſery, without all hope of comfort, that yet you decline not from God: and that albeit ſometimes ye be moved to hate the meſſengers of life, that therefore ye ſhall not judge that God will never ſhew mercy after. No, dear brethren, as he hath dealt with others before you, ſo will he deal with you.

God will ſuffer tribulation and dolour to abound, that no manner of comfort ſhall be ſeen in man, to the intent, that when deliverance cometh, the glory may be his, whoſe only word may pacify the tempeſt moſt vehement.

He drowned Pharaoh and his army; he ſcattered the great multitude of Benhadad; and by his angel killed the hoſt of Sennacherib; and ſo delivered his afflicted, when nothing appeared to them but utter deſtruction. So ſhall he do to you, beloved brethren, if patiently ye will abide his conſolation and counſel. God open your eyes, that ye may rightly underſtand the meaning of my writing. Amen.

But yet peradventure, you wonder not a little why God permitteth ſuch blood-thirſty tyrants to moleſt and grieve his choſen church: I have recited ſome cauſes before, and yet more I could recite, but at this time I will hold myſelf content with one.

The juſtice of God is ſuch, that he will not pour forth his extreme vengeance upon the wicked, until ſuch time as their iniquity be ſo manifeſt, that their very flatterers cannot excuſe it. Pharaoh was not deſtroyed, till his own houſehold-ſervants and ſubjects abhorred and condemned his ſtubborn diſobedience.

Jezebel and Athalia were not thruſt from this life into death, till all Iſrael and Judah were witneſſes of their cruelty and abominations. Judas was not hanged, till the princes of the prieſts bore witneſs of his traiterous act and iniquity.

To paſs over the tyrants of old times, whom God hath plagued, let us come to the tyrants, which now are within the realm of England, whom God will not long ſpare: if Stephen Gardner, Cuthbert Tunſtal, and butcherly Bonner, falſe biſhops of Wincheſter, Dureſme, and of London, had for their falſe doctrine and traiterous acts ſuffered death, when they juſtly deſerved the ſame, then would arrant Papiſts have alledged (as I and others have heard them do), that they were men reformable; that they were meet inſtruments for a commonwealth; that they were not ſo obſtinate and malicious as they were judged; neither that they thirſted for the blood of any man: and of lady Mary, who hath not heard, that ſhe was ſober, merciful, and one that loved the commonwealth of England? Had ſhe, I ſay, and ſuch as now are of her peſtilent coun-

cil, been dead before theſe days, then ſhould not their iniquity and cruelty ſo manifeſtly have appeared to the world; For who would have thought, that ſuch cruelty could have entered into the heart of a woman, and into the heart of her that is called a Virgin, that ſhe would thirſt for the blood of innocents, and of ſuch as (by juſt laws and faithful witneſſes) can never be proved to have offended?

I find that Athalia (through appetite to reign) murdered the ſeed of the kings of Judah, and that Herodias' daughter (at the deſire of a whoriſh mother) obtained the head of John the Baptiſt; but yet that ever a woman ſuffered herſelf to be called the moſt Bleſſed Virgin, cauſed ſo much blood to be ſpilt for eſtabliſhing the uſurped authority of the pope, I think the like is rare to be found in Scripture or other hiſtory.

I find that Jezebel (that curſed idolatreſs) cauſed the blood of the prophets of God to be ſhed, and Naboth to be murdered unjuſtly for his own vineyard; but yet I think ſhe never erected half ſo many gibbets in all Iſrael, as miſchievous Mary hath done within London alone. But you Papiſts will excuſe your Mary the virgin: well, let her be your virgin, and a goddeſs meet to entertain ſuch idolaters, yet ſhall I rightly lay to her charge, that which I think no Papiſt within England will juſtify or defend: and therefore, O ye Papiſts! here I will a little turn my pen unto you: anſwer unto this queſtion, O ye ſeed of the ſerpent! Would any of you have confeſſed two years ago, that Mary, your mirror, had been falſe, diſſembling, inconſtant, proud, and a breaker of promiſes (except ſuch promiſes as ſhe made to your god the pope, to the great ſhame and diſhonour of her noble father)? I am ſure you would hardly have thought it of her: And now, doth ſhe not manifeſtly ſhew herſelf to be an open traitoreſs to the imperial crown of England, contrary to the juſt laws of the realm, to bring in a ſtranger, and make a proud Spaniard king, to the ſhame, diſhonour, and deſtruction of the nobility; to the ſpoil of their honours, lands, poſſeſſions, chief offices, and promotions of them and theirs; to the utter decay of the treaſures, commodities, navy, and fortifications of the realm; to the abaſing of the yeomanry, to the ſlavery of the commonalty, to the overthrow of Chriſtianity and God's true religion; and finally, to the utter ſubverſion of the whole public eſtate and commonwealth of England? Let Norfolk and Suffolk, let her own promiſe and proclamation, let her father's teſtament, let the city of London, let the ancient laws and acts of parliaments before eſtabliſhed in England, be judges betwixt my accuſation and her moſt tyrannical iniquity.

Firſt, her promiſe and proclamation did ſignify and declare, That neither would ſhe bring in, neither yet marry any ſtranger; Norfolk, Suffolk, and the city of London, do teſtify and witneſs the ſame. The ancient laws and acts of parliament pronounce it treaſon, to transfer the crown of England into the hands of a foreign nation; and the oath made to obſerve the ſaid ſtatutes, crieth out, That all are perjured who conſent to that her traiterous fact.

Speak now, O ye Papiſts! and defend your monſtrous miſtreſs; and deny, if ye can for ſhame, that ſhe hath not uttered herſelf, to be born (alas, therefore!) to the ruin and deſtruction of noble England. Oh! who would ever have believed (I write now in bitterneſs of heart) that ſuch unnatural cruelty ſhould have had dominion over any reaſonable creature! But the ſaying ſeems to be true, That the uſurped government of an affectionate woman, is a rage without reaſon.

Who would ever have thought, that the love of that realm, which hath brought forth, which hath nouriſhed, and ſo nobly maintained that wicked woman, ſhould not have moved her heart with pity? Who ſeeth not now, that ſhe, in all her doings, declareth moſt manifeſtly, that under an Engliſh name ſhe beareth a Spaniard's heart? If God, I ſay, had not for our ſcourge, ſuffered her and her cruel council to have come to authority, then could never theſe their abominations, cruelty, and treaſon, againſt God, againſt his ſaints, and againſt the realm, whoſe liberties they are ſworn to defend, ſo manifeſtly have been declared. And who ever could have believed, that proud Gardner, and treacherous Tunſtal (whom all Papiſts praiſed, for the love they bore to their country), could have become ſo manifeſtly traiterous, not only againſt their ſolemn oaths, that they ſhould never conſent nor agree unto, that a foreign ſtranger ſhould reign over England; but alſo, that they would adjudge the imperial crown of the ſame to appertain to a Spaniard by inheritance, or lineal deſcent? O traiterous traitors! how can you for ſhame ſhew your faces!

It cometh to my mind, that upon Chriſtmas-day, 1552, preaching in Newcaſtle-upon-Tyne, and ſpeaking againſt the obſtinacy of the Papiſts, I made this affirmation, That whoſoever in his heart was enemy to Chriſt's goſpel and doctrine,

which then was preached within the realm of England, was enemy alſo to God, and ſecret traitors to the crown and commonwealth of England: for as they thirſted after nothing more than the king's death, which their iniquity could procure; ſo they regarded not who ſhould reign over them, ſo that their idolatry might be erected again. How theſe my words at that time pleaſed men, the crimes and action intended againſt me did declare. But let my very enemies now ſay from their conſcience, if thoſe my words have not proved true.

What is the cauſe that Wincheſter, and the reſt of his peſtilent ſect, ſo greedily would have a Spaniard to reign over England? The cauſe is manifeſt; for as that helliſh nation ſurmounteth all other in pride and whoredom, ſo, for idolatry, and vain, Papiſtical, and deviliſh ceremonies, they may rightly be called the very ſons of ſuperſtition; and therefore are they found and judged by the progeny of Antichriſt, moſt apt inſtruments to maintain, eſtabliſh, and defend the kingdom of that cruel beaſt, whoſe head and wound is lately cured within England, which (alas, for pity!) muſt now be brought into bondage and thraldom, that peſtilent Papiſts may reign without puniſhment.

But, O thou beaſt! (I ſpeak to thee, Wincheſter, more cruel than any tiger) ſhall neither ſhame, nor fear, nor benefits received, bridle thy tyrannous cruelty? Art thou not aſhamed (thou bloody beaſt) to betray thy native country, and the liberties of the ſame? Feareſt thou not to open ſuch a door to all iniquity, that England ſhould be made a common ſtew to Spaniards? Wilt thou recompenſe the benefits which thou haſt received of that noble realm with ſuch ingratitude? Remembereſt thou not, that England hath brought thee forth; that England nouriſhed thee; that England hath promoted thee to riches, honour, and high dignity? And wilt thou now (O wretched captive!) for all theſe manifold benefits received, be the cauſe that England ſhall not be England? Yea, verily, for ſo wilt thou gratify thy father the devil, and his lieutenant the pope, whom, with all his baggage, thou laboureſt now (with tooth and nail) to make flouriſh again in England; albeit, like a diſſembling hypocrite, and double-faced wretch, thou being thereto compelled by the invincible verity of God's holy word, wrote, long ago, thy Book intituled, *True Obedience*, againſt that monſtrous whore of Babylon, and her falſly uſurped power and authority: but now (to thy perpetual ſhame) thou returneſt to thy vomit, and art become an open archpapiſt again. Furthermore, why ſeekeſt thou the blood of Thomas Cranmer, of good father Hugh Latimer, and of that moſt learned and diſcreet man doctor Ridley? Doſt thou not conſider, that the lenity, ſincere doctrine, pure life, godly converſation, and diſcreet counſel of theſe three, is notably known in more realms than England? Art thou not aſhamed to ſeek the deſtruction of thoſe, who laboured for the ſafeguard of thy life, and obtained the ſame, when thou juſtly deſervedſt death?

But, O thou ſon of Belial! well declareſt thou, that nothing can modify the cruel malice, nor purge the deadly venom of him, in whoſe heart wickedneſs beareth the dominion: thou art like to Cain, and fellow to Judas the traitor; and therefore canſt thou do nothing, but thirſt for the blood of Abel, and betray Chriſt Jeſus and his eternal verity.

Thus, dear brethren, muſt the ſons of the devil declare their own impiety and ungodlineſs, that when God's vengeance (which ſhall not ſleep) ſhall be poured forth upon them, all tongues ſhall confeſs, acknowledge, and ſay, That God is righteous in all his judgments; and to this end are cruel tyrants permitted and ſuffered for a time, not only to live in wealth and proſperity, but alſo to prevail and obtain victory, as touching the fleſh, over the very ſaints of God, and over ſuch as enterpriſe to reſiſt their fury at God's commandment. But now to that which followeth.

The inſtrument and means wherewith Chriſt Jeſus uſed to remove and put away the horrible fear and anguiſh of his diſciples, is his holy word; for ſo it is written, 'But by and by Jeſus ſpake unto 'them, ſaying, Be of good comfort, it is I, be 'not afraid.' The natural man (that cannot underſtand the power of God) would have deſired ſome other preſent comfort in ſo great a danger; as, either to have had the heavens opened, to ſhew unto them ſuch light in that darkneſs, that Chriſt might have been fully known by his own face; or elſe, that the winds and raging waves of the ſeas ſuddenly ſhould have ceaſed; or ſome other miracle that had been ſubject to all their ſenſes, whereby they might have perfectly known that they were delivered from all danger. And truly, equal it had been to Chriſt Jeſus to have done any of theſe (or any work greater) as to have ſaid, 'It is I, be not afraid:' but willing to teach us the dignity and effectual power of his moſt holy word, he uſeth no other inſtrument to pacify the great and horrible fear of his diſciples, but his comfortable word, and lively voice: and this is not done only at one time, but whenſoever his church is in ſuch a ſtrait and perplexity, that nothing ap-

peareth but extreme calamity, deſolation, and ruin; then the firſt comfort that ever it receiveth, is by the means of his word and promiſe; as in the troubles and temptations of Abraham, Iſaac, Jacob, Moſes, David, and Paul, may appear.

To Abraham was given no other defence, after that he had diſcomfited four kings (whoſe poſterity and lineage, no doubt, he, being a ſtranger, greatly feared), but only this promiſe of God made to him by his holy word, 'Fear not, Abraham, I 'am thy buckler;' that is, thy protection and defence.

The ſame we find of Iſaac, who flying from the place of his accuſtomed habitation, compelled thereto by hunger, got no other comfort nor conduct, but this promiſe only, 'I will be with thee.'

In all the journeys and temptations of Jacob, the ſame is to be eſpied; as when he fled from his father's houſe, for fear of his brother Eſau; when he returned from Laban; and when he feared the inhabitants of the region of the Canaanites and Perizzites, for the ſlaughter of the Sichemites committed by his ſons; he received no other defence, but only God's word and promiſe.

And this in Moſes, and in the afflicted church under him, is moſt evident; for when Moſes himſelf was in ſuch deſpair, that he was bold to chide with God, ſaying, 'Why haſt thou ſent me? For 'ſince that time I have come to Pharaoh, to ſpeak 'in thy name, he hath oppreſſed this people; neither yet haſt thou delivered thy people.'

This ſame expoſtulation of Moſes declareth how ſore he was tempted; yea, and what opinion he had conceived of God; that is, That God was either impotent, and could not deliver his people from ſuch a tyrant's hand; or elſe, That he was mutable, and unjuſt in his promiſes. And this ſame, and ſorer temptations, aſſaulted the people; for in anguiſh of heart, they both refuſed God and Moſes (as we have before partly touched). And what means uſed God to comfort them in that great extremity? Did he ſtraightway ſuddenly kill Pharaoh, the great tyrant? No. Did he ſend them a legion of angels to defend and deliver them? No ſuch thing: but he only reciteth and beateth into their ears his former promiſes to them, which oftentimes they had before; and yet the rehearſal of the ſame wrought ſo mightily in the heart of Moſes, that not only was bitterneſs and deſpair removed away, but alſo he was inflamed with ſuch boldneſs, that without fear he went again to the preſence of the king, after he had been threatened and repulſed by him.

This I write, beloved in the Lord, that ye knowing the word of God not only to be that whereby were created heaven and earth, but alſo to be the power of God to ſalvation to all that believe, the bright lantern to the feet of thoſe that by nature walk in darkneſs, the life to thoſe that by ſin are dead, a comfort to ſuch as are in tribulation, the tower of defence to ſuch as are moſt feeble, the wiſdom and great felicity of ſuch as delight in the ſame: and to be ſhort, you know God's word to be of ſuch efficacy and ſtrength, that thereby is ſin purged, death vanquiſhed, tyrants ſuppreſſed; and finally, the devil, the author of all miſchief, overthrown and confounded: this, I ſay, I write, that ye, knowing this of the holy word, and moſt bleſſed goſpel and voice of God (which once ye have heard, I truſt, to your comfort) may now, in this hour of darkneſs, and moſt raging tempeſt, thirſt and pray, that ye may hear yet once again this amiable voice of our Saviour Chriſt, 'Be of good 'comfort, it is I, fear not;' and alſo, that ye may receive ſome conſolation from that bleſſed goſpel which before ye have profeſſed, aſſuredly knowing, that God ſhall be no leſs merciful unto you, than he hath been to others afflicted for his name's ſake before you; and albeit that God ſpeedily removeth not this horrible darkneſs, neither ſuddenly pacifieth this tempeſt, yet ſhall he not ſuffer his toſſed ſhip to be drowned.

Remember, brethren, that God's vengeance plagued not Pharaoh the firſt year of his tyranny; neither did the dogs devour and conſume both the fleſh and bones of wicked Jezebel, when ſhe firſt erected and ſet up her idolatry: and yet as none of them eſcaped due puniſhment, ſo did God preſerve his afflicted church, in deſpite of Satan, and of his blind and moſt wretched ſervants; as he ſhall not fail to do in this great tempeſt and darkneſs within the realm of England. And therefore yet again, beloved in the Lord, let the comfort of God's promiſes ſomewhat quicken your dull ſpirits; exerciſe yourſelves now ſecretly, in revolving that which ſometimes you have heard openly proclaimed in your ears; and be every man now a faithful preacher unto his brother: if your communication be of Chriſt, aſſuredly he will come before you be aware: his word is like unto ſweet-ſmelling ointment, or fragrant flowers, which never can be moved or handled, but forth goeth the odour, to the comfort of thoſe that ſtand by; which is not ſo pleaſant, if the ointment remain within the box, and the flowers ſtand or lie without touching or motion.

Mark well, dear brethren, before that Chriſt ſpake, his diſciples judged him to have been ſome wicked ſpirit, which was to them no delightful ſavour; but when he ſpeaketh, the ſweet ſound of his voice pierceth their hearts: for what comfort was in the hearts of his diſciples, when they heard theſe words, 'Be of good comfort, it is I;' that is, Judge not that I am a ſpirit come to your deſtruction; no, even I am come for your deliverance: it is I, your Maſter; yea, your Maſter moſt familiar: it is I, whoſe voice and doctrine you know, for ye are my ſheep: it is I, whoſe works you have ſeen, although perfectly ye conſidered not the ſame: it is I, who commanded you to enter into this journey, and therefore am I come to you now in the hour of your trouble; and therefore, be not afraid, this ſtorm ſhall ceaſe, and you ſhall be delivered.

What comfort, I ſay, dear brethren, was in the hearts of the diſciples, hearing Chriſt's voice, and knowing him by the ſame, can neither the tongue or pen of man expreſs, but only ſuch as after long conflict and ſtrife (which is betwixt the fleſh and the ſpirit in the time of extreme troubles, when Chriſt appeareth to be abſent) feel at laſt the conſolation of the Holy Ghoſt, witneſs and declare.

And Peter giveth ſome external ſign, what Chriſt's word wrought inwardly in his heart: for immediately after he heard his Maſter's voice, he ſaith, 'Lord, if it be thou, command me to come 'unto thee upon the waters.' Here it may be ſeen what Chriſt's voice had wrought in Peter's heart; truly not only a forgetting and contempt of the great tempeſt, but alſo ſuch boldneſs and love, that he could fear no danger following, but aſſuredly did believe, that his Maſter Chriſt's puiſſance, power, and might was ſuch, that nothing might reſiſt his word and commandment; and therefore he ſaith, 'Command me to come:' as though he ſhould ſay, I deſire no more but the aſſurance of thy commandment: if thou wilt command, I am determined to obey; for aſſuredly I know, that the waters cannot prevail againſt me, if thou ſpeak the word: ſo that whatſoever is poſſible unto thee, by thy will and word may be poſſible unto me.

Thus Chriſt, to inſtruct Peter further, and us by his example, condeſcended to his petition, and commanded him to come; and Peter quickly leaving the ſhip, came down from it, and walked upon the waters, to come to Chriſt. Thus far of Peter's fact, in which lieth great abundance of doctrine; but I will paſs over all, that eſpecially appertaineth not to the quality of this time within the realm of England.

Before it is ſaid, well beloved brethren, That ſometimes the meſſengers of life are judged to be the very meſſengers of death; and that not only with the reprobate, but alſo with God's elect; as was Moſes with the Iſraelites, Jeremiah with the city of Jeruſalem, and Chriſt himſelf with his apoſtles: but that is not a ſin permanent, and that abideth for ever with God's elect; but it vaniſheth away in ſuch ſort, that not only they know the voice of their paſtor, but alſo they earneſtly ſtudy to obey and follow it, to the danger of their own lives: for this is the ſpecial difference betwixt the children of God, and the reprobate.

The one obeyeth God ſpeaking by his meſſengers, whom they embrace with unfeigned love; and that they do, ſometimes not only againſt all worldly appearance, but alſo againſt civil ſtatutes and ordinances of men: and therefore in their greateſt extremity receive they comfort beyond expectation.

The other always reſiſteth God's meſſengers, and hateth his word: and therefore, in their great adverſity, God either taketh from them the preſence of his word, or elſe they fall into ſo deadly deſpair, that although God's meſſengers be ſent unto them, yet neither can they receive comfort by God's promiſes, nor follow the counſel of God's true meſſengers, be it never ſo perfect and fruitful. Hereof have we many evident teſtimonies within the Scriptures of God.

Of Saul it is plain, that God ſo left him, that neither would he give him anſwer by prophet, dream, nor viſion.

To Ahaz king of Judah, in the great anguiſh and fear which he had conceived from the multitude of thoſe that were conbined againſt him, was ſent Iſaiah the prophet, to aſſure him by God's promiſe, that his enemies ſhould not prevail againſt him; and to confirm him in the ſame, the prophet required him to deſire a ſign of God, either from the heaven, or beneath in the deep: but ſuch was the deadly deſpair of him, that always had deſpiſed God's prophets, and had moſt abominably defiled himſelf with idolatry, that no conſolation could enter into his heart, but deſperately, and with a diſſembling and feigned excuſe, he refuſed all the offers of God.

And albeit God relieved this hypocrite for that time (which was not done for his cauſe, but for ſafety of the afflicted church), yet after eſcaped he not the vengeance of God.

The like we read of Zedekiah, the wretched and laſt king of Judah, before the deſtruction of the city of Jeruſalem, who in his great fear and extreme anguiſh, ſent for Jeremiah the prophet, and ſecretly demanded of him, how he might eſcape the great danger that appeared, when the Chaldeans beſieged the city. And the prophet boldly ſpake and commanded the king, if he would ſave his life and the city, to render and give up himſelf into the hands of the king of Babylon. But the miſerable king had no grace to follow the prophet's counſel, becauſe he never delighted in the prophet's doctrine, neither yet had ſhewed unto him any friendly favour: but even as the enemies of God, the chief prieſts and falſe prophets, required of the king, ſo was the good prophet ill uſed; ſometimes caſt into priſon, and ſometimes judged and condemned to die. The moſt evident teſtimony of the wilful blinding of wicked idolaters, is written and recited in the ſame prophet Jeremiah, as followeth:

After that the city of Jeruſalem was burnt and deſtroyed, the king led away priſoner, his ſons and chief nobles ſlain, and the whole vengeance of God poured out upon the diſobedient; yet there was left a remnant in the land, to make uſe of and poſſeſs the ſame, who called upon the prophet Jeremiah, to know the will and pleaſure of God concerning them, whether they ſhould remain ſtill in the land of Judah, as was appointed and permitted by the Chaldeans; or if they ſhould depart, and fly into Eygpt: to certify them of this their duty, they deſire the prophet to pray unto God for them, who, condeſcending and granting their petition, promiſed to keep back nothing from them which the Lord God ſhould open unto him. And they in like manner taking God to record and witneſs, made a ſolemn vow, to obey whatſoever the Lord ſhould anſwer unto him. But when the prophet, by the inſpiration of the Spirit of God, and aſſured revelation and knowledge of his will, commanded them to 'remain ſtill in the land' that they were in, promiſing them, if they would ſo do, That 'God would there plant them;' and that he would repent of all the plagues that he had brought upon them; and that he would be with them, to deliver them from the hands of the king of Babylon. But contrariwiſe, 'if they would 'not obey the voice of the Lord,' but would, againſt his commandment, go to Eygpt, thinking that there they ſhould live in reſt and abundance, without any fear of war, and want of victual, then the very plagues which they feared ſhould come upon them, and take them: for, ſaith the prophet, it ſhall come to paſs, that all men that obſtinately will go to Eygpt, there to remain, ſhall die, either by ſword, hunger, or peſtilence: but when the prophet of God had declared unto them this plain ſentence and will of God, I pray you, what was their anſwer? The text declared it, ſaying, 'Thou ſpeakeſt a lie, neither hath the Lord 'our God ſent thee unto us, commanding that we 'ſhould not go into Egypt; but Baruch the ſon of 'Neriah provoketh thee againſt us, that he may 'give us into the power of the Chaldees, that they 'might kill us, and lead us priſoners into Babylon.' And thus they refuſed the counſel of God, and followed their own fancies.

Here may be eſpied in this people great obſtinacy and blindneſs; for nothing which the Lord had before ſpoken by the prophet Jeremiah had fallen in vain; their own eyes had ſeen the plagues and miſeries which he had threatened take effect in every point, as he had ſpoken before; yea, they were yet green and freſh both in mind and preſence (for the flame and fire wherewith Jeruſalem was conſumed was then ſcarcely quenched); and yet could they not believe his threatenings then ſpoken, neither yet could they follow his fruitful counſel, given for their great wealth and ſafeguard. And why ſo? Becauſe they never delighted in God's truth, neither had they repented of their former idolatry, but ſtill continued and rejoiced in the ſame, as manifeſtly appeareth in the forty-fourth chapter of the ſame prophet; and therefore would they and their wives have been in Egypt, where all kind of idolatry and ſuperſtition abounded, that they (without reproach or rebuke) might have their bellies full thereof, in deſpite of God's holy laws and prophets.

In writing hereof it came to my mind, that after the death of that innocent and moſt godly king Edward VI. while that great tumult was in England, for the eſtabliſhing of that moſt unhappy and wicked woman's authority (I mean of Mary that now reigneth in God's wrath), in treating the ſame argument in a town in Buckinghamſhire, named Hammerſham, before a great congregation, with ſorrowful heart and weeping eyes, I fell into this exclamation:

'O England! now is God's wrath kindled againſt thee, now hath he begun to puniſh, as he hath threatened a long while, by his true prophets and meſſengers; he hath taken from thee the crown of thy glory, and hath left thee without honour, as a body without a head; and this appeareth to be

only the beginning of ſorrows, which appeareth to increaſe; for I perceive, that the heart, the tongue, and hand of one Engliſhman is bent againſt another, and diviſion to be in the whole realm, which is an aſſured ſign of deſolation to come. O England, England! doſt thou not conſider, that the commonwealth is like a ſhip ſailing on the ſea; if thy mariners and governors ſhall conſume one another, ſhalt thou not ſuffer ſhipwreck in ſhort proceſs of time? O England, England! (alas!) theſe plagues are poured upon thee, for that thou wouldſt not know the moſt happy time of thy gentle viſitation: But wilt thou yet obey the voice of thy God, and ſubmit thyſelf to his holy words? Truly, if thou wilt, thou ſhalt find mercy in his ſight, and the eſtate of thy commonwealth ſhall be preſerved.

'But, O England, England! if thou obſtinately wilt return into Egypt; that is, if thou contract marriage, confederacy, or league with ſuch princes, as do maintain and advance idolatry (ſuch as the emperor, who is no leſs enemy unto Chriſt than ever was Nero); if for the pleaſure and friendſhip, I ſay, of ſuch princes, thou returneſt to thine old abominations, before uſed under the Papiſtry, then aſſuredly, O England! thou ſhalt be plagued and brought to deſolation, by the means of thoſe whoſe favours thou ſeekeſt, and by whom thou art procured to fall from Chriſt, and to ſerve Antichriſt.'

This, and much more, in the dolour of my heart, that day, in the audience of ſuch as yet may bear record (through God's permiſſion), I then pronounced: the thing that I then moſt feared, and which alſo my tongue ſpake (that is, the ſubverſion of the true religion, and bringing in of ſtrangers to reign over that realm), this day I ſee come to paſs in mens counſels and determinations; which if they proceed and take effect, as by men it is concluded, then ſo aſſuredly as my God liveth, and as thoſe Iſraelites that obſtinately returned into Eygpt again were plagued to the death, ſo ſhall England taſte what the Lord hath threatened by his prophets before. God grant us true and unfeigned repentance of our former offences. God, for his great mercies ſake, ſtir up ſome Phinehas, Elijah, or Jehu, that the blood of abominable idolaters may pacify God's wrath, that it conſume not the whole multitude. Amen.

But to return to our matter. Of the premiſes it is plain, That ſuch as contemn God's eternal verity and grace, can neither in their troubles receive comfort by God's meſſengers; neither yet can they follow the counſel of God, be it never ſo profitable; but God giveth them over, and ſuffereth them to wander in their own vanities, to their own perdition: whereas contrariwiſe, ſuch as bear a reverence to God's moſt holy word, are drawn by the power and virtue of the ſame, as before is ſaid, to believe, follow, and obey that which God commandeth, be it never ſo hard, ſo unapparent or contrary to their affections; and therefore, as God always keepeth appointment with them, ſo are they wonderouſly preſerved, when God's vengeance is poured forth upon the diſobedient. And this is moſt evident in Abraham, at God's commandment, leaving his country, and going forth he knew not whither; which was a thing not ſo eaſy to be done, as it is to be ſpoken or read. It appeareth alſo in Abraham believing God's promiſes, againſt all appearance; and alſo in offering his ſoon Iſaac, againſt all fatherly love and natural affection. The ſame is ſhown in Moſes, Samuel, Hezekiah, Micaiah, and others of the prophets, who, at the commandment of God's word, boldly paſſed to the preſence of tyrants, and delivered their meſſage to them, as charge was given.

But leſt that ſome ſhould alledge, that theſe examples appertain nothing to a multitude, becauſe they were done in ſingular men; I anſwer, We will conſider what the power of God's word hath wrought in many at one inſtance. After that the Iſraelites had made the golden calf, and ſo fallen into idolatry; Moſes, coming down from the mountain, and beholding their abominations (the honour that they gave to an idol), and the people ſpoiled of their ear-rings and jewels, to their great rebuke and ſhame, was inflamed with ſuch zeal, indignation, and wrath, that, firſt, he broke the tables of the commandments; then, he beat their calf to powder, and gave it to them to drink, to cauſe them to underſtand, that their bellies ſhould receive that which they worſhipped for God; and finally, he commanded that every man that was of God ſhould approach and come nigh unto him: and the ſons of Levi, ſaith the text, came to him; to whom he ſaid, 'Thus ſaith the Lord God of 'Iſrael, let every man put his ſword upon his 'thigh, and go in and out from port to port in 'the tents, and let every man kill his brother, his 'neighbour, and every man his nigh kinſman: 'and the ſons of Levi did according to the word 'of Moſes; and there fell the ſame day of the 'people nigh three thouſand.' It is evident by this hiſtory, that the power of God's word, pronounced by the mouth of a man, prevailed at one

time in a great number againſt nature, and compelled them to be executers of God's vengeance, regarding not the affinity or nighneſs of blood; and alſo, that their doing ſo pleaſed Moſes the ambaſſador of God, who ſaid unto them, 'Conſecrate your hands this day every man in his own ſon, and in his own brother, that a fortunate benediction may be given to you this day.' As though he ſhould ſay, Your father Levi profaned and defiled his hands, killing the Shechemites in his blind rage, which moved his father Jacob, in his laſt teſtament, to condemn, execrate, and curſe that his moſt vehement and ungodly zeal; but becauſe in this work you have preferred God's commandment before blood, nature, and alſo affection, in place of that rebuke and curſe, you have obtained bleſſing and praiſe.

The like puiſſance and virtue of God's word working in a multitude, is to be read in the prophet Jeremiah; who, perceiving the time of God's vengeance to draw nigh, and the city of Jeruſalem to be beſieged, boldly crieth out in his open ſermon, 'He that remaineth in this city ſhall die, either by ſword, by hunger, or by peſtilence. But he that ſhall go forth to the Chaldeans, ſhall live, and ſhall find his ſoul for a prey.' This might have appeared a deceivable, ſeditious, and ungodly ſermon, to command ſubjects to depart from the obedience and defence of their native prince, rich citizens and valiant ſoldiers from their poſſeſſions and ſtrong holds, and to deſire them to render themſelves, without all manner of reſiſtance, into the hands of ſtrangers, being their enemies: What carnal man would not have judged the perſuaſions of the prophet moſt fooliſh and falſe? And yet in the hearts of ſuch as God had elected and appointed to life, ſo effectually wrought this ſermon, that a great number of Jeruſalem left their king, their city, riches, and friends, and obeyed the prophet's counſel; for ſo may be eſpied by the anſwer of Zedekiah the king, when Jeremiah counſelled him, that he ſhould render himſelf into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar, he ſaith, 'I fear theſe Jews that are fled to the Chaldeans, leſt perchance they give me into their hands.'

Hereof it is plain, that many were departed from him, whom he feared more than he did his enemies.

Many more teſtimonies might be brought, to declare how mightily God's word, ſpoken by man, hath wrought in the hearts of great multitudes; as in the hearts of the Ninevites, who, at Jonah's preaching, condemned their former religion, converſation, and life; and in the hearts of thoſe three thouſand, who, at Peter's firſt ſermon, openly made after Chriſt's aſcenſion, acknowledged their offences, repented, and were ſoon after baptized. But theſe premiſes are ſufficient to prove, as well that God's word draweth his elect after it, againſt worldly appearance, againſt natural affections, and againſt evil ſtatutes and conſtitutions; as alſo, that ſuch as obey God, ſpeaking by his miniſters, never lacketh juſt reward and recompence: for only ſuch as obeyed the voice of the prophet, found favour and grace, to the praiſe and glory of God's name, when his juſt judgments took vengeance upon the diſobedient. But now briefly, by notes, we will touch the reſt of Peter's act, and Chriſt's merciful deliverance of him; which is the end of all troubles ſuſtained by God's elect.

And firſt, That Peter ſeeing a mighty wind, was afraid, and ſo when he began to ſink, he cried, 'Lord, ſave me,' are three things principally to be noted.

The firſt, From whence cometh the fear of God's elect?

The ſecond, What is the cauſe that they faint and fall in adverſity?

The third, What reſteth with them in the time of this fear and down-ſinking?

And firſt, it is plain, That ſo long as Peter had his eyes fixed upon Chriſt, and attended upon no other thing but the voice of Chriſt, he was bold and without fear: but when he ſaw a mighty wind (not that the wind was viſible, but the vehement ſtorm and waves of the ſea that were ſtirred up and carried by the wind were ſeen), then began he to fear, and to reaſon, no doubt, in his heart, that better it had been for him to have remained in his ſhip, for ſo might Chriſt have come to him: but now the ſtorm and rage of wind was ſo vehement, that he could never come to Chriſt, and ſo he greatly feared. Whereof it is plain, that the only cauſe of our fear that have left our ſhip, and through the ſtorms of the ſea would go to Chriſt with Peter, is, that we more conſider the dangers and lets that are in our journey, than we do the almighty power of Him that hath commanded us to come to himſelf. And this is a ſin common to all the elect and choſen children of God, that whenſoever they ſee a vehement trouble appearing to ſtop them, and drive them back from the obedience of God, then begin they to fear and doubt of God's power and good will.

With this fear was Abraham ſtruck when he denied his wife. This ſtorm ſaw Moſes, when he

refuſed to be God's meſſenger. And Hezekiah's ſore complaint declareth, That he more believed, conſidered, and looked upon the proud voice, and great power of Sennacherib, than he did upon the promiſes of the prophet.

This I note for this purpoſe, That albeit this late and moſt raging ſtorm within the realm of England, hath taken from you the preſence of Chriſt for a time, ſo that you have doubted whether it was Chriſt which you ſaw before, or not; and albeit that the vehemency of this contrary wind, that would drive you from Chriſt, hath ſo employed your ears, that almoſt you have forgotten what he was who commanded you to come to himſelf, when he cried, 'Come unto me, all ye 'that labour and are burdened, and I ſhall refreſh 'you: paſs from Babylon, O my people, &c.' Albeit, I ſay, that this raging tempeſt hath ſtruck ſuch fear in your hearts, that almoſt all is forgotten; yet, dear brethren, deſpair not, ſuch offences have chanced to God's elect before you. If obſtinately ye ſhall not continue, yet ſhall you find mercy and grace. It had been your duty indeed, and agreeable to your profeſſion, to have looked to Chriſt alone, and to have contemned all impediments; but ſuch perfection is not always with man, but happy is he that feeleth himſelf to ſink.

The cauſe that God's elect begin to faint and ſink down in the time of great adverſity, is fear and unbelief, as in Peter doth appear; for ſo long as he neither feared danger, neither miſtruſted Chriſt's word, ſo long the waves (above, and contrary to their nature) did obey and ſerve his feet, as they had been the dry, ſolid, and ſure ground: but ſo ſoon as he began to deſpair and fear, ſo ſoon began he to ſink: to inſtruct us, that lively faith maketh man bold, and is able to carry us through ſuch perils as be incapable to nature; but when faith beginneth to faint, then beginneth man to ſink down in every danger: as in the hiſtories before rehearſed it may appear, and in the prophets it is plain; for Elijah, at God's commandment, paſſing to the preſence of king Ahab, in the fervency of his faith, obtained the fire to come from heaven, and to conſume his ſacrifice, by which alſo he was made ſo bold, that in the preſence of the king he feared not to kill his falſe prophets. But the ſame Elijah, hearing of the managing and threatenings of curſed Jezebel, and conſidering that the wrath of a wicked woman could by no reaſonable means be appeaſed, ſaw a ſtorm, and feared the ſame, and ſo he prepared to fly; which he doth not without ſome ſinking down; for he began to reaſon and diſpute with God, which never can be done by the creature without fooliſhneſs and offence. The ſame we find in Jeremiah, and many more.

But the queſtion may be aſked, 'Seeing Chriſt 'knew before what ſhould happen to Peter, why 'did he not hinder him from coming from his 'boat? or elſe, Why did he not ſo confirm him 'in faith, that he ſhould not have doubted?'

To which may be anſwered, Albeit that we could render no reaſon of this work of Chriſt's, yet were the work itſelf a ſufficient reaſon; and it were enough to anſwer, That ſo it pleaſed Him, who is not bound to render a reaſon for all his works: but yet, if we ſhall mark with diligence to what office Peter was to be called, and what offences long reſted with him, we ſhall find moſt juſt and neceſſary cauſes of this work of Chriſt, and down-ſinking of Peter. It is plain, that Peter had many notable virtues, as a zeal and fervency towards Chriſt's glory, and a readineſs and forwardneſs to obey his commandments; but it is like plain, that of long continuance there reſted with Peter a deſire of honour and worldly reſt (and that moved him to perſuade Chriſt that he ſhould not die). There reſted with him pride, preſumption, and a truſt in himſelf; which preſumption and vain truſt in his own ſtrength, unleſs it had been corrected, he had never been fit to have fed Chriſt's flock: and ſuch ſins can never be fully corrected or reformed, till they be felt, known, and confeſſed. Doubtleſs, ſo arrogant is our nature, that neither will it know nor confeſs the infirmity of itſelf, until ſuch time as it hath a trial by manifeſt experience: this is moſt plain by Peter, long after this tempeſt; for when Chriſt ſaid to his diſciples, 'This night ſhall ye all be of-'fended in me,' Peter boldly bragged, and ſaid, 'Albeit that all ſhould be offended, and ſhould fly 'from thee, yet ſhall not I be offended; but I 'am ready to go to priſon, and to die with thee.' This was a bold preſumption, and an arrogant promiſe, ſpoken in contempt of all his brethren, from which he could not be reduced by Chriſt's admonition; but the more that Chriſt ſhewed him, that he ſhould deny him, the more bold was he to affirm the contrary; as though his Maſter Chriſt (the Author of all truth, yea, rather Truth itſelf) ſhould make a lie: and therefore of neceſſity it was, that he ſhould prove in experience, what was the frailty of man's nature, and what was the imbecillity and weakneſs of faith, even in thoſe that were his chief apoſtles, who had continually heard his heavenly doctrine, ſeen daily his wonderful mi-

racles, who had got ſo many admonitions from him, and who alſo had followed and obeyed him in many things. That imbecillity and weakneſs of faith, if Peter had not proved and felt it in himſelf, neither could he rightly have praiſed God's infinite goodneſs, and embraced his free mercy, neither had he been apt and meet to have been a paſtor to the weak ſheep and tender lambs of Chriſt, but he ſhould have been as proud a contemner and deſpiſer of his weak brethren as the arrogant Papiſts, who contemn and deſpiſe all godly and learned men, though they be a thouſand times more excellent than themſelves.

But to correct and inform both preſumptuous arrogance, and frail imbecillity and weakneſs of faith, Peter was permitted once to ſink, and thrice moſt ſhamefully to refuſe and deny his Maſter; to the intent, that, by the knowledge of his own weakneſs, he might be the more able to inſtruct others of the ſame; and alſo, that he might more largely magnify God's free grace and mighty deliverance: and that Chriſt taught him before his falling, ſaying, 'When thou art converted, ſtrengthen thy brethren:' as though Chriſt ſhould have ſaid, Peter, yet art thou too proud to be a paſtor, thou canſt not ſtoop nor bow thy back down to take up the weak ſheep, thou doſt not yet know thine own infirmity and weakneſs, and therefore canſt thou do nothing but deſpiſe the weak ones; but when thou ſhalt be inſtructed by experience of thine own ſelf, what hid iniquity lurketh within the nature of man, then ſhalt thou learn to be humble, and ſtoop among other ſinners; and alſo ſhalt be an example to others which after ſhall offend, as thou didſt; ſo that, if they repent as thou didſt, they need not deſpair of mercy, but may truſt moſt aſſuredly in Chriſt to obtain grace, mercy, and forgiveneſs of ſins, as thou didſt.

This fruit have we to gather, dear brethren, of Peter's down-ſinking in the ſea (which was a ſecret knowlege and privy admonition, that he after ſhould deny Chriſt), that we are aſſured by the voice of Chriſt, if in the time of trouble and extreme danger we cry with Peter, we ſhall be delivered as he was; and if we mourn for our denial of Chriſt, as he did, we ſhall find the ſame grace and favour at Chriſt's hand that he found.

But now let us touch the third note, which is this, That with God's elect in their greateſt fear and danger there reſteth ſome ſmall ſpark of faith, which by one means or other declareth itſelf, albeit the afflicted perſon, in fear or danger, doth not preſently perceive the ſame; as here, in Peter, is moſt clear and manifeſt: for perceiving himſelf to ſink down, he cried, 'Lord, ſave me;' which words were a declaration of a lively and quick faith, which lay hid within his afflicted and ſore perplexed heart, whoſe nature is (I mean of faith) to hope againſt hope; that is, againſt all appearance or likelihood to look for help and deliverance, as the words of Peter witneſs that he did. He ſaw nothing but the raging ſea ready to ſwallow him up; he felt nothing but himſelf ſinking down in body, and ſore troubled in heart; and yet he cried, 'Lord, ſave me:' which words firſt declare, that he knew the power of Chriſt was able to deliver him; for fooliſhneſs it had been to have called for the help of him, whom he had known to be impotent and unable to help.

The calling for Chriſt's help by prayer, in this extreme danger, declared alſo that Peter had ſome hope, through his gracious goodneſs, to obtain deliverance: for, in extreme perils, impoſſible it is that the heart of man can cry for God's help, without ſome hope of his mercy.

It is alſo to be noted, That in his great danger Peter murmureth not againſt Chriſt; neither doth he impute or lay any crime or blame upon Chriſt, albeit at his commandment he had left his boat. He ſaith not, 'Why letteſt thou me ſink, ſeeing 'that I have obeyed thy commandment?' Moreover, Peter aſketh help of Chriſt alone, who, he was perſuaded, both could and would help at a pinch. He cried not upon Abraham, Jacob, Moſes, Samuel, David; neither upon any other of the patriarchs, prophets, or ſaints departed; neither yet upon his own fellows in the boat, but upon Chriſt, at whoſe commandment he had left the boat.

All theſe things together conſidered, declare, that Peter, in this his extreme fear and danger, had yet ſome ſpark of faith (albeit in that preſent jeopardy he had neither conſolation nor comfort); for theſe premiſes are undoubted tokens that he had faith. But now to the end, which is this;

'And immediately Jeſus ſtretched forth his 'hand, and caught him, and ſaid unto him, O 'thou of little faith! wherefore didſt thou doubt? 'And when they were come into the ſhip, the 'wind ceaſed; and they that were in the ſhip 'came and worſhipped him, ſaying, Of a truth 'thou art the Son of God: and immediately the 'ſhip was at the land whither they went.'

Hereof firſt is to be noted, That God is always nigh to thoſe that call upon him faithfully; and

ſo willing is he to deliver them, that neither can fear nor extreme danger hinder his almighty hand. Peter was ſinking down, and looked for no other thing but preſent death, and yet the hand of Chriſt prevented him. That which was viſibly and openly done to Peter in that his great peril, is inviſibly and ſecretly done to Chriſt's holy church, and to the choſen members of Chriſt's myſtical body, in all ages.

How nigh and ready was the hand of God to deliver his people Iſrael, when they were almoſt overwhelmed with deſpair, in the days of Moſes and Eſther, the hiſtory doth witneſs! How nigh was God to Daniel amongſt the lions, to Jonah in the whale's belly, to Peter in the priſon, is likewiſe moſt evidently declared in the Holy Scriptures! How ſuddenly, and beyond all expectation, was David many times delivered from Saul's tyranny, his own heart confeſſed, and compelled his pen to write, and tongue to ſing, ſaying, 'He ſent from 'above, and hath delivered me; he hath drawn 'me forth of many waters!'

Open your ears, dear brethren, and let your hearts underſtand, that as our God is unchangeable, ſo is not his gracious hand ſhortened this day. Our fear and trouble is great, the ſtorm that bloweth againſt us is ſore and vehement, and we appear to be drowned in the deep: but if we unfeignedly know the danger, and will call for deliverance, the Lord's hand is nigher than the ſword of our enemies.

The ſharp rebuke that Chriſt Jeſus gave to Peter, teacheth us, That God doth not flatter nor conceal the faults of his elect, but maketh them manifeſt, to the end that the offenders may repent, and that others may avoid the like offences.

That Chriſt called Peter of little faith, argueth and declareth (as we before have noted), That Peter was not altogether faithleſs, but that he fainted, or was uncertain in his faith; for ſo ſoundeth the Greek term ολιγοπιστος; whereof we ought to be admoniſhed, that in paſſing to Chriſt through the ſtorms of this world, is not only required a fervent faith in the beginning, but alſo a conſtancy to the end, as Chriſt ſaith 'He that 'continueth to the end ſhall be ſaved;' and St. Paul, 'Unleſs a man ſhall ſtrive lawfully, he 'ſhall not be crowned.' The remembrance of this ought to put us in mind, that the moſt fervent man, and ſuch as have long continued in profeſſion of Chriſt, is not yet ſure to ſtand at all hours, but that he is ſubject to many dangers, and that he ought to fear his own frailty; as the apoſtle teacheth us, ſaying, 'Let him that think-'eth he ſtandeth, take heed leſt he fall:' for if Peter, that began ſo fervently, yet fainted ere he came to Chriſt, what ought we to fear, in whom ſuch fervency was never found? No doubt we ought to tremble and fear the worſt, and by the knowledge of our own weakneſs, with the apoſtles inceſſantly to pray, 'O Lord! increaſe our faith.' Chriſt's demand and queſtion, aſking Peter, 'Why 'doubteſt thou?' containeth in itſelf a vehemency, as if he ſhould have ſaid, Whether doubteſt thou of my power, or of my promiſes, or of my good-will? If my power had not been ſufficient to have ſaved thee, then could I neither have come to thee through the ſtormy ſea, neither have made the waters obey thee, when thou began to come to me; and if my good-will had not been to have delivered thee and thy brethren, then had I not appeared unto you, neither had I called upon thee, but had permitted the tempeſt to devour and ſwallow you up: but conſidering that your eye ſaw me preſent, your ears heard my voice, and thou Peter eſpecially knew the ſame, and obeyed my commandment, why then doubteſt thou? Beloved brethren, if this ſame demand and queſtion were laid to our charge, we ſhould have leſs pretence of excuſe than had Peter; for he might have alledged, That he was not advertiſed that any great ſtorm ſhould have riſen betwixt him and Chriſt, which juſtly we cannot alledge; for ſince that time that Chriſt hath appeared unto us by the brightneſs of his word, and called upon us by his lively voice, he hath continually blown in our ears, that perſecution and trouble ſhould follow the word that we profeſſed; which days are now preſent. 'Alas! then, why doubt we through this 'ſtorm to go to Chriſt? Support, O Lord! and 'let us ſink no further.'

Albeit that Peter fainted in faith, and therefore was worthy moſt ſharply to be rebuked, yet doth not Chriſt leave him in the ſea, neither long permitted he that fear and tempeſt to continue; but firſt they entered both into the ſhip, and thereafter the wind ceaſed; and laſtly, their ſhip arrived, without longer delay, at the place for which they long had laboured.

O bleſſed and happy are thoſe that patiently abide this deliverance of the Lord! The raging ſea ſhall not devour them; albeit they have fainted, yet ſhall not Chriſt Jeſus leave them behind in the ſtormy ſea, but ſuddenly he ſhall ſtretch forth his mighty hand, and ſhall place them in the ſhip amongſt their brethren; that is, he ſhall conduct

them to the number of his elect and afflicted church, with whom he will continue to the end of the world.

The majesty of his presence shall put to silence this boisterous wind, the malice and envy of the devil, which so bloweth in the hearts of princes, prelates, kings, and of earthly men, that altogether they are combined against the Lord, and against his Anointed Christ; in despite of whom, he safely shall conduct, convey, and carry his sore troubled flock to the life and rest for which they travel.

Albeit, I say, that sometimes they have fainted in their journey, albeit that weakness in faith permitted them to sink, yet from the hand of Christ can they not be rent; he may not suffer them to drown, nor the deep to devour them: but for the glory of his own name he must deliver, for they are committed to his charge, protection, and keeping; and therefore must he keep and defend such as he hath received of his Father, from sin, from death, from devil and hell.

The remembrance of these promises is to mine own heart such occasion of comfort, as neither can any tongue or pen express: but yet peradventure some there are of God's elect, that cannot be comforted in this tempest, by any meditations of God's election or defence; but rather beholding such as sometimes boldly have professed Christ's verity, now to be returned to their accustomed abominations; and also, themselves to be overcome with fear, that against their knowledge and conscience they stoop to an idol, and with their presence maintain the same; and being at this point, they begin to reason, whether it be possible that the members of Christ's body may be permitted so horribly to fall to the denial of their Head, and in the same to remain for long continuance: and from this reasoning they enter in dolour, and from dolour they begin to sink to the gates of hell and ports of despair.

The dolour and fear of such I grant to be most just: for, Oh! how fearful is it, for the love of this transitory life, in the presence of man, to deny Christ Jesus, and his known and undoubted verity!

But yet to such as be not obstinate contemners of God, and of all godliness, I would give this my weak counsel, That rather they should appeal to mercy, than, by the severe judgments of God, to pronounce against themselves the fearful sentence of condemnation; and to consider, that God includeth all under unbelief, that he may have mercy upon all: that the Lord killeth, and giveth life; he leadeth down to hell, and yet lifteth up again.

But I will not that any man think, that, by this my counsel, I either justify such as horribly are returned back to their vomit, either yet that I flatter such as maintain that abominable idol with their daily presence: God forbid; for then were I but a blind guide, leading the blind headlong to perdition: only, God knoweth the dolour and sobs of my heart, for such as I hear daily to turn back. But the cause of my counsel is, That I know the conscience of some to be so tender, that whensoever they feel themselves troubled with fear, wounded with anguish, or to have slidden back in any point, that then they judge their faith to be quenched, and themselves to be unworthy of God's mercies for ever; to such direct I my counsel, to those, I mean, that rather offend by weakness and infirmity, than of malice and set purpose. And I would that such should understand and consider, That all Christ's apostles fled from him, and denied him in their hearts: and also I would they should consider, That no man from the beginning stood in greater fear, greater danger, nor greater doubt, than Peter did, when Christ's presence was taken from him; yea, no man felt less comfort, nor saw less appearance of deliverance; and yet neither were the disciples rejected for ever, neither was Peter permitted to drown in that deep.

But some shall object, Faith was not utterly quenched in them; and therefore they got deliverance, and were restored to comfort.

Answ. That is it which I would that the afflicted and troubled consciences in this age should consider, That neither fear, neither danger, neither yet doubting nor backsliding, can utterly destroy and quench the faith of God's elect, but that always there remaineth with them some root and spark of faith, howbeit in their anguish they neither feel nor can discern the same. Yet some may demand, How shall it be known in whom the spark and root of faith remaineth, and in whom not, seeing that all fly from Christ, and bow down to idolatry? Hard it is, and in a manner impossible, that one man should wittingly judge of another (for that could not Elijah do of the Israelites in his days), but every man may easily judge of himself: for the root of faith is of that nature, that long it will not be idle, but of necessity, in process of time, it will send forth some branches that may be seen and felt by the outward man, if it remain lively in the heart; as you heard it did in Peter, compelling him to cry upon Christ, when he was in greatest necessity. Wilt thou have a trial, whether the root of faith remaineth with thee or

not? (I ſpeak to ſuch as are weak, and not to proud contemners of God.)

1. Feeleſt thou thy ſoul fainting in faith, as Peter felt his body ſink down in the waters?

2. Art thou as ſore afraid that thy ſoul ſhould drown in hell, if thou conſenteſt to, or obeyeſt idolatry, as Peter was that his body ſhould drown in the waters?

3. Deſireſt thou as earneſtly the deliverance of thy ſoul, as Peter did the deliverance of his body?

4. Believeſt thou that Chriſt is able to deliver thy ſoul, and that he will do the ſame according to his promiſe?

5. Doſt thou call upon him without hypocriſy, now in the day of thy trouble?

6. Doſt thou thirſt for his preſence, and for the liberty of his word again?

7. Mourneſt thou for the great abominations that now overflow the realm of England?

If theſe premiſes, I ſay, remain in thy heart, then art thou not altogether deſtitute of faith, neither ſhalt thou deſcend to perdition for ever; but mercifully ſhall the Lord ſtretch forth his mighty hand, and ſhall deliver thee from the very throat and bottom of hell: but by what means he ſhall perform that his merciful work, it neither appertaineth to thee to demand, nor to me to define; but this is requiſite, and is our bounden duty, that ſuch means as the hand of our God ſhall offer (to avoid idolatry) we refuſe not, but that willingly we embrace the ſame, albeit it partly diſagree to our affections. Neither yet think I that ſuddenly, and by one means, ſhall all the faithful in England be delivered from idolatry: no, it may be that God will ſo ſtrengthen the hearts of ſome of thoſe that have fainted before, that they will reſiſt idolatry to the death; and that were a glorious and triumphant deliverance: of others God may ſo touch the hearts, that they will rather chuſe to walk and go as pilgrims, from realm to realm, ſuffering hunger, cold, heat, thirſt, wearineſs, and poverty, than that they will abide (having all abundance) in ſubjection to idolatry; to ſome may God offer ſuch occaſion, that in deſpite of idolaters (be they princes or prelates), they may remain within their own dominions, and yet neither bow their knees to Baal, neither yet lack the lively food of God's moſt holy word.

If God offer unto us any ſuch means, let us aſſuredly know, That Chriſt Jeſus ſtretcheth forth his hand unto us, willing to deliver us from that danger wherein many are like to periſh; and therefore let us not refuſe it, but with gladneſs let us take hold of it, knowing that God hath a thouſand means (very unlikely to man's judgment) whereby he will deliver, ſupport, and comfort his afflicted church. And therefore, moſt dearly beloved in our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, conſidering that the remembrance of Chriſt's banquet (whereof, I doubt not, ſome of you have taſted with comfort and joy) is not yet utterly taken from your mind, and that we have entered in this journey at Chriſt's commandment; conſidering that we find the ſea-winds blow contrary and againſt us, as before was propheſied unto us, and that we ſee the ſame tempeſt rage againſt us, that ever hath raged againſt Chriſt's elect church; and conſidering alſo, that we feel ourſelves ready to faint, and like to be oppreſſed by theſe ſtormy ſeas; let us proſtrate ourſelves before the throne of grace, in the preſence of our heavenly Father, and in the bitterneſs of our hearts let us confeſs our offences, and for Chriſt Jeſus' ſake let us aſk deliverance and mercy, ſaying, with ſobs and groanings from our troubled hearts:

COMPLAINT.

O God! the Heathen are entered into thine inheritance, they have defiled thy holy temple, and have profaned thy bleſſed ordinance: in place of thy joyful ſigns, they have erected their abominable idolatry: the deadly cup of all blaſphemy is reſtored again to their harlot's hand, thy prophets are perſecuted, and none are permitted to ſpeak thy word freely: the poor ſheep of thy paſture are commanded to drink the venomous waters of men's traditions. But, O Lord! thou knoweſt how ſore they grieve us; but ſuch is the tyranny of theſe moſt cruel beaſts, that plainly they ſay, 'They 'ſhall root us out at once, ſo that no remembrance 'ſhall remain of us on earth.'

O Lord! thou knoweſt that we are but fleſh, and that we have no power of ourſelves to withſtand their tyranny; and therefore, O Father! open the eyes of thy mercy upon us, and confirm thou in us the work which thine own mercy hath begun. We acknowledge and confeſs, O Lord! that we are puniſhed moſt juſtly, becauſe we lightly regarded the time of our merciful viſitation. Thy bleſſed goſpel was in our ears like a lover's ſong, pleaſing us for a time, but, alas! our lives did not agree with thy ſtatutes and holy commandments; and thus we acknowledge, that our iniquity hath compelled thy juſtice to take the light of thy word from the whole realm of England. But be thou mindful, O Lord! that it is thy truth

which we have profeſſed, and that thy enemies blaſpheme thy holy name, and our profeſſion, without cauſe: thy holy goſpel is called hereſy, and we are accuſed as traitors, for profeſſing the ſame. Be merciful therefore, O Lord! and be ſalvation unto us in this time of our anguiſh; albeit our ſins accuſe and condemn us, yet do thou according to thine own name. We have offended againſt thee, our ſins and iniquities are without number, and yet art thou in the midſt of us. O Lord! albeit that tyrants bear rule over our bodies, yet thirſt our ſouls for the comfort of thy word: correct us therefore, but not in thy hot diſpleaſure; ſpare thy people, and permit not thine inheritance to be in rebuke for ever. Let ſuch, O Lord! as now are moſt afflicted, yet once again praiſe thy holy name before thy congregation: repreſs the pride of thoſe blood-thirſty tyrants; conſume them in their anger, according to the reproach which they have laid againſt thy holy name. Pour forth thy vengeance upon them, and let our eyes behold the blood of thy ſaints required of their hands: delay not thy vengeance, O Lord! but let death devour them in haſte; let the earth ſwallow them up, and let them go down quick to the hells: for there is no hope of their amendment, the fear and reverence of thy holy name is quite baniſhed from their hearts; and therefore yet again, O Lord! conſume them; conſume them in thine anger, and let them never bring their wicked counſels to effect; but, according to the godly powers, let them be taken in the ſnare which they have prepared for thine elect. Look upon us, O Lord! with the eyes of thy mercy, and ſhew pity upon us thy weak and ſore oppreſſed flock: gather us yet once again to the wholeſome treaſures of thy moſt holy word, that openly we may confeſs thy bleſſed name within the realm of England. Grant this, O heavenly Father! for Chriſt Jeſus thy Son's ſake. Amen.'

If on this manner, or otherwiſe (as God ſhall put in our hearts), without hypocriſy, in the preſence of our God (reſpecting more his glory than our private wealth), continually we pour forth our complaint, confeſſion, and prayers; then, ſo aſſuredly as our God liveth, and as we feel theſe preſent troubles, ſhall our God himſelf riſe to our defence; he ſhall confound the counſels of our enemies, and trouble the wits of ſuch as moſt wrongfully trouble us. He ſhall ſend Jehu to execute his juſt judgments againſt idolaters, and againſt ſuch as obſtinately defend them. Yea, the chief men of our times ſhall not eſcape the vengeance and plagues that are prepared for their portion. The flatterers and maintainers of her abominations ſhall drink the cup of God's wrath. And, in deſpite of the devil, ſhall yet the glory of Chriſt Jeſus, and the brightneſs of his countenance, ſo ſhine in our hearts by the preſence of his grace, and before our eyes by the true preaching of his goſpel, that altogether we ſhall fall before him, and ſay, 'O 'Lord! thou art our God, we ſhall extol thee, 'and ſhall confeſs thy name, for thou haſt brought 'wonderous things to paſs according to thy coun'ſels, which albeit they appear to be far off, yet 'are they true and moſt aſſured. Thou haſt 'brought to ruin the places of tyrants; and there'fore ſhall the afflicted magnify thee, and the city 'of tyrannical nations ſhall fear thee. Thou haſt 'been, O Lord! a ſtrong defence to the poor, a 'ſure place of refuge to the afflicted in the time 'of his anguiſh.'

This, no doubt, dear brethren, ſhall one day be the ſong of God's elect within the realm of England, after that God hath poured forth his vengeance upon theſe diſobedient and blood-thirſty tyrants, who now triumph in all abominations: and therefore yet again, beloved in the Lord, abide patiently the Lord's deliverance, avoiding and flying ſuch offences as may ſeparate and divide you from the bleſſed fellowſhip of the Lord Jeſus at his ſecond coming. Watch and pray, reſiſt the devil, and row againſt this vehement tempeſt, and ſhortly ſhall the Lord come to the comfort of your hearts, which now are oppreſſed with anguiſh and care; but then ſhall ye ſo rejoice, that through gladneſs you ſhall ſay, 'Behold, this is our God, 'we have waited upon him, and he hath ſaved 'us:' this is our Lord, we have long thirſted for his coming, now ſhall we rejoice and be glad in his ſalvation. Amen. The great Biſhop of our ſouls, Jeſus our Lord, ſo ſtrengthen and aſſiſt your troubled hearts with the mighty comfort of the Holy Ghoſt, that earthly tyrants, nor worldly torments, have no power to drive you from the hope and expectation of that kingdom, which for the elect was prepared from the beginning by our heavenly Father, to whom be all praiſe and honour, now and ever. Amen.

Remember me, dear brethren, in your daily prayers. The grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be with you all. Amen.

Yours, with ſorrowful heart,

JOHN KNOX.

A

LETTER

DELIVERED TO

QUEEN MARY, REGENT OF SCOTLAND,

FROM

JOHN KNOX, Miniſter of GOD's Word, in the Year of our Lord 1556: And augmented and explained by the Author, 1558.

To the moſt Excellent Princeſs MARY, Dowager Regent of SCOTLAND.

MADAM,

THE cauſe which moved me to preſent this my Supplication unto your majeſty, enlarged, and in ſome places explained (being in the realm of Scotland in the month of May 1556, I cauſed to be preſented to your majeſty), is the incredible rage of ſuch as bear the title of Biſhops, who, againſt all juſtice and equity, have pronounced againſt me a moſt cruel ſentence, condemning my body to fire, my ſoul to damnation, and all doctrine taught by me, to be falſe, deceivable, and heretical: if this injury did tend to me alone, having the teſtimony of a good conſcience, with ſilence I could paſs the matter, being aſſured, that ſuch as they curſe and expel their ſynagogues, for ſuch cauſes, ſhall God bleſs, and Chriſt Jeſus receive into his eternal ſociety: but conſidering that this their blaſphemy is vomited forth againſt the eternal truth of Chriſt's goſpel (whereof it hath pleaſed the great mercy of God to make me a miniſter), I cannot ceaſe to notify, as well to your majeſty, as to them, that ſo little am I afraid of their tyrannical and ſurmiſed ſentence, that in place of the picture (if God impede not my purpoſe) they ſhall have the body to juſtify that doctrine, which they (members of Satan) blaſphemouſly do condemn. Advertiſing your majeſty in the mean time, That from them, their ſentence and tyranny, and from all thoſe that liſt to maintain them in the ſame, I do appeal to a lawful and general council; beſeeching your majeſty to take in good part, that I call you for witneſs, that I have required the liberty of tongue, and my cauſe to be heard before your majeſty, and the body of the realm, before that any ſuch proceſs was laid againſt me, as this my letter directed to your majeſty doth teſtify.

The Beginning of the LETTER.

THE eternal providence of the ſame God, who hath appointed his choſen children to fight in this tranſitory and wretched life, a battle ſtrong and difficult, hath alſo appointed their final victory by a marvellous faſhion, and the manner of their preſervation in their battle more marvellous. Their victory ſtandeth not in reſiſting, but in ſuffering; as our Sovereign Maſter pronounceth to his diſciples, that 'in patience they ſhould poſſeſs their 'ſouls.' And the ſame foreſaw the prophet Iſaiah,

when that he painteth forth all other battles to be with violence, tumult, and blood-ſhedding; but the victory of God's people to be in quietneſs, ſilence, and hope; meaning, that all others that obtain victory, do enforce themſelves to reſiſt their adverſaries, to ſhed blood, and to murder; but ſo do not the elect of God, but all things they ſuſtain at the commandment of him, who hath appointed them to ſuffer; being moſt aſſuredly perſuaded, that then only they triumph, when all men judge them oppreſſed: for in the croſs of Chriſt always is included a ſecret and hid victory, never well known, till the ſufferer appear altogether to be, as it were, exterminated; for then only did the blood of Abel cry to God, when proud Cain judged all memory of his brother to have been extinguiſhed: and ſo, I ſay, their victory is marvellous; and how that they can be preſerved, and not brought to utter confuſion, the eye of man perceiveth not: but he, whoſe power is infinite, by ſecret and hid motions, toucheth the hearts of ſuch as to man's judgment have power to deſtroy them, with very pity and compaſſion, to ſave his people, as (in times paſt) he did the hearts of the Egyptian midwives, to preſerve the men-children of the Iſraelites, when command was given by Pharaoh for their deſtruction; the heart of Pharaoh's daughter likewiſe, to pity Moſes in his infancy, expoſed to the danger of the waters; the heart of Nebuchadnezzar, to preſerve the captives alive, and liberally to nouriſh the children that were found apt to letters; and finally, the heart of Cyrus, to ſet at liberty the people of God, after long bondage and thraldom. And thus doth the inviſible power and love of God manifeſt itſelf towards his elect from time to time; for two cauſes eſpecially: *Firſt*, To comfort his weak warriors in their manifold temptations, letting them underſtand, that he is able to compel ſuch as ſometimes were enemies to his people, to fight their cauſe, and to promote their deliverance. And *ſecondly*, To give a teſtimony of his favour to them, that by all appearance did live before (as St. Paul ſpeaketh) wanting God in the world, as ſtrangers from the commonwealth of Iſrael, and without the league of his merciful promiſe and free grace made to his church: for who would have affirmed, That any of theſe perſons before named, had been of that nature and clemency, before occaſions were offered unto them? But the works of mercy ſhewed to the afflicted, have left to us aſſurance, that God uſed them as veſſels of his honour: for pity and mercy ſhewed to Chriſt's afflicted flock, as they never lacked reward temporal; ſo, if they be continued, and be not changed into cruelty, are aſſured ſigns and ſeals of everlaſting mercy to be received from God, who by his Holy Spirit moveth their hearts to ſhew mercy to the people of God oppreſſed and afflicted.

ADDITION.

THIS preface I uſed, to give your majeſty occaſion more deeply to conſider, what hath been the condition of Chriſt's members from the beginning, that, in ſo doing, ye might ſee, that it is no new thing, that the ſaints of God are oppreſſed in the world; that ye, moved by earneſt contemplation of the ſame, might alſo ſtudy rather to ſave them from murder (although by the wicked counſels of many ye were provoked to the contrary), than to engage yourſelf to the corrupt clergy, who are ſervants to ſin and Satan, whoſe fury is bent againſt God and his verity. But this after followeth in our letter, which thus proceedeth:

LETTER.

YOUR majeſty perchance doth wonder, to what purpoſe thoſe things are recited; and I in very deed cannot wonder enough, that occaſion is offered to me (a worm moſt wretched) to recite the ſame at this preſent; for I have looked rather for the ſentence of death, than to have written to your majeſty in theſe laſt and moſt wicked days, in which Satan ſo blindeth the hearts of many, that innocents are condemned, their cauſe never being tried.

ADDITION.

HEREOF ye cannot be ignorant: for beſides theſe whom ye hear from time to time moſt cruelly to be murdered in France, Italy, Spain, Flanders, and now of late years beſide you in England, for no other cauſe, but that they profeſs Chriſt Jeſus to be the only Saviour of the world, the only Mediator betwixt God and man, the only ſacrifice acceptable for the ſins of all the faithful; and finally, the only Head to his church: beſides theſe, I ſay (of whom ye hear the report), ye have been witneſs, that ſome within the realm of Scotland, for the ſame cauſe, moſt cruelly have been murdered, whoſe cauſe was never heard with indifferency; but murderers, ſitting in the ſeat of juſtice, have ſhed the blood of Chriſt's true witneſſes; which albeit did then appear to be conſumed with

fire, yet it is recent in the preſence of Him for whoſe cauſe they did ſuffer, and ceaſeth not to call for vengeance, with the blood of Abel, to fall upon not only ſuch as were immediate and next authors of that murder; but alſo, upon all thoſe, that maintain thoſe tyrants in their tyranny, or that do conſent to their beaſtly cruelty, or that do not ſtop, having the power in hand. Take not this as the affirmation of any man, but hear and conſider the voice of the Son of God; 'Fulfil, 'ſaith he, the meaſure of your fathers, that all 'the blood, which hath been ſhed ſince the blood 'of Abel the Juſt, till the blood of Zacharias, &c. 'may come upon this generation.' Hereby it is evident, that the murderers of our time, as well as in the time of Chriſt, are guilty of all the blood that hath been ſhed from the beginning. Fearful I grant is the ſentence, yet it is moſt equal and juſt; for whoſoever ſheddeth the blood of any one of Chriſt Jeſus' members, for profeſſing of his truth, conſenteth to all the murder which hath been made ſince the beginning for that cauſe. So that as there is one communion of all God's elect, of whom every member is participant of the holy juſtice of Chriſt, ſo is there a communion among the reprobate, by which every one of the ſerpent's ſeed are criminal and guilty of all iniquity which the whole body committeth, becauſe they are altogether againſt Chriſt Jeſus, and againſt his eternal verity, every one ſerving Satan the prince of this world, in their rank, age, degree, and eſtate. The murderers of their brethren which this day live, are guilty with Cain of the blood of Abel: the kings and princes, which by power oppreſs the people of God, and will not ſuffer that the people truly worſhip God as he hath commanded, but will retain them in Egypt, are brethren and companions to Pharaoh: the prelates and prieſts, whoſe horrible iniquities and inſolent life have infected all realms where they reign, have, with their fathers the old Phariſees, taken away the key of knowledge, and have ſhut up the kingdom of heaven before men; ſo that neither they themſelves will enter, neither yet will they ſuffer others to enter into the ſame: and the multitude, blinded, ſome by ignorance, ſome by fear, and by inſatiable appetite of their part of the ſpoil (for Chriſt being crucified, the ſoldiers parted amongſt them his garments), are conjured to defend thoſe murderers, proud peſtilent prelates, againſt Chriſt Jeſus, and againſt his poor flock; and therefore, becauſe of one crime, they are all guilty (which is, of treaſon and rebellion againſt Chriſt), of one torment they ſhall all taſte, which is, of the fire that never ſhall be quenched.

And herein ought you, madam, to be circumſpect and careful, if that ye hope for the life to come: for if the conſent which proceedeth of ignorance and blindneſs, bringeth deſtruction and death (as Chriſt our Maſter doth witneſs, ſaying, 'If the blind lead the blind, they ſhall both fall 'into the ditch'), what ſhall become of the proud and malicious contemners of God's verity offered? But our doctrine, perchance, ſhall be denied to be the verity. Whereunto I anſwer, That ſo was the doctrine of Noah, of Moſes, of the prophets, of Chriſt Jeſus, and of his apoſtles; and yet the original world periſhed by water; Sodom and Gomorrah by fire deſcending from heaven; Pharaoh and his adherents in the Red Sea; the city of Jeruſalem, and the whole nation of the Jews, by puniſhment and plagues, notwithſtanding that the whole multitude cried, This is a new doctrine, this is hereſy, and tendeth to ſedition. Our petition is, That our doctrine may be tried by the plain word of God; that liberty be granted to utter and declare our minds at large in every article and point which now are in controverſy: which if ye deny, giving ear to Chriſt's enemies (who condemn his doctrine for hereſy), ye ſhall drink the cup of God's wrath with them. But now to the former letter.

LETTER.

I DOUBT not but the rumours which have come to your majeſty's ears of me have been ſuch, that, if all reports were true, I were unworthy to live upon the earth; and wonder it is, that the voice of the multitude ſhould not ſo have inflamed your majeſty's heart with juſt hatred of ſuch an one, as I am accuſed to be, that all acceſs to pity ſhould have been ſhut up. I am traduced as an heretic, accuſed as a falſe teacher and ſeducer of the people, beſides other opprobries, which (affirmed by men of worldly honour and eſtimation) may eaſily kindle the wrath of magiſtrates, where innocence is not known. But bleſſed be God, the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who, by the dew of his heavenly grace, hath ſo quenched the fire of diſpleaſure as yet in your majeſty's heart (which of late days I have underſtood), that Satan is fruſtrated of his enterpriſe and purpoſe, which is to my heart no ſmall comfort; not ſo much (God is my witneſs) for any benefit that I can receive in this miſerable life, by protection of any earthly creature (for the cup which it behoveth me to drink, is ap-

pointed by the wiſdom of him whoſe counſels are not changeable), as that I am for that benefit, which I am aſſured your majeſty ſhall receive, if that ye continue in like moderation and clemency towards others, that moſt unjuſtly are and ſhall be accuſed, as that your majeſty hath begun towards me, and my moſt deſperate cauſe; that is, if that by godly wiſdom ye ſhall ſtudy to bridle the fury and rage of them, who, for the maintenance of their worldly pomp, regard not the cruel murdering of ſimple innocents: then ſhall he, who doth pronounce mercy to appertain to the merciful, and promiſeth that a cup of cold water, given for his name's ſake, ſhall not lack reward, firſt cauſe your happy government to be praiſed in this preſent age, and in poſterities to come; and laſtly, recompenſe your godly pains and ſtudy with that joy and glory, which 'eye hath not ſeen, nor yet can enter into 'the heart of mortal creature.'

ADDITION.

If Chriſt's words were eſteemed true, that of every idle word an account ſhall be given, and that nothing is ſo ſecretly done which ſhall not come to knowledge and light, I ſuppoſe that the tongues of men ſhould be better bridled, than impudently to ſpeak their pleaſure in matters unknown; for albeit that the true fear of God ſhould not move them to ſpeak truth, yet would I think (if any ſpark of humanity remained) that worldly ſhame ſhould prevent them from lying. When reaſoning was before your majeſty, what man it was that preached in Ayr, and divers were of diverſe opinions; ſome affirming, that it was an Engliſhman, and ſome ſuppoſing the contrary; a prelate, not of the leaſt pride, ſaid, Nay, No Engliſhman, but it is Knox that knave. It was my lord's pleaſure ſo to baptize a poor man, the reaſon whereof, if it ſhould be required, his rochet and mitre muſt ſtand for authority. What further liberty he uſed in defining things like uncertain to him, *viz.* of my learning and doctrine, at this preſent I omit, lamenting more that ſuch peſtilent tongues have liberty to ſpeak in the preſence of princes, than that I am ſorry for any hurt that their venom can do to me in body or fame; for what hath my life and converſation been, ſince it hath pleaſed God to call me from the puddle of the Papiſtry, let my very enemies ſpeak; and what learning I have, they may prove when they pleaſe. The report of your majeſty's moderation, as well at that time as after, when ſuit was made for my taking, moved me to write this my other Letter; in which albeit I have not played the orator, trimming and decking the matter for the pleaſure of itching and delicate ears, yet doth my conſcience bear me record, That with ſimplicity I have advertiſed you of a mortal danger, as this portion ſubſequent ſhall prove.

LETTER.

Superfluous and fooliſh it ſhall appear to many, that I, a man of low eſtate and condition, dare enterpriſe to admoniſh a princeſs ſo honourable, endued with wiſdom and graces ſingular: but when I conſider the honour which God commandeth to be given to magiſtrates, which, no doubt (if it be true honour), containeth in itſelf, in lawful things, obedience, and in all things love and reverence; when further I conſider the troubleſome ſtate of Chriſt's true religion, this day oppreſſed by blindneſs of men; and laſtly, the great multitude of flatterers, and the ſmall number of them that boldly and plainly dare ſpeak the naked verity in preſence of their princeſs, and principally in the cauſe of Chriſt Jeſus: theſe things, I ſay, conſidered, whatſoever any man ſhall judge of my enterpriſe, I am compelled to ſay, That,

Unleſs in your government, and in uſing of power, your majeſty be found different from the multitude of princes and head-rulers, that this pre-eminence wherein ye are placed, ſhall be your dejection to torment and pain everlaſting. This propoſition is ſore, but, alas! it is ſo true, that, if I ſhould conceal and hide it from your majeſty, I committed no leſs treaſon againſt your majeſty, than if I did ſee you by imprudence take a cup which I knew to be poiſoned or invenomed, and yet would not admoniſh you to abſtain from drinking of the ſame.

The religion which this day men defend by fire and ſword, is a cup invenomed, of which whoſoever drinketh (except that, by true repentance, he after drink of the water of life), drinketh therewith damnation and death.

How, and by whom it hath been invenomed, if it were no more tedious to your majeſty to read or hear, than it is painful to me to write or rehearſe, I would not ſpare the labour. But for this preſent, I have thought it ſome diſcharge of one part of my duty, if I, of very love, admoniſh your majeſty of the danger; which I do, as God one day ſhall declare, preferring your majeſty's ſalvation, and the

ſalvation of the people (now committed to your charge), before any corporal benefit that can redound to myſelf.

ADDITION.

As Satan by craft hath corrupted the moſt holy ordinances of God's precepts, I mean of the firſt table, in the place of the ſpiritual honouring of God, introducing men's dreams, inventions, and phantaſies; ſo hath he, abuſing the weakneſs of man, corrupted this precept of the ſecond table, touching the honour which is due to parents, under whom are comprehended princes and teachers: for now the devil hath ſo blinded the ſenſes of many, that they cannot, or at leaſt will not learn what appertaineth to God, and what to Ceſar. But becauſe the Spirit of God hath ſaid, Honour the king; therefore, whatſoever they command, be it right or wrong, muſt be obeyed. But heavy ſhall the judgment be, which ſhall apprehend ſuch blaſphemers of God's Majeſty, who dare be ſo bold as to affirm, that God hath commanded any creature to be obeyed againſt himſelf. Againſt God it is, that, for the commandment of any prince, be he never ſo potent, men ſhall commit idolatry, embrace a religion which God hath not approved by his word, or confirm by their ſilence, wicked, and blaſphemous laws, made againſt the honour of his majeſty: men, I ſay, that ſo do, give no true obedience; but as they are apoſtates from God, ſo are they traitors to their princes, whom by flattery they confirm in rebelling againſt God: only they which to the death reſiſt ſuch wicked laws and decrees, are acceptable to God, and faithful to their princes; as were the three children in the preſence of Nebuchadnezzar, and Daniel in the days of Darius (the Perſian emperor), whoſe conſtant and free confeſſion, as it glorified God, ſo did it notify as well to thoſe tyrants, as to all ages following, the great blaſphemy, which in their rage and fury they committed againſt God, from the which (by all appearance) neither of both ſo ſuddenly ſhould have been called, if the three children had bowed amongſt the reſt, and Daniel had not declared the confeſſion of his faith; which was, with windows open to pray towards Jeruſalem, manifeſtly thereby declaring, that he did not conſent to the blaſphemous law and decree, which was eſtabliſhed by the king and his council. Experience hath taught us what ſurmiſes and blaſphemies the adverſaries of Chriſt Jeſus, of his eternal verity, do invent and deviſe againſt ſuch as begin to detect their impiety; they are accuſed to be authors of ſedition, raiſers of tumults, violators of common orders, &c.

I anſwer with the prophet Iſaiah, That all is not reputed before God ſedition and conjuration which the fooliſh multitude ſo eſteemeth; neither yet is every tumult and breach of public order contrary to God's commandment; for Chriſt Jeſus himſelf coming to take the ſpoil from the ſtrong-armed, who before did keep his houſe in quietneſs, is not coming to ſend peace, but a ſword, and to make a man diſſent from his father, &c. His prophets before him, and apoſtles after him, feared not to break public order, eſtabliſhed againſt God, and in ſo doing, to move, as it were, the one-half of people, nations, and cities againſt the other; and yet I truſt that none, except the hired ſervant of Satan, will accuſe Chriſt of ſedition, nor the apoſtles of the troubling of commonwealths. True it is, that the moſt wholeſome medicine moſt troubleth (for a time) the body repleniſhed with wicked and corrupted humours; but the cauſe thereof is known to be, not in the medicine, but in the body ſubject to malady: even ſo the true word of God, when it entereth to fight where Satan hath borne dominion (as he ſtill doth in the whole Papiſtry) cannot but appear to be occaſion of great trouble. But, madam, more profitable it is, that the peſtilent humours be expelled with pain, than that they be nouriſhed to the deſtruction of the body. The Papiſtical religion is a mortal peſtilence, which ſhall aſſuredly bring to death eternal the bodies and ſouls from the which it is not purged in this life; and therefore take heed betimes, God calleth upon you, beware that ye ſhut not up your ears; judge not the matter after the vileneſs of my body, whom God hath appointed ambaſſador and meſſenger unto you, but with reverence and fear conſider Him whoſe meſſage I bear. I come to you in the name of the Eternal God, and of Chriſt Jeſus his Son, to whom the Father hath committed all power, whom he hath eſtabliſhed Sovereign Judge over all fleſh, before whoſe throne you muſt make account with what reverence you hear ſuch as he ſendeth. It ſhall not excuſe you to ſay or think, That you doubt whether I be ſent of God or no; I cry unto you, That the religion which the princes and blinded Papiſts maintain with fire and ſword, is not the religion of Chriſt; that your proud prelates are none of Chriſt's biſhops; I admoniſh you, that Chriſt's flock is oppreſſed by them: and therefore I require, and that yet again in the name of the Lord Jeſus, that with in-

difference I may be heard to preach, to reaſon, and to diſpute in that cauſe; which if you deny, you declare yourſelf to bear no reverence to Chriſt, nor love to his true religion.

LETTER.

But you think, peradventure, That the care of religion is not committed to magiſtrates, but to the biſhops and ſtate eccleſiaſtical, as they term it: but deceive not yourſelf, for the negligence of biſhops ſhall no leſs be required of the hands of the magiſtrates, than ſhall the oppreſſion of falſe judges; for they unjuſtly promote, foſter, and maintain the one and the other; the falſe and corrupt judge to ſpoil the goods, and to oppreſs the bodies of the ſimple; but the proud prelates do kings maintain to murder the ſouls, for which the blood of Chriſt Jeſus was ſhed; and that they do, either by with-holding from them the true word of life, or elſe by cauſing a peſtilent doctrine to be taught unto them, ſuch as now is taught in the Papiſtical churches. I know that you wonder, how that the religion which is univerſally received can be ſo damnable and corrupted: but if you conſider, That ever from the beginning the multitude hath declined from God (yea, even in the people, to whom he ſpake by his law and prophets); if ye ſhall conſider the complaint of the Holy Ghoſt, complaining, that nations, people, princes, and kings of the earth have raged, made conſpiracies, and holden counſels againſt the Lord, and againſt his Anointed Chriſt Jeſus; further, if ye ſhall conſider the queſtion which Jeſus himſelf doth move in theſe words, 'When the Son of 'Man ſhall come, ſhall he find faith on the earth?' and laſtly, if your majeſty ſhall conſider the manifeſt contempt of God, and of all his holy precepts, which this day reign without puniſhment, upon the face of the whole earth; for, as Hoſea complaineth, there is no verity, there is no mercy, there is no truth this day among men, but lies, perjury, and oppreſſion overflow all, and blood toucheth blood; that is, every iniquity is joined to another: if deeply, I ſay, your majeſty will contemplate the univerſal corruption that this day reigneth in all ſtates, then ſhall your majeſty ceaſe to wonder, that many are called, and few choſen, and you ſhall begin to tremble and fear to follow the multitude to perdition: the univerſal defection, whereof St. Paul doth propheſy, is eaſy to be eſpied, as well in religion as in manners. The corruption of life is evident, and religion is not judged nor meaſured by the plain word of God, but by cuſtom, conſuetude, will, conſent, and determinations of men. But ſhall he who hath pronounced all cogitations of man's heart to be vain at all times, accept the counſels and conſents of men, for a religion pleaſing and acceptable before him? Let not your majeſty be deceived, God cannot lie, God cannot deny himſelf; he hath witneſſed from the beginning, That no religion pleaſeth him, except that which he by his own word hath commanded and eſtabliſhed: the verity itſelf pronounceth this ſentence, 'In vain do they 'worſhip me, teaching for doctrines the precepts 'of men;' and alſo, 'All plantation, which my 'heavenly Father hath not planted, ſhall be rooted 'out.' Before the coming of his well-beloved Son in the fleſh, ſeverely he puniſhed all ſuch as durſt enterpriſe to alter or change his ceremonies and ſtatutes; as in Saul, Uzziah, Nadab, Abihu, is to be read: and will he now, after that he hath opened his counſel to the world by his only Son, whom he commandeth to be heard, and after that by his Holy Spirit, ſpeaking in his apoſtles, he hath eſtabliſhed the religion, in which he would have his true worſhippers to abide unto the end; will he now, I ſay, admit mens inventions, in the matter of religion, which he reputed for damnable idolatry? If men and angels would affirm, That he will or may do it, his own verity ſhall convict them of a lie; for this ſentence he pronounceth, 'Not that which ſeemeth good in thy 'eyes, ſhalt thou do to the Lord thy God, but 'that which the Lord thy God hath commanded 'thee, that do thou; add nothing unto it, dimi-'niſh nothing from it.' Which, ſealing up his New Teſtament, he repeateth in theſe words; 'That which ye have, hold till I come,' &c. And therefore yet again, it repenteth me not to ſay, that in this point, which is chief and principal, your majeſty muſt diſſent from the multitude of rulers, or elſe you can poſſeſs no portion with Chriſt Jeſus in his kingdom and glory.

ADDITION.

Knowing by what craft Satan laboureth continually to keep the world in blindneſs, I added theſe two former points, *viz.* That ye ſhould not think yourſelf free from the reformation of religion, becauſe ye have biſhops within your realm; neither yet that ye ſhould judge that religion moſt perfect, which the multitude by wrong cuſtom have embraced. In theſe two points doth Satan

buſily labour; *Firſt*, That no civil magiſtrate preſume to take cognizance in the cauſe of religion, for that muſt be deferred to the determination of the church: *ſecondly*, That impoſſible it is that that religion ſhould be falſe, which ſo long time, ſo many councils, ſo great a multitude of men, and ſo diverſe nations, have allowed, authorized, and confirmed. What is the duty of magiſtrates, and what power the people have in ſuch caſes granted by God, my purpoſe is to write in a Letter to the nobility and ſtates of the realm; and therefore, to avoid tedioufneſs and repetition of one thing, I now ſuperſede. And as touching the ſecond, if ye rightly conſider the teſtimonies of Scriptures, which I have before alledged, I truſt ye ſhall find that objection ſufficiently anſwered; for if the opinion of the multitude ought always to be preferred, then did God injury to the original world, for they were all of one mind, *viz.* conjured againſt God (except Noah and his family). And if antiquity of time ſhall be conſidered in ſuch caſes, then ſhall not only the idolatry of the Gentiles, but alſo the falſe religion of Mahomet, be preferred to the Papiſtry; for both the one and the other is more ancient than is the Papiſtical religion: yea, Mahomet had eſtabliſhed his Alcoran before any pope in Rome was crowned with a triple crown. But as touching antiquity, I am content with Tertullian to ſay, Let that be the moſt pure and perfect religion, which ſhall be proved moſt ancient; for this is a chief point, wherein I will join with all the Papiſts on the earth, that their religion (ſuch as it is this day) is not of ſuch antiquity, as is that which we contend to be the true and only religion, acceptable before God; neither yet that their church is the catholic church; but that it is of late days, in reſpect of Chriſt's inſtitution, crept in and deviſed by man, and therefore am bold to affirm it odious and abominable: for this is our chief propoſition, that in the religion of God, his own word ought only to be conſidered; that no authority of man or angel ought in that caſe to be reſpected. And as for their councils, when the matter ſhall come to trial, it ſhall be eaſily ſeen for whom the moſt godly and moſt ancient councils ſhall moſt plainly ſpeak. I will prove by a council, that of more authority is the ſentence of one man (founded upon the ſimple truth of God) than is the determination of the whole council, without the aſſurance of God's word: but that all their determinations, which we oppugn, are not only maintained without any aſſurance of Scriptures, but alſo are eſtabliſhed againſt the truth of the ſame; yea, and for the moſt part againſt the decrees of the former councils, I offer myſelf evidently to prove. But now to the reſt of the former letter.

LETTER.

An orator and God's meſſenger alſo might juſtly require of you now (by God's hand promoted to high dignity) a motherly pity upon your ſubjects; a juſtice inflexible to be uſed againſt murderers and common oppreſſors; a heart void of avarice and partiality; a mind ſtudious and careful for maintenance of that realm and commonwealth (above whom God hath placed you, and by it hath made you honourable), with the reſt of virtues, which not only God's Scriptures, but alſo writers (illuminated only with the light of nature) require in godly rulers: but vain it is to crave reformation of manners, where religion is corrupted; for like as a man cannot do the office of a man, till firſt he have a being and life, ſo to do works pleaſing in the ſight of God the Father, can no man do without the Spirit of Jeſus Chriſt, which doth not abide in the hearts of idolaters: and therefore the moſt godly princes, Joſiah, Hezekiah, and Jehoſhaphat, ſeeking God's favour to reſt upon them, and upon their people, before all things, began to reform the religion; for it is as the ſtomach within the body, which, if it be corrupted, of neceſſity it infecteth the whole body: and therefore (often I repeat that, which to be done is moſt neceſſary) if your majeſty pretend to reign with Chriſt Jeſus, then it behoveth you to take care of his true religion, which this day within your realm is ſo deformed, that no part of Chriſt's ordinances remain in their firſt ſtrength and original purity; which, I praiſe God, to me is leſs difficult to prove, than dangerous to ſpeak: and yet neither the one nor the other I fear; partly, becauſe the love of eternal life quencheth the terror of temporal death; and partly, becauſe I would, with St. Paul, wiſh myſelf accurſed from Chriſt (as touching earthly pleaſure), for the ſalvation of my brethren, and illumination of your majeſty; which thing, work, and very deed, and not bare word or writing, ſhall witneſs and declare, if I may purchaſe the liberty of tongue but forty days only.

ADDITION.

The wiſe and eloquent Democritus had ſometimes a familiar ſentence, 'That honeſt it was to com-'mend ſuch works as were worthy of praiſe; but to

'praiſe things that were wicked, could not proceed 'but from a deceivable mind:' and Themiſtius, a philoſopher of great fame, ſeeing the hall of Jovinian the Roman emperor repleniſhed with flatterers, ſaid, 'Of their manners it may be eſpied, that 'more they worſhip the ſceptre and the purple than 'God;' ſignifying, that they little regarded whether the emperor was godly or ungodly, ſo that they might retain themſelves in favour with him. Albeit that thoſe were Ethnics, and neither had the knowledge of God, as we pretend, neither had given ſo plain a confeſſion, to declare themſelves enemies to all iniquity (as we have done by baptiſm, and by our whole profeſſion of Chriſtianity), yet do their words condemn no ſmall number of us, and chiefly ſuch as be converſant with princes: for who in theſe miſerable days judgeth himſelf to have offended, albeit he praiſe, allow, and maintain whatſoever the princes and higher powers deviſe; yea, although it be to oppreſs and ſpoil the poor, to pull from them their very ſkins, and, as the prophet ſaith, 'To break their bones, and 'to cut them in pieces, as fleſh for the cauldron or 'pot;' yet, I ſay, that the princes ſhall not lack judges to cry, It is right, it is for the commonwealth, for defence of the realm, and eaſe of the ſubjects; ſo that the ſtate of times is even now ſuch, as when the prophet complained, ſaying, 'The princes aſk, and the judge is ready to give,' not his own, but the life and blood of the poor. As ſoon as a great man hath ſpoken the corruption of his mind, he hath his flatterers ready to applaud and confirm whatſoever he ſpeaketh. And let the princes be of what religion they pleaſe, that is all one to the moſt part of men; ſo that, with denial of God, of his honour, and religion, they may retain the friendſhip of the court. But, alas! how miſerable be princes that are ſo abuſed, and how contagious a peſtilence be ſuch flatterers to commonwealths, empires, and realms, God hath declared even from the beginning, to paint out the miſchief, which from them proceedeth to ſuch as give ear unto them. The ancient writers compare them to harlots, to ravens, and to more ravenous beaſts; and not without cauſe: for as harlots can never abide, that their lovers ſhould return to repentance and ſoberneſs of mind; ſo cannot flatterers ſuſtain, that ſuch as they deceive ſhall come to right judgment: and as ravens pick out the eyes of carrion, and ravenous beaſts devour the ſame; ſo do flatterers, being more cruel, pick at the eyes of living men, and blinding the eyes of their underſtanding and judgment, do expoſe them to be devoured in body and ſoul to Satan.

This we have by profane writers only: but the Holy Spirit teacheth us this infallible truth, That where iniquity reigneth in a commonwealth, and none is found boldly and openly to reprehend the ſame, that there ſhall ſudden vengeance and deſtruction follow. For thus it is written and pronounced by the prophet Ezekiel, 'Shalt thou not 'judge the city of blood, which hath made idols; 'whoſe rulers ſhed blood to the uttermoſt of their 'power? They have deſpiſed my holy things; 'they have deviſed iniquity, and have performed 'the ſame. The conjuration of prophets hath 'gathered up the riches, and whatſoever is pre-'cious within the ſame. The prieſts violently 'have torn and rent my law. The people of the 'land have wrought deceitfully; they have op-'preſſed the poor, and have done violence to the 'ſtranger without judgment: and I have ſought 'of them a man to repair the hedge, and to ſtand 'in the gap before me, but I have found none; 'therefore have I poured forth my wrath upon 'them, and in the fire of my hot diſpleaſure I 'have conſumed them.' Advert, madam, for theſe are not the words of mortal man, but of the Eternal God; and were not ſpoken againſt Jeruſalem only, but againſt every realm and nation that ſo offendeth. The ſins that here be named, are idolatry in all, avarice and cruelty in the princes and rulers, conjuration of the prophets, to defend the wicked deceit, fraud, and violence in the common people; and finally, an univerſal ſilence of all men, none being found to reprehend theſe enormities. Would to God, that I might with ſafety of conſcience excuſe you, your council, and the idolaters of that realm, from any of theſe crimes before named!

The idolatry which is committed, is more evident than that it can be denied: the avarice and cruelty, as well of yourſelf, as of ſuch as be in authority, may be known by the facts; for fame carrieth the voice of the poor (oppreſſed by intolerable taxes) not only to us here, in a ſtrange country, but, I am aſſured, to the ears of the God of Hoſts. The conſpiracy and conjuration of your falſe prophets is known to the world; and yet is none found ſo faithful to God, nor merciful to your majeſty, that freely will and dare admoniſh you to repent, before that God riſe himſelf in judgment. When I name repentance, I mean no outward ſhew of holineſs, which commonly is found in hypocrites; but I mean a true converſion to the Lord God

from your whole heart, with a condemning of all ſuperſtition and idolatry, in which ye have been nouriſhed, which with your preſence ye have recommended, and to your power maintained and defended. Unleſs, I ſay, that this poiſon be purged from your heart (be your outward life never ſo gliſtering before the world), yet, in the preſence of God, it is but abominable. Yea, further, I ſay, That where this venom of the ſerpent (idolatry I mean) lurketh in the heart, it is impoſſible but that, at one time or other, it ſhall produce peſtilent fruits, albeit peradventure not openly before men, yet before God no leſs odious, than the facts of murderers, publicans, and harlots; and therefore, in my former Letter, I ſaid, that ſuperfluous it was to require reformation of manners, where the religion is corrupted; which yet again I repeat, to the end, that your majeſty more deeply may weigh the matter. But now to the reſt of my former Letter.

LETTER.

I AM not ignorant how dangerous a thing it appeareth to the natural man, to innovate any thing in matters of religion; and partly I conſider, that your power, madam, is not ſo free, as a public reformation perchance would require. But if your majeſty ſhall conſider the danger and damnation perpetual, which inevitably hangeth upon all maintainers of a falſe religion, then ſhall the greateſt danger eaſily devour and ſwallow up the ſmaller; if ye ſhall conſider, that either you muſt ſerve God to life everlaſting, or elſe ſerve the world to death and damnation; then, albeit that man and angel ſhould diſſuade you, ye will chuſe life, and refuſe death. And if further ye ſhall conſider, that the very life conſiſteth in the knowledge of the only true God, and of his Son Chriſt Jeſus; and that true knowledge hath annexed with it God's true worſhip and honour, which requireth a teſtimony of his own will, expreſſed by his word, that ſuch honour doth pleaſe him: if you do earneſtly meditate theſe things aforeſaid, then, albeit ye cannot do ſuddenly what ye would, yet ſhall ye not ceaſe to do what ye may. Your majeſty cannot haſtily aboliſh ſuperſtition, and remove from offices unprofitable paſtors, of whom ſpeaketh Ezekiel the prophet, which to a public reformation is requiſite and neceſſary; but if the zeal of God's glory be fervent in your majeſty's heart, ye will not by wicked laws maintain idolatry, neither will ye ſuffer the fury of biſhops to murder and devour the poor members of Chriſt's body, as in times paſt they have been accuſtomed: which thing if either by blind ignorance ye do, or yet for the pleaſure of others within this realm permit to be done, then, except you ſpeedily repent, ye and your poſterity ſhall ſuddenly feel the depreſſing hand of Him who hath exalted you: you ſhall be compelled, will ye or not, to know that he is eternal, againſt whom ye addreſs the battle; and that it is he that moderateth the times, and diſpoſeth kingdoms, ejecting from authority ſuch as be diſobedient, and placing others according to his good pleaſure: that it is he that glorifieth them that do glorify Him, and poureth forth contempt upon princes that rebel againſt his graces offered.

ADDITION.

IN writing of this parcel, as I remembered the impediments which might call you back from God, and from his true obedience; ſo did I conſider what occaſion you had to tremble and to fear before his Majeſty, and to undergo the loſs of all worldly glory, for the promoting of the glory of God. I do conſider, that your power is but borrowed, extraordinary, and unſtable, for you have it but by permiſſion of others; and ſeldom it is, that women do long reign with felicity and joy. Your moſt ſpecial friends moreover, blinded by the vanity of this world, yea, being drunken with the blood of that Roman harlot, are mortal enemies to Chriſt Jeſus, and to his true religion. Theſe things may eaſily abaſh the mind of a woman not confirmed by grace; but yet if you will a little conſider with me the cauſes why that ye ought to hazard all for the glory of God in this behalf, the former terrors ſhall ſuddenly vaniſh. I do not eſteem that thing greateſt, which peradventure ſome others do, *viz.* That if ye ſhall enterpriſe to innovate any thing in matters of religion, that then ye ſhall loſe your authority, and alſo the favour of your carnal friends.

I look further, *viz.* To the judgments of God, who hath begun already to declare himſelf angry with you, with your ſeed and poſterity; yea, with the whole realm, above which it ſhould have ruled. Impute not to fortune, that firſt your two ſons were ſuddenly taken from you, within the ſpace of ſix hours, and after your huſband bereft, as it were, by violence, of life and honour; the memorial of his name, ſucceſſion, and royal dignity, periſhing with himſelf: for albeit the uſurped abuſe, or rather tyranny of ſome realms, have permitted women to ſucceed to the honour of

their fathers, yet muſt their glory be transferred to the houſe of a ſtranger: and ſo I ſay, That with himſelf was buried, his name, ſucceſſion, and royal dignity, as he himſelf did apprehend in dying: and in this, if ye eſpy not the anger and hot diſpleaſure of God (threatening you, and the reſt of your poſterity, with the ſame plague), ye are more obſtinate than I would wiſh you to be. I would ye ſhould ponder and conſider deeply with yourſelf, that God uſeth not to puniſh realms and nations with ſuch rare plagues without great cauſe; neither uſeth he to reſtore to honours and glory the houſe which he beginneth once to caſt down, till repentance of the former crimes be found. You may perchance doubt, what crimes ſhould have been in your huſband, you, or the realm, for the which God ſhould ſo grievouſly have puniſhed you.

I anſwer, The maintenance and defence of moſt horrible idolatry, with the ſhedding of the blood of the ſaints of God, who laboured to notify and rebuke the ſame; this, I ſay (other iniquities omitted), is ſuch a crime before the eyes of his Majeſty, that for the ſame he hath poured forth his extreme vengeance upon kings, and upon their poſterity, depriving them of honours and dignity for ever; as by the hiſtories of the Books of the Kings is moſt evident. To Jeroboam it is ſaid, 'Becauſe 'I have exalted thee from the midſt of the people, 'and have made thee prince over my people Iſrael, 'I have rent the kingdom from the houſe of David, for idolatry alſo, and have given it unto 'thee: but thou haſt not been as David my ſervant, &c. but thou haſt done wickedly above all 'that have gone before thee; for thou haſt made 'to thee other gods, and molten images, to provoke me, and haſt caſt me behind thy back: 'therefore ſhall I bring affliction upon the houſe 'of Jeroboam, and I ſhall deſtroy to Jeroboam all 'that piſs againſt the wall (ſignifying thereby the 'male-children), and ſhall caſt forth the poſterity 'of Jeroboam, as dung is caſt-forth, till it be conſumed.'

This ſentence was not only executed againſt this idolater, but alſo againſt the reſt of idolaters in that realm, as they ſucceeded one after another: for to Baaſha, whom God uſed as an inſtrument to root out the ſeed of Jeroboam, it is ſaid, 'Becauſe 'thou haſt walked in the way of Jeroboam, and 'haſt cauſed my people to ſin, that thou ſhouldſt 'provoke me in their ſins; therefore ſhall I cut 'down the poſterity of Baaſha, and the poſterity 'of his houſe, and ſhall make thy houſe as the 'houſe of Jeroboam. He that ſhall die to Baaſha 'in the city, him ſhall dogs eat; and he that ſhall 'die in the field, him ſhall the fowls devour.' Of the ſame cup, and for the ſame cauſe, drank Elah and Ahab; yea, and the poſterity of Jehu, following the footſteps of their forefathers.

By theſe examples you may evidently eſpy, That idolatry is the cauſe why God deſtroyeth the poſterity of princes; not only of thoſe that firſt invent abominations, but alſo of ſuch as follow and defend the ſame. Conſider, madam, that God hath begun very ſharply with you, taking from you, as it were together, two children and a huſband: he hath begun, I ſay, to declare himſelf angry; beware that ye provoke not the eyes of his Majeſty. It will not be the haughty looks of the proud, the ſtrength of your friends, nor multitude of men, that can juſtify your cauſe in his preſence; if you preſume to rebel againſt him (and againſt him you rebel) if you deny my moſt humble requeſt which I make in his name, and it is this; With the hazard of mine own life I offer to prove, That religion which now you maintain, to be falſe, deceivable, and abomination before God; and that I ſhall do by moſt evident teſtimonies of his bleſſed, holy, and infallible word: if this, I ſay, you deny (rebelling againſt God), the favour of your friends ſhall little avail you, when he ſhall declare himſelf enemy to you; which, aſſure yourſelf, he will ſhortly do, if you begin to diſplay the banner of your malice againſt him. Let not the proſperity of others, be they princes, queens, kings, or emperors, imbolden you to contemn God, and his loving admonition: they ſhall drink the cup of his wrath, every one in their rank, as he hath appointed them. No realm in theſe quarters (except it that next lieth to you) hath he ſo manifeſtly ſtricken with his terrible rod, as he hath done you, and your realm; and therefore it becometh you firſt to ſtoop, except that you will have the threatenings pronounced by Iſaiah the prophet, ratified unto you; *viz.* That your ſudden deſtruction be as the rotten wall, and your breaking as the breaking of a potſherd, which is broken without pity; ſo that no portion of it can be found able either to carry fire or water: whereby the prophet doth ſignify, that the proud contemners of God, and of his admonitions, ſhall ſo periſh from all honours, that they ſhall have nothing worthy of memorial behind them in the earth; yea, if they do leave any thing, as it ſhall be unprofitable, ſo ſhall it be in execration and hatred to the elect of God; and therefore, thus proceedeth my former Letter;

LETTER.

How dangerous ſoever it ſhall appear to the fleſh, to obey God, and to make war againſt the devil, the prince of darkneſs, pride, and ſuperſtition; yet if your majeſty look to have yourſelf and ſeed to continue in honour worldly and everlaſting, ſubject yourſelf betimes under the hand of Him that is omnipotent, embrace his will, deſpiſe not his teſtament, refuſe not his graces offered; when he calleth upon you, withdraw not your ear. Be not led away with the vain opinion, that your church cannot err: be ye moſt aſſuredly perſuaded, that ſo far as in life ye ſee them degenerate from Chriſt's true apoſtles, ſo in religion are they further corrupted. Lay the book of God before your eyes, and let it be judge to that which I ſay: which if ye, with fear and reverence, obey, as did Joſiah the admonitions of the propheteſs, then ſhall he, by whom kings do reign, crown your battle with double benediction, and reward you with wiſdom, riches, glory, honour, and long life, in this government temporal; and with life everlaſting, when the King of kings (whoſe members now do cry for your help), the Lord Jeſus, ſhall appear in judgment, accompanied with his angels, before whom ye ſhall make account of your preſent government, when the proud and diſobedient ſhall cry, 'Mountains, fall upon us, and hide us from 'the face of the Lord.' But then it ſhall be too late, becauſe they contemned his voice, when he lovingly called.

God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by the power of his Holy Spirit, move your heart ſo to conſider, and accept the things that be ſaid, that they be not a teſtimony of your juſt condemnation in that great day of the Lord Jeſus, to whoſe omnipotent Spirit I unfeignedly commit your majeſty.

ADDITION.

When Jeremiah the prophet, at the commandment of God, had written the ſermons, threatenings, and plagues, which he had ſpoken againſt Iſrael and Judah, and had commanded them to be read by Baruch his ſcribe, becauſe himſelf was excommunicated, and forbidden to enter into the temple; by the providence of God it came to paſs, that Michaiah the ſon of Gemariah, hearing the the ſaid ſermons, paſſed to the king's houſe, and did communicate the matter with the reſt of the princes; who alſo, after they had read the ſame volume of Jeremiah's preachings, did not conceal the truth from Jehoiakim, who then did reign in Jeruſalem. But the proud and deſperate prince commanding the book to be read in his preſence, before he had heard three or four leaves of the ſame, did cut it, and caſt it into the fire, notwithſtanding that ſome of the princes, I think not all, made requeſt in the contrary. But the prophet was charged by God to write again, and to ſay to Jehoiakim, 'Thus ſaith the Lord, thou haſt burnt 'this book, ſaying, Why haſt thou written in it 'according to this ſentence? Aſſuredly the king 'of Babylon ſhall come, and ſhall deſtroy this 'land, and ſhall make it void of men and beaſts: 'therefore thus ſaith the Lord of Jehoiakim the 'king, There ſhall not be one left alive, to ſit in 'the ſeat of David: their carcaſes ſhall be caſt to 'the heat of the day, and to the froſt of the night '(whereby the prophet did ſignify the moſt vile 'death, and moſt cruel torment), and I ſhall viſit 'the iniquity of himſelf, and of his ſeed and ſervants: and I ſhall bring upon them, and upon 'the inhabitants of Jeruſalem, and upon all Judah, all the calamities which I have ſpoken a'gainſt them: albeit they would not hear.'

This is not written, madam, for that time only, but to aſſure us, that the like puniſhment abideth the like contemners, of what ſtate, condition, or degree, that ever they be. I did write unto you before, having teſtimony of a good conſcience, that I did it in the fear of my God, and by the motion of his Holy Spirit (for the requeſt of the faithful brethren, in things lawful, and appertaining to God's glory, I cannot but judge to be the voice of the Holy Ghoſt). But how ye did accept the ſame my former writing, I do not otherwiſe than by conjectures underſtand: whether ye did read it to the end, or not, I am uncertain: one thing I know, That ye did deliver it to one of your prelates, ſaying, 'My lord, will ye read a 'paſquil?' As charity perſuadeth me to interpret things doubtfully ſpoken in the beſt ſenſe, ſo my duty to God (who hath commanded me to flatter no prince on earth) compelleth me to ſay, That if no more ye eſteem the admonition of God, than the cardinals do the ſcoffing of paſquils, that then he ſhall ſhortly ſend you meſſengers with whom ye ſhall not be able in that manner to jeſt. If my perſon be conſidered, I grant my threatenings are no more to be feared, than be the merry ſports which fearful men do father upon Paſquillus in Rome.

But, madam, if ye ſhall deeply conſider, that God uſeth men (yea, and moſt commonly thoſe

that are of loweſt degree, and moſt abject before the world) to be his meſſengers and ambaſſadors, not only to notify his will to the ſimple people, but alſo to rebuke the moſt proud tyrants and potent princes, then will ye not judge the liquor by the outward appearance and nature of the veſſel. For ye are not ignorant, that the moſt noble wine is incloſed within the tun made of frail wood, and that the precious ointment is often kept within the pot made of clay. If further ye ſhall conſider, that God will do nothing, touching the puniſhment of realms and nations, which he will not reveal to his ſervants the prophets, whoſe tongues he will compel to ſpeak ſometimes contrary to the appetites and deſires of their own hearts, and whoſe words he will perform, be they never ſo unlikely to the judgment of men; if theſe ye do deeply weigh, then will ye fear the thing which preſently is not ſeen. Elias was but a man, as St. James doth witneſs, like to his brethren; and yet at his prayer was Ahab the idolater, and all Iſrael with him, puniſhed three years and ſix months; God ſhutting up the heaven, that neither rain nor dew fell upon the earth for the ſpace before written. And, in the end, God ſo wrought by him, that Baal's prieſts were firſt confounded, and after juſtly puniſhed. And albeit that Jezebel ſought his blood, and by oath had determined his death; yet as ſhe was fruſtrated of her intent, ſo could ſhe not keep her own bones from the dogs; which puniſhment the prophet (God ſo ruling his tongue) had before appointed to that wicked woman.

Albeit, madam, that the meſſengers of God are not ſent this day with viſible miracles, becauſe they teach no other doctrine than that which is confirmed with miracles, from the beginning of the world; yet will not he (who hath promiſed to take charge over his poor and little flock to the end) ſuffer the contempt of their embaſſage to eſcape puniſhment and vengeance: for the Truth itſelf hath ſaid, 'He that heareth you, heareth me; and 'he that contemneth you, contemneth me.' I did not ſpeak unto you, madam, by my former letter, neither yet do I now as Paſquillus doth to the pope, and his carnal cardinals, in the behalf of ſuch as dare not utter their names; but I come in the name of Chriſt Jeſus, affirming, That the religion which ye maintain, is damnable idolatry; which I offer myſelf to prove by the moſt evident teſtimony of God's Scriptures: and, in this quarrel, I preſent myſelf againſt all the Papiſts in the realm; deſiring no other armour but God's holy word, and the liberty of my tongue. God move your heart to underſtand my petition, to know the truth, and unfeignedly to follow the ſame. Amen.

Revelation, xxi. 6, 7, 8.

'I am the beginning and the end. I will give 'to him that is athirſt of the well of the water of 'life freely. He that overcometh, ſhall inherit 'all things, and I will be his God, and he ſhall be 'my ſon. But the fearful and unbelieving, and 'the abominable, and murderers, and whoremongers, and ſorcerers, and idolaters, and all 'liars, ſhall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimſtone; which is the ſecond 'death.'

A BRIEF

EXHORTATION TO ENGLAND,

For the ſpeedy Embracing of CHRIST's Goſpel, heretofore, by the Tyranny of MARY, ſuppreſſed and baniſhed. 1559.

HEBREWS, vi. 7, 8.

The Earth which drinketh in the Rain, that oft cometh upon it, and bringeth forth Herbs meet for them that dreſs it, receiveth Bleſſing of God: But the Ground which beareth Thorns, is reproved, and near unto Curſing, whoſe End is to be burned.

To the Realm of ENGLAND, and to all the Eſtates within the ſame, JOHN KNOX wiſheth true Repentance to be given from God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, with the Spirit of Wiſdom, Diſcretion, and Underſtanding.

AFTER that I had ſomewhat conſidered, what from the beginning have been the great mercies of God towards his afflicted people; and what alſo have been his ſevere judgments executed againſt ſuch as, either preferring darkneſs to light, did follow the devices and inventions of men; either that, enraged by the malice of Satan, have declared themſelves open enemies to God, and to his verity revealed; I thought it my duty, in few words, to require of thee, and that in God's name, O England! in general, the ſame repentance and true converſion unto God, that I have required of theſe to whom before particularly I wrote: for, in very deed, when in dolour of heart I wrote this former Letter, I neither looked, nor could believe, that the Lord Jeſus would ſo ſuddenly knock at thy gate, or call upon thee in thy open ſtreets, offering himſelf to pardon thy iniquity; yea, to enter into thy houſe, and ſo to abide, and make his habitation with thee, who ſo diſobediently had rejected his yoke, ſo diſdainfully had trodden under foot the blood of his teſtament, and ſo cruelly had murdered theſe that were ſent to call thee to repentance. This thy horrible ingratitude conſidered, I did rather look for puniſhments and plagues, univerſally to have been poured forth, than for mercy, by the ſound of his trumpet, ſo ſuddenly to have been offered to any within that miſerable iſle. But when I did more deeply weigh, that ſuch is the infinite goodneſs of God, and that ſuch alſo are the bright beams of his moſt juſt judgments, that whenſoever he taketh into his protection, by the covenant of his word, any realm, nation, province, or city (ſo that of mercy he becometh to them Conductor, Teacher, Protector, and Father), he never caſteth off the ſame care and fatherly affection, which in his word he doth once pronounce, until they do utterly declare themſelves unworthy of his preſence.

When this, I ſay, I did conſider and weigh, I was in judgment ſomewhat reformed; for I find that ſuch was his care and conſtant love to the whole ſeed of Abraham (I mean, of thoſe that deſcended of Jacob), that, albeit in many things they provoked him to anger, yet did his infinite goodneſs ever find, and make a way by which his mercy was ſenſibly felt of the people, even in their greateſt extremities: for not only did he often pardon their offences, long keep them in the land which he had promiſed, and given to the ſeed of Abraham, but alſo he was with them in fire and water; yea, when they were as rotten carrion (buried, as it had been in their graves, in Babylon) yet did he lay in pledge the glory of his own name for their deliverance, yea, and faithfully, above man's expectation, did he perform it; for he broke down the pride of Babylon, and ſo did open the priſon, and broke up the iron-gates which held them in that thraldom. And why ſo? 'For my own name's ſake, ſaith he, 'will I do this, and my glory will I give to no

'other.' Thus was his love and fatherly care ſo conſtant and immoveable, that nothing could utterly change it from his people, until his deareſt Son, Chriſt Jeſus, did come of them and amongſt them, to notify and declare that ſovereign felicity promiſed to Abraham; I mean, that all nations ſhould be bleſſed in his ſeed, which was Chriſt Jeſus, who coming amongſt his own, was of them rejected, denied, refuſed, and ſhamefully put to death upon a croſs betwixt two thieves. And yet ſo tender was God's care over them, that (before their wicked and polluted hands were externally almoſt waſhed from his blood) he ſent unto them the meſſage of reconciliation, not only unto thoſe that were at Jeruſalem, but even to ſuch as were diſperſed amongſt the Gentiles, as in the Acts of the Apoſtles is plainly witneſſed: for this prerogative had ever the Jews, that firſt to them were offered the glad tidings of the kingdom of Chriſt, until ſuch time as they declared themſelves, by open blaſphemies, continual reſiſtance, and cruel perſecution, moſt worthy to be deprived of that honour. This long ſufferance and careful calling of that unthankful people, proceeded from the ſame fountain, from which their firſt vocation did proceed and flow, that is, from his eternal goodneſs; which did ſo long fight againſt their malice, that all creatures muſt juſtify God in his fearful, but yet moſt juſt judgments once executed, and yet remaining upon that rebellious people.

The ſame order, I ſee, doth God keep with thee, O thou happy and moſt unhappy England! Happy! not only becauſe thy God, by his own hand, hath oft delivered thee from corporal bondage of divers and ſtrange nations, as of Saxons Romans, Goths, and Danes; but eſpecially, for that by the power of his eternal verity (and that of his free grace without thy deſerving) he did of late years break and deſtroy the intolerable yoke of thy ſpiritual captivity, and brought thee forth as it had been from the bottom of hell, and from the thraldom of Satan (in which thou waſt held blind by idolatry and ſuperſtition), to the fellowſhip of his angels, and to the poſſeſſion of that rich inheritance prepared to his deareſt children, with Chriſt Jeſus his Son. But, O unhappy, and more than unhappy! that haſt declared thyſelf ſo unthankful and rebellious to ſo loving and merciful a Father, who firſt gave thee life, when thou didſt lie polluted in thy blood, and dead in thy ſin, and now doth ſuffer himſelf to be thy God, Governor, and Father, after that thou moſt traiterouſly, conſpiring with Satan by ſolemn oath, haſt renounced his verity. O unhappy, and more than unhappy art thou! I ſay, if that this thy treaſonable defection, and God's loving kindneſs, yet calling thee to his favours, doth not pierce thy heart with unfeigned repentance; for as this mercy and love of thy God ſurmounteth the reach of all mens underſtanding, ſo cannot his juſtice long delay to pour forth theſe horrible vengeances, which thy monſtrous unthankfulneſs hath long deſerved, if thou (as God forbid) now ſhut up thine ears, blind thine eyes, and ſo harden thine heart, that neither thou wilt hear, ſee, nor underſtand, the greatneſs of thy fall, and that ineſtimable goodneſs of thy God, thus lovingly calling thee to thine ancient honours and dignities again. I neither dare nor will ceaſe now by my pen, be it never ſo rude, to cry unto thee that which ſometime, from the mouth of my Maſter Chriſt Jeſus, I have pronounced in the hearing of many, That if thou ſhalt not know this merciful viſitation of the Lord thy God, and ſo prepare thyſelf with a penitent and thankful heart to receive (yet while time is) his large graces offered, that then thy habitation ſhall be left deſolate; and where thou haſt, of a long time, been a delightful garden, planted by the Lord's own hand, thou ſhalt become a barren wilderneſs, fit for nothing but to be burnt and conſumed with fire.

The warrant of this my proclamation and ſentence (how fooliſh and vain ſoever it appear to man's reaſon) I have not by the conjecture nor opinion of man, but from the mouth of my God, thus ſpeaking by Moſes; 'Beware, ſaith he, that 'amongſt you be not a root that beareth gall and 'wormwood; ſo that when he ſhall hear the 'words of this execration, ſhall yet promiſe to 'himſelf felicity in his heart, ſaying, Peace ſhall 'be to me, although I walk after the luſt of mine 'own heart, &c. The Lord will not be merci-'ful, ſaith Moſes, to ſuch an one, but the fury 'of the Eternal, and his hot diſpleaſure, ſhall burſt 'forth againſt ſuch a man, and upon him ſhall lie '(that is, continually abide) all the execrations 'that be written in this book. And the Lord ſhall 'blot out his name from under heaven.' Thus far ſpeaketh he againſt particular men: and againſt the whole multitude, he proceedeth in this manner; 'The generation following, your ſons which 'ſhall ariſe after you, and the ſtranger that ſhall 'come from a far country, when they ſhall ſee the 'plagues of this land, and the incurable diſeaſes, 'by which it ſhall languiſh and conſume, as it 'were by brimſtone and ſalt, burning the whole 'land; ſo that it cannot be ſown, neither yet in it 'doth any herb ſpring nor ariſe, &c. Then ſhall

'all nations ſay, Why hath the Lord done thus to 'this land? O what meaneth the wrath of God's 'great fury! And they ſhall anſwer, Becauſe they 'have left the covenant of the Lord God of their 'fathers, which he did make with them when he 'brought them out of Egypt; for they have gone 'and ſerved other gods whom they knew not: 'and therefore was the fury of the Lord kindled 'againſt this land, ſo that he brought upon it all 'the execrations and curſes written in this book; 'and the Lord, in his wrath, fury, and great in-'dignation, hath rooted them out of their own 'land, and hath diſperſed them into another land, 'as this day doth witneſs.' This ſame is written, with greater circumſtances, in the Book of Leviticus (Lev. xxvi.); which if you compare with this, and conſider God's eternal verity to have its effect in every age and nation, which ſo doth offend, then ſhalt thou ſee, O England! that this is the judgment which thou ſhalt not, nor canſt not eſcape, if ſpeedily thou repent not of thy ſhameful defection, and with all humility return to the Lord, whom ſo traiterouſly and ſo publicly of late days thou haſt refuſed: for theſe ſevere judgments once executed againſt Iſrael and Judah, may be to thee (who once haſt profeſſed thyſelf ſubject to God, and haſt unthankfully departed from his ſervice, and yet of mercy is again called) a mirror and glaſs, in which thou mayeſt behold what ſhall be thy final and miſerable deſtruction, if, by unfeigned and ſpeedy repentance, thou remove not the vengeance which hangeth over thy head: and, to the end that thou mayeſt the better try and examine thyſelf, I will ſhortly touch the ſtubborn diſobedience of that people, the long patience and gentle dealing of God, and their moſt miſerable and lamentable deſtruction.

Three hundred years and more, from the departure of the ten tribes from the houſe and royal ſeat of David, did Judah provoke God to diſpleaſure, now by idolatry, now by hill-altars, now by confederacy and joining of hands with wicked princes and ungodly nations, by whom they were ever drawn, from depending and truſting upon God, to the vain truſt and confidence of men. Againſt theſe and other vices, from time to time, did God ſend his prophets to call them to repentance, and did alſo raiſe up ſometimes good and godly kings to make public reformation, as touching the religion: but what reformation was found in life, manners, and converſation, what reverence the multitude did bear unto God, how the religion was embraced in their hearts, and how long it was retained in ſuch perfection as was commanded, the prophets do teach, and hiſtories bear witneſs: for it is plainly affirmed, that even in the days of the moſt godly kings (I mean, of Hezekiah and Joſiah), the ſcribes and lawyers did write deceitfully, to thruſt out the weak ones from their cauſe, to ſpoil the widow, and to oppreſs the orphan; their judges were bribers, and their princes were partakers with thieves. They ſaid, That evil was good, and good evil; they would have pleaſant things ſpoken unto them, and commanded that no mention ſhould be made of the Holy One of Iſrael, for his word was a burden unto them. Of the nobility ſome were traitors, ſome avaricious, ſome inconſtant as wavering reeds, ſome greedy dogs and inſatiable wolves, devouring the prey, whereſoever they might catch it. The people of the land were deceitful; all handicrafts, merchandize, and victuals, were corrupt by their covetous practices: they were ready, but it was to ſlander and oppreſs the poor, the needy, and the ſtranger. The conjuration of prophets was in the midſt of them, even as a roaring lion. They healed the ſores and botches of the people, princes, and governors, with unprofitable plaſters; and laid ſoft pillows under the heads of ſuch as ſecurely ſlept in all iniquity. The prieſts had violently rent aſunder the law of God: they had profaned his ſanctuary by their own inventions; and by retaining ſuch a mixed and invenomed religion, as from old idolaters they had received, and becauſe it pleaſed their kings, chief rulers, and governors, it muſt needs be good and pleaſe them. They made no difference betwixt that which was holy and clean, which proceeded from God, and that which was profane and filthy, which wicked idolaters had invented and deviſed. The paſtors, finally, were become dumb dogs; their watchmen were blind, given to exceſs, ſlothfulneſs, and ſleep. To be ſhort, they came to that corruption that the lord did ſeek a man to repair his hedge again, and to ſtand in the gap before him, that the land ſhould not be waſted; but yet he found none: for all were declined, all ſought their own advantage; no man called for juſtice and equity, no man was judged of faith and verity; they brought forth cockatrice-eggs; their feet ran to miſchief; they made haſte to ſhed innocent blood; they neither knew, neither yet would know the way of peace: yea, all things came to ſuch horrible confuſion, that the truth was baniſhed, and whoſoever departed from iniquity was made a prey to all men: which things, when the Lord conſidered, and did ſee that none would ſet themſelves to oppoſe ſuch horrible iniquity, his own arm gave him ſalvation,

and his own juſtice did hold him up. He poured forth (after divers plagues) his fury upon that nation at once, and in the hot fire of his anger he conſumed them, and ſo did reward their wicked ways upon their own heads, as before was threatened by the mouth of Moſes.

Theſe teſtimonies, and many more which (to avoid prolixity) I omit, we have of the prophets, declaring how corrupt the whole body was even in the days of the moſt godly kings, yea, even in the days when plagues were upon them. And hiſtories do witneſs, that no ſooner did ever any idolater riſe, but that ſo ſoon, from the higheſt degree to the loweſt, from the prince to the prophet, a ſmall number excepted, were all ready to obey whatſoever was commanded by ſuch as were placed in honour and authority. The hiſtories do further witneſs, that the princes of Judah after the death of Jehoiada, by whoſe wife Joaſh was preſerved in that moſt cruel murder of all the kingly ſeed made by Athaliah, and by whoſe moſt faithful diligence the ſame Joaſh was in the ſeventh year of his age made king over Judah, the covenant and league, before broken by idolatry, was renewed again betwixt God and the people, and betwixt the people and the king, *viz.* That the one and the other ſhould be the people of the Lord; by renewing of which covenant, unhappy and cruel Athaliah was killed, the people did enter into the houſe of Baal, broke it down, with its altars and images, even to powder; and finally, before the altars of Baal, did moſt juſtly kill Mattan, Baal's great prieſt. After the death, I ſay, of Jehoiada, by whoſe godly providence all theſe things were brought to paſs, the princes of Judah came and bowed themſelves unto the king, making no doubt this petition unto him, That they might have the religion which long had been retained amongſt the kings of Judah, even from the days of Solomon, and that they ſhould not be ſo ſtrictly bound as the covenant made by Jehoiada commanded, ſo they would not return (as may appear they did alledge) to Baal, but ſtand content with their hill-altars, their thickets of wood, and ancient idols. And that this was their petition, the hiſtory giveth plain light; for it ſaith, 'And the king heard them; and they, leaving the 'houſe of the Lord God of their fathers, ſerv-'ed thickets and idols;' which thing, albeit it did ſo diſpleaſe the Lord, that he ſent his prophets ſharply to rebuke their unthankful defection, yet was there no redreſs; for the king, princes, and people, were conſpired againſt God, and ſo from idolatry proceeded to cruel murder, as the hiſtories do witneſs, in the days of Ahaz. The ſame abominations remained in all eſtates: for Urijah the high prieſt himſelf, at the commandment of the king, built an altar, as the king had ſent him a pattern from Damaſcus, and ſo left the altar of the Lord, and burnt ſacrifice upon that great altar.

In the days of Hezekiah, that zealous and godly king, how the hearts of the nobility and people were ſet towards God's true religion, may appear by the ſequel; for ſtraight after his death, the whole multitude did return with Manaſſeh unto idolatry, abominations, and cruel murder; yea, even while the king did leave that traitor Shebnah (enemy to God, to his true worſhip, and to his prophets) as treaſurer, and in higheſt authority. Jeremiah and Ezekiel do witneſs, that the princes, prophets, and people, were ſo corrupt, even to the very day of the deſtruction; yea, and after the ſame, that Zedekiah (of nature by all appearance not very cruel, but yet faint-hearted for lack of faith) was compelled at their commandment to put Jeremiah in priſon, and to give them permiſſion to put him to death at their pleaſures; whoſe life by God's mighty providence being yet preſerved, and he being called to the preſence of the king, to whom he gave in God's name moſt wholeſome counſel, yet durſt not the king, for fear of his princes, neither follow the ſame, neither yet let them underſtand what communication was betwixt the prophet and him. Ezekiel, in his viſion, ſaw the people and princes declined from God, and did hear alſo theſe words ſpoken by God; 'The iniquity of the houſe of Iſrael and Judah is 'great above meaſure: the earth is full of blood, 'and the city full of defection; for they have 'ſaid, The Lord hath left the earth, and the Lord 'ſeeth us not.'

After that moſt miſerable deſtruction of Jeruſalem, when a remnant of the poor people and nobility (who had eſcaped the edge of the ſword) were left in the land with the prophet Jeremiah, and Gedaliah the ſon of Ahikam, their old venom of rebellion againſt God and his revealed will was nowiſe purged: for albeit Johanan the ſon of Kareah, and Jezaniah the ſon of Hoſhaiah, with the whole people, had promiſed unto Jeremiah by a ſolemn oath, to do whatſoever the Lord ſhould command them by his mouth; yet, when he commanded them in the name of the Lord to abide in the land, and not to carry the people to Egypt, they were neither afraid nor aſhamed to ſay unto him, 'Thou ſpeakeſt a lie, the Lord hath not ſent thee 'to us, commanding that we ſhould not go to 'Egypt. To Egypt will we go, and we will ſerve 'the queen of heaven, even as our ancient kings

'and fathers did before us.' And ſo, in deſpite of God, of his prophet, and of his word revealed unto them, departed from the land, which the Lord had given to the ſeed of Abraham, unto Egypt infected with all idolatry. And thus, from their original, they continued in their rebellion even to the end, till they did utterly forſake God: for whatſoever they pretended, it was nothing elſe but a plain denial of God, of his league and covenant, to contract familiarity, alliance, or peace, againſt his plain precept, with that nation from whoſe tyranny the Lord had before delivered their fathers; and therefore he gave them moſt ſtrict commandment, that they ſhould never return to that bondage.

How long and how patiently God did fight againſt their rebellion, is eaſy to be underſtood by the hiſtories and prophets; but how ſevere in the end were the plagues and juſt vengeance poured out upon the kings, princes, and people, the very Ethnics themſelves did give teſtimony and record. Their land and cities were ſpoiled, burnt, and left deſolate, and women for hunger were compelled to eat their own children. Often were they brought into thraldom and ſubjection of ſtrangers. And finally, the glory of the Lord was removed from his ſanctuary, which he himſelf did ſwear that he would profane, by reaſon of their great abominations. And ſo he did; for it was burnt, the veſſels and ornaments of it carried to Babylon, and the whole nobility of Judah and the king's ſons were killed in his own preſence; after which moſt miſerable ſight, his own eyes were put out, and himſelf led captive to Babylon, where he remained priſoner till his death. They that departed to Egypt did never return again to Jeruſalem, but periſhed moſt miſerably, as the prophet did threaten.

This is the glaſs, this is the mirror, O England! in which I would that daily thou ſhouldſt behold what ſhall be the final end of theſe that do abuſe the long ſuffering of God, moſt mercifully calling all to repentance. If thou ſhalt think thyſelf pure and clean from any of the crimes which before is noted in that people, alas! thou ſhalt declare thyſelf more than impudent; for all your other iniquities omitted, this your laſt and univerſal turning from God, by the open denial of his goſpel profeſſed, declareth you, from the higheſt to the loweſt, manifeſt traitors againſt his Divine Majeſty. It is you all together, who moſt cruelly have ſhed the blood of a number of your brethren and ſiſters, which from under the altar cry to be revenged. There is no perſon guiltleſs in God's preſence, who have bowed their knees to idolatry (whatſoever excuſe they may pretend); but as all are idolaters, ſo they are, and ſhall be reputed murderers before God, who do not waſh away that infamy and innocent blood by unfeigned repentance.

No other aſſurance will I require, that your plagues are at hand, and that your deſtruction approacheth, than that I ſhall underſtand, that ye do juſtify yourſelves in this your former iniquity. Abſolve and flatter you who will, God the Father, his Son Chriſt Jeſus, his holy angels, the creatures ſenſible and inſenſible in heaven and earth, ſhall riſe in judgment, and ſhall condemn you, if in time you repent not. The cauſe why I wrap you all in idolatry, all in murder, and all in one and the ſame iniquity, is, That none of you hath done your duty, none hath remembered his office and charge, which was to have reſiſted to the uttermoſt of your power that impiety at the beginning: but ye have all followed the wicked commandment, and all have conſented to cruel murder, in ſo far as, in your eyes, your brethren have moſt unjuſtly ſuffered, and none opened his mouth to complain of that injury, cruelty, and murder. I do ever except ſuch as either by their death, by abſtaining from idolatry, or by avoiding the realm, for iniquity in the ſame committed, did give teſtimony that ſuch an horrible falling from God did inwardly grieve them; but all the reſt, even from the higheſt to the loweſt, I fear no more to accuſe of idolatry, of treaſon againſt God committed, and of cruel murdering of their brethren, than did Zechariah the ſon of Jehoiada fear to ſay to the king, princes, and people of Judah, 'Why have ye tranſgreſſed the commandments of the Eternal God? it ſhall not proſperouſly ſucceed unto you, but even as ye have left the Lord, ſo ſhall he leave you.'

And albeit my blood ſhould be ſhed for this my affirmation, as his was, yet having the teſtimony of a good conſcience, that I ſpeak not, nor write not, of private malice againſt any man's perſon, I will ſtill cry as before: for at your hands (unleſs that ſpeedily and unfeignedly ye repent) ſhall God require, not only all the blood that lately hath been ſhed by your moſt wicked permiſſion, but alſo of all thoſe that for the ſame cauſe have ſuffered from the beginning. Tremble therefore, fear, confeſs, and unfeignedly repent, that ye may eſcape the vengeance prepared. Your humiliation, confeſſion, and repentance, may now obtain no leſs of God's great mercy, than did Joſiah, his nobles, and people, in the ſame caſe, to whom in all things ye are as like as one beam is to another; for no crime is ſo heinous, which God will not caſt into the bottom of the ſea, and bury in perpetual oblivion, if

ye, with unfeigned hearts, turn to the Lord your God, whom ſo grievouſly ye have offended. This converſion and repentance requireth, no doubt, a reformation, a removing and ſuppreſſing of all abuſes, all wrong, all violence, all oppreſſion and fraud, how long, in whom, and by whomſoever they have been maintained, practiſed, or committed.

But remitting all other things to ſuch as God ſhall further move with his Holy Spirit to inſtruct you, I ſay, that your converſion to God, and unfeigned repentance, requireth two things: *Firſt*, That the religion, and true honour of God, may be once brought to that purity which his word requireth. *Secondly*, That order may be taken, ſo far as in you lieth, that the ſame religion, which God approveth, may be kept inviolable amongſt you for ever, and that the people univerſally may be inſtructed in the ſame. For the firſt point, touching the reformation of religion, ye muſt at once ſo purge and expel all dregs of Papiſtry, ſuperſtition, and idolatry, that thou, O England! muſt judge and hold execrable and accurſed, whatſoever God hath not ſanctified to thee by his bleſſed word, or by the action of our Maſter Chriſt Jeſus. The gliſtering beauty of vain ceremonies, the heaps of things pertaining nothing to edification, by whomſoever they were invented, juſtified, or maintained, ought at once to be removed, and ſo trodden under the obedience of God's word, that continually this ſentence ſhould be preſent in thy heart, and ready in thy mouth, 'Not that 'which appeareth good in thine own eyes ſhalt 'thou do to the Lord thy God, but what the 'Lord thy God hath commanded thee, *&c.*' Let not then the king and his proceedings, whatſoever they be, not agreeable to the Lord's holy word, be a ſnare to thy conſcience.

O curſed were the hearts that ever deviſed that phraſe in matters of religion, whereby the ſimple people were brought to one of theſe two inconveniences! *viz.* That either they did eſteem every religion good and acceptable to God, which the king and parliament did approve; or elſe, that God's religion, honour, and ſervice, was nothing elſe but devices of men. O England, England! let this blaſphemy firſt of all others be removed; for O how horrible is it to remember, that the religion and honouring of the Eternal God, ſhall be ſubject to the appetite of fooliſh and inconſtant men! Let God's bleſſed word alone be the rule and line to meaſure his majeſty's religion: what it commandeth, let it be obeyed; what it commandeth not, let that be execrable, becauſe it hath not the ſanctification of God's word, under what title or name ſoever it be publiſhed. Halt no longer on both parts: let not theſe voices prevail in your parliament, This to our judgment is good and godly; this the people cannot well bear; this repugneth not to God's word; and when the people are better inſtructed, then may we proceed further.

O meſſengers of Satan! now do I write, which ſometimes I have ſaid to your faces, That whatſoever God, in matters of religion, hath not ſanctified by his expreſs word, the ſame, I ſay, before his majeſty, remaineth execrable, polluted, and defiled. And ſo, in few words, this is the firſt point which your true converſion requireth, *viz.* That his own only word reform his religion.

The inviolable preſervation of God's religion (which is the ſecond point) requireth two principal things; the one is, That no power nor liberty be permitted to any (of what eſtate, degree, or authority ſoever they be), either to live without the yoke of diſcipline by God's word commanded, either yet to alter, change, diſannul, or diſſolve the leaſt jot in religion, which from God's mouth thou haſt received: but let his holy and bleſſed ordinances, by Chriſt Jeſus commanded to his kirk, be within thy limits and bounds ſo ſure and eſtabliſhed, that if prince, king, or emperor, would enterpriſe to change or diſannul the ſame, that he be by thee reputed enemy to God; and therefore unworthy to reign above his people: yea, that the ſame man, or men, that go about to deſtroy God's true religion once eſtabliſhed, and to erect idolatry, which God deteſteth, be adjudged to death, according to God's commandment; the negligence of which part hath made you all (theſe only excepted which before I have expreſſed) murderers of your brethren, deniers of Chriſt Jeſus, and manifeſt traitors to God's Sovereign Majeſty.

Which horrible crimes if ye will avoid in time coming, then muſt ye (I mean the princes, rulers, and people of the realm), by ſolemn covenant, renew the oath betwixt God and you, in that form, and as Aſa king of Judah did in the like caſe; 'They made a covenant (ſaith the hiſtory, 2 Chron. 'xv.) that they would ſeek the Lord God of their 'fathers, with all their hearts, and with all their 'ſouls; and that whoſoever ſhould not ſeek the 'Lord God of Iſrael, he ſhould die the death, 'whether he were great or ſmall, man or woman. 'And they did ſwear unto the Lord with a great 'oath, and with the ſound of a trumpet, and with 'pſalms; and at this oath did all the Jews rejoice: 'for with their whole heart they did ſwear, and 'they ſought God with unfeigned affection, and 'he was found; and the Lord gave them reſt on

'every ſide.' This is thy duty, and this is the only remedy, O England! to ſtay God's vengeance, which long thou haſt deſerved, and ſhall not eſcape, if his religion and honour be ſubject to mutation and change as oft as thy rulers chuſe, or as by reaſon of death they ſhall be changed. And ſo this briefly is the firſt thing, which thou muſt, with invocation of God's name, provide for eſtabliſhing of his true religion.

The other part, touching the inſtruction of the people, ſtandeth much in the faithful diligence of thoſe to whom the charge of preaching ſhall be committed: but when I remember that horrible confuſion which before was maintained, even by thoſe who would be eſteemed chief pillars of religion, I do more fear to be plain in this matter, than in all which before I have ſpoken; for it may be, that, in ſpeaking the ſimple truth, I may diſpleaſe theſe, whom willingly for no earthly profit I would offend: nevertheleſs, ſeeing the cauſe is not mine, but appertaineth to Chriſt Jeſus, and to the feeding of that flock, which ſo earneſtly and tenderly he recommended to Peter, and to all his faithful paſtors to the world's end, whatſoever man ſhall judge, I dare not ceaſe, in God's name, to require of you a ſevere reformation of theſe things, which before were utterly diſordered.

And *firſt*, In the name of the Lord Jeſus, I require of you, that no dumb dog, no poiſoned and peſtilent Papiſt, none who before hath perſecuted God's children, or obſtinately maintained idolatry, be placed above the people of God, to infect and poiſon (for other profit they ſhall do none) the ſouls of thoſe whom Chriſt Jeſus hath redeemed with his precious blood.

Secondly, That benefice upon benefice be heaped upon no man, but that a ſufficient charge, with a competent ſtipend, be aſſigned to the workmen; for O how horrible was that confuſion, that one man ſhould be permitted to have two, three, four, five, ſix, or ſeven benefices, who ſcarcely in the year did ſo often preach! yea, that a man ſhould have the charge of them whoſe faces he never ſaw. Let that peſtilence, proceeding from avarice, be utterly avoided! let not men at their pleaſure preach when and where they pleaſe; but ſo ſoon as a godly order may be eſtabliſhed, let the parts and bounds be aſſigned to every man. London, in time paſt, was indifferently provided for; but, alas! what barbarous ignorance was in the reſt of the realm?

Thirdly, Let no man be charged, in preaching of Chriſt Jeſus, above that which a man may do: I mean, That your biſhoprics be ſo divided, that of every one (as they are now, for the moſt part) may be made ten; and ſo in every city and great town there may be placed a godly learned man, with ſo many joined with him, for preaching and inſtruction, as ſhall be thought ſufficient for the bounds committed to their charge; the utility whereof you ſhall underſtand, within few years, greatly to redound to the profit of the ſimple flock: for the great dominions and charge of your proud prelates (impoſſible by one man to be diſcharged) are no part of Chriſt's true miniſtry, but are the maintenance of the tyranny firſt invented, and yet retained by the Roman Antichriſt.

Fourthly, That diligent heed be taken, that ſuch to whom the office of preaching is committed, diſcharge and do their duties; for it is not, nor will not be, the chanting nor mumbling over of certain pſalters, the reading of chapters for mattins and evening-ſong, or of homilies only (be they never ſo godly), that can feed the ſouls of the hungry ſheep: Chriſt himſelf, his holy apoſtles, and that elect veſſel Paul, do teach us another leſſon, all commanding us to preach, yea, to preach Chriſt crucified. What efficacy the living voice hath above the naked letter which is read, the hungry and thirſty do feel to their comfort. But the other maketh for Mr. Parſon's purpoſe, who, retaining in his hand a number of benefices, appointed ſuch in his place as are altogether deſtitute of the gift of preaching; but let all ſuch belly-gods be whipped out of God's holy temple.

Fifthly, Let none that are appointed to labour in Chriſt's vineyard, be intangled with civil affairs (and, as you call them, the affairs of the realm), except it be when the civil magiſtrate and the miniſters of the word aſſemble together for execution of diſcipline, which is a thing eaſy to be done, without withdrawing any perſon from his charge, if that which was before expreſſed be obſerved: for as touching their yearly coming to parliament, for matters of religion, it ſhall be ſuperfluous and vain, if God's true religion be once ſo eſtabliſhed, that after it never be called in controverſy; and as touching execution of diſcipline, that muſt be done in every city and ſhire, where the magiſtrates and miniſters are joined together, without any reſpect of perſons; ſo that the miniſters, albeit they lack the glorious title of lords, and the deviliſh pomp which before appeared in proud prelates, yet muſt they be ſo ſtout and ſo bold in God's cauſe, that if the king would uſurp any other authority in God's religion, than becometh a member of Chriſt's body, that firſt he be admoniſhed according to God's word; and after, if he contemn the ſame, that he be ſubject to the yoke of diſcipline, to whom

they ſhall boldly ſay, as Azariah the high prieſt ſaid unto Uzziah king of Judah, 'It is not lawful 'for thee, Uzziah, to offer incenſe, but it apper-'taineth to the prieſts, and the ſons of Aaron, 'who are conſecrated, to burn it: paſs out there-'fore, for thou haſt offended; which thing ſhall 'not redound to thy glory.' This, I ſay, is the duty of all Chriſt's faithful miniſters, whenſoever any man, be he king or emperor, uſurpeth to himſelf authority againſt God, to rebuke him openly, to reſiſt and gainſtand him to the uttermoſt of their power, whom the Lord, by the Spirit of his mouth and power of his word, ſhall confound, even as he did the pride of Uzziah, if they be ſtrong and valiant in God's cauſe.

Now, *laſt* of all (omitting things of no leſs importance to your wiſdoms), for the preſervation of religion, it is moſt expedient, that ſchools be univerſally erected in cities and all chief towns, the overſight whereof to be committed to the magiſtrates, and godly learned men, of the ſaid cities and towns, that, of the youth religiouſly inſtructed amongſt them, a ſeed may be reſerved and continued, for the profit of Chriſt's kirk in all ages.

It remaineth briefly to anſwer to *two* things, which may give you occaſion to faint in the Lord's work: *Firſt*, The lack of workmen to put things in ſuch order as is requiſite: and *ſecondly*, The fear of tumult and ſedition within yourſelves, or invaſion of foreign nations. In God's name I fear not to affirm, that neither the one nor the other ſhall hurt you in the end, if with your whole hearts ye ſeek God's glory to be promoted, and all ſorts of abominations to be rooted out: for if ye pray with earneſt affection, he ſhall endue ſuch as ye know not, with wiſdom and knowledge, to rule in his kirk to the comfort of his flock. There are more labourers than the eyes of men ſee, that profitably would work in the Lord's harveſt: and as for fear of enemies, they may, with Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, conſpire againſt Moſes and Aaron; with the Moabites and Ammonites, againſt Jehoſhaphat; or with proud Sennacherib, againſt Hezekiah and afflicted Sion: but rather, ere thou ſhalt be confounded (if with a perfect heart thou ſeek the Lord thy God), ſhall the earth open and devour ſuch rebels; rather ſhall thine enemies every one murder another, and rather ſhall the angels of the Lord fight for thy deliverance, ere the work be hindered, and periſh in thine hands.

But if thou, O England! for any reſpect, delay thy repentance and converſion unto God; if thou ſhalt ſtill foſter in thy boſom the generation of vipers; if thou ſhalt retain in honour and authority ſuch as have declared themſelves enemies to God and to his eternal truth, not by any infirmity, but of determined malice and ſet purpoſe, to murder and deſtroy God's children; if, finally, thou ſhalt not ſtudy to root out and cut off ſuch rotten members as can do nothing but infect the whole body; then call I to witneſs againſt thee both heaven and earth, that I and others, the ſervants of God, who faithfully, and in time, have warned thee of thy duty, and vengeance to come, are, and ſhall be clean from the blood which ſhortly ſhall periſh, if thou contemn the admonition of God's meſſengers. Too late ſhall it be for thee to howl, when the flame of God's hot diſpleaſure ſhall begin to burn: it will not then be the flattering enticements and vain policies of ſuch as ſeek more themſelves than Chriſt's glory, that will extinguiſh it; no, it ſhall burn, and ſhall deſtroy the head and the tail, the prince and the falſe prophet, the root and the branches of ſuch impiety. Be warned therefore, if thou liſt, and eſcape vengeance, which is already prepared for the diſobedient.

But O ye that in ſorrow of heart ſee theſe abominations, that lament and do not pollute yourſelves with them, let your hearts reſt upon the Eternal, who ſhall be unto you a rock and a ſtrong caſtle of defence!

And then, although heaven and earth ſhould be confounded, yet ſhall his mercy deliver you from danger; and in very experience and joy of heart ye ſhall ſing, 'O Lord! thou art our God, 'we ſhall exalt and confeſs thy name, for thou 'haſt done wonderous things. Thy counſels are 'profound, far off to man's judgment, but yet are 'they true and ſure. The ſtrong tents and pa-'laces of the proud haſt thou brought to ruin, ſo 'that they ſhall never be reſtored again: and 'therefore the ſtrong people ſhall glorify thee; 'yea, the cities of tyrannous nations ſhall fear 'thee. Behold, this is our God, we have waited 'for him, and he hath ſaved us. This is the 'Lord whom we looked for, we ſhall rejoice and 'be joyful in his ſalvation.' This, I ſay, ſhall be the ſong, which, in experience of the Lord's deliverance, your hearts ſhall ſing, even when God's moſt ſevere judgments ſhall, in your eyes, be executed againſt the ungodly: and therefore, call thou for ſtrength to continue to the end.

From Geneva, the 12th
of January, 1559.

431

THE FIRST BLAST OF THE TRUMPET AGAINST THE *MONSTROUS REGIMENT OF WOMEN.*

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

THE CONTENTS OF THE SECOND BLAST;

AND

A LETTER TO THE PEOPLE OF EDINBURGH, *Anno* 1571.

BY MR. JOHN KNOX,
MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL AT EDINBURGH.

1 TIMOTHY, ii. 12. *But I suffer not a Woman to teach, nor to usurp Authority over the Man, &c.*

THE

PREFACE.

The Kingdom appertaineth to our GOD.

WONDER it is, that amongſt ſo many pregnant wits as the iſle of Great Britain hath produced, ſo many godly and zealous preachers as England did ſometime nouriſh, and amongſt ſo many learned, and men of grave judgment as at this day by Jezebel are exiled, none is found ſo ſtout of courage, ſo faithful to God, nor loving to their native country, that they dare admoniſh the inhabitants of that iſle, how abominable before God is the empire or rule of a wicked woman, yea, of a traitoreſs and baſtard, and what a people or nation left deſtitute of a lawful head may do, by the authority of God's word, in electing and appointing common rulers and magiſtrates. That iſle, alas! for the contempt and horrible abuſe of God's mercies offered, and for the ſhameful revolting to Satan from Chriſt Jeſus, and from his goſpel once profeſſed, doth juſtly merit to be left in the hands of their own counſel, and ſo to come to confuſion, and bondage of ſtrangers. But yet I fear, that this univerſal negligence of ſuch as were ſometimes eſteemed watchmen, ſhall rather aggravate our former ingratitude, than excuſe this our univerſal ungodly ſilence in ſo weighty a matter. We ſee our country ſet forth for a prey to foreign nations; we hear the blood of our brethren, the members of Chriſt Jeſus, moſt cruelly to be ſhed, and the monſtrous empire of a cruel woman (the ſecret counſel of God excepted) we know to be the only occaſion of all theſe miſeries; and yet with ſilence we paſs the time as though the matter appertained nothing to us. But the contrary examples of the ancient prophets move me to doubt of this fact: for Iſrael did univerſally decline from God by embracing idolatry under Jeroboam, in which they continued even to the deſtruction of their commonwealth *; and Judah with Jeruſalem did follow the vile ſuperſtition and open iniquity of Samaria: yet the prophets of God ceaſed not to admoniſh the one and the other, yea, even after God had poured forth his plagues upon them. For Jeremiah † did write to the captives in Babylon, and did correct their errors, plainly inſtructing them who did remain in that idolatrous nation. Ezekiel ‡, from the midſt of his brethren priſoners of Chaldea, did write his viſion to thoſe that were in Jeruſalem; and, ſharply rebuking their vices, aſſured them, that they ſhould not eſcape God's vengeance, by reaſon of their abominations committed. The ſame prophets, for comfort of God's afflicted ſaints, who lay hid amongſt the reprobate of that age (as corn doth commonly amongſt the chaff), did propheſy the changes of kingdoms, the puniſhment of tyrants, and the vengeance which God would execute upon the oppreſſors of

* Ezek. xvi. † Jerm. xxix. ‡ Ezek. vii. viii. ix.

his people. The ſame did Daniel, and the reſt of the prophets, every one in their ſeaſon *: by whoſe examples, and by the plain precept which was given to Ezekiel, commanding that he ſhall ſay to the wicked, 'Thou ſhalt die the death;' we, in this miſerable age, are bound to admoniſh the world, and tyrants thereof, of their ſudden deſtruction; and to aſſure them, and to cry to them, whether they will hear or not, That the blood of the ſaints, which by them is ſhed, continually crieth and craveth vengeance, in the preſence of the Lord of Hoſts. And further, it is our duty to open the thing revealed to us, unto the ignorant and blind world; unleſs that, to our own condemnation, we liſt to wrap up and hide the talent committed to our charge. I am aſſured, that God hath revealed to ſome in this our age, That it is more than a monſter in nature, that a woman ſhall reign and have empire above man. And yet with us all there is ſuch ſilence, as if God therewith were nothing offended. The natural man, enemy to God, ſhall find, I know, many cauſes why no ſuch doctrine ought to be publiſhed. *Firſt*, For that it may ſeem to tend to ſedition. *Secondly*, It ſhall be dangerous, not only to the writer or publiſher, but alſo to all ſuch as ſhall read or favour the ſame. *Thirdly*, It ſhall not amend the chief offenders, partly becauſe it ſhall never come to their ears, partly becauſe they will not be admoniſhed in ſuch caſes. I anſwer, If any of theſe be a ſufficient reaſon that truth known ſhall be concealed, then were the ancient prophets of God very fools, who provided not better for their own quietneſs, than to hazard their lives for rebuking of vices, and for the opening of ſuch crimes as were not known to the world; and Chriſt Jeſus did injury to his apoſtles, commanding them to preach 'repentance and remiſſion of ſins in his name to every realm and 'nation;' and Paul did not underſtand his own liberty, when he cried †, 'Wo to me, if I 'preach not the goſpel.' If fear, I ſay, of perſecution, ſlander, or any inconvenience before named, might have excuſed and diſcharged the ſervants of God, from plainly rebuking the ſins of the world, juſt cauſe had every one of them to have ceaſed from their office; for ſuddenly their doctrine was accuſed by terms of *ſedition*, of *new learning*, and of *treaſon* ‡. Perſecution and vehement trouble did ſhortly come upon the profeſſors, with the preachers; kings, princes, and worldly rulers, did conſpire againſt God, and his Anointed Chriſt Jeſus. But did any of theſe move the prophets and apoſtles to faint in their vocation? No; but by the reſiſtance which the devil made by his ſuppoſts, were they the more inflamed to publiſh the truth revealed unto them; and to witneſs with their blood that grievous condemnation and God's heavy vengeance ſhould follow the proud contempt of graces offered. The fidelity, bold courage, and conſtancy of thoſe that are paſſed before us, ought to provoke us to follow their footſteps, unleſs we look for another kingdom than Chriſt hath promiſed to ſuch as perſevere in the profeſſion of his name to the end. If any think that the empire of women is not of ſuch importance, that, for the ſuppreſſing of the ſame, any man is bound to hazard his life; I anſwer, That to ſuppreſs it is in the hand of God alone; but to utter the impiety and abomination thereof, I ſay, it is in the hand of every true meſſenger of God, to whom the truth is revealed in that behalf. God's meſſengers muſt preach repentance, and admoniſh the offenders of their offences; but neither of both can be done, except the conſcience of the offenders be accuſed and convicted of tranſgreſſion. And therefore, I ſay, that of neceſſity it is, that this monſtriferous empire of women (which among all enormities this day abounding is moſt deteſtable and damnable) be openly revealed and plainly declared to the world, to the end that ſome may repent and be ſaved. Now, to ſuch as think that it will be long before ſuch doctrine come to the ears of theſe offenders,

* Iſa. xiii. Jer. xlvi. Ezek. xxxvi. † 1 Cor. ix. ‡ Matth. xxvi. Acts xviii. xxi. Pſal. ii. Acts iv.

I anſwer, That the verity of God is of that nature, that one time or other it will purchaſe to itſelf audience; it is an odour and a ſmell that cannot be ſuppreſſed; yea, it is a Trumpet that will ſound in deſpite of the adverſaries; it will compel the very enemies, to their confuſion, to teſtify and bear witneſs of it: for I find that the prophecy and preaching of Eliſha was declared in the hall of the king of Syria, by the ſervant and flatterers of the ſame wicked king, making mention, that Eliſha declared to the king of Iſrael, whatſoever the ſaid king of Syria ſpoke in his moſt ſecret chamber *. And the wonderous works of Jeſus Chriſt were notified to Herod, not in any great commendation of his doctrine; but rather to ſignify, that Chriſt called that tyrant *a fox*, and that he did no more regard his authority than John the Baptiſt, whom Herod before had beheaded for the liberty of his tongue †. Thus it is certain, that the fame, as well of Chriſt's doctrine as of his works, came to the ears of Herod. Even ſo may the ſound of our weak Trumpet, by the ſupport of ſome wind (blow it from the ſouth or from the north), come to the ears of thoſe offenders. But whether it does or not, yet we dare not ceaſe to blow as God will give ſtrength: for we are debtors to more than to princes, *viz.* to the multitude of our brethren, of whom, no doubt, a great number have heretofore offended by error and ignorance, giving their ſuffrages, conſent, and help, to eſtabliſh women in their kingdoms and empire, notwithſtanding how abominable, odious, and deteſtable, is all ſuch uſurped authority in God's preſence. And therefore muſt the truth be plainly ſpoken, that the ſimple and rude multitude may be admoniſhed, and all, concerning the danger which may hereof enſue. I have laid mine account what the finiſhing of this work may coſt me for my own part. *Firſt*, I am not ignorant how difficult and dangerous it is to ſpeak againſt a common error, eſpecially when the ambitious minds of men and women are called to the obedience of God's ſimple commandment: for to the moſt part of men, lawful and godly appeareth whatſoever antiquity hath received. *Secondly*, I look to have mine adverſaries not only of the ignorant multitude, but alſo of the wiſe, polite, and quiet ſpirits of the world: and thus I am moſt certainly perſuaded, that my labour ſhall not eſcape reprehenſion of many. But becauſe I remember the accounts of the talents received muſt be made to him, who neither reſpecteth the multitude, neither yet approveth the wiſdom, policy, peace, nor antiquity, concluding or determining any thing againſt his eternal will, revealed to us in his moſt bleſſed word, I am compelled to cover mine eyes, and ſhut mine ears, that I neither ſee the multitude that in this matter ſhall withſtand me, neither hear the opprobries, nor conſider the dangers, which I may incur for uttering the ſame. I ſhall be called fooliſh, curious, deſpiteful, and a ſower of ſedition; and one day perchance (although now I be nameleſs) I may be attainted of treaſon: but ſeeing impoſſible it is, but that either I ſhall offend daily, calling to my conſcience, that I ought to manifeſt the verity known, or elſe that I ſhall diſpleaſe the world for doing the ſame; I am determined to obey God, notwithſtanding that the world ſhould rage thereat. I know that the world offended may (by God's permiſſion) kill the body; but God's Majeſty being offended, hath power to puniſh ſoul and body for ever. God is offended when his precepts are contemned, and his threatenings eſteemed to be of no effect: and amongſt his manifold precepts given to his prophets, and amongſt his threatenings, none is more vehement than that which is pronounced to Ezekiel in theſe words ‡; 'Son of man, I have 'ſet thee a watchman unto the houſe of Iſrael, therefore thou ſhalt hear the word at my 'mouth, and warn them from me. When I ſay unto the wicked, O wicked man! thou 'ſhalt ſurely die; if thou doſt not ſpeak to warn the wicked from his way, that wicked

* 2 Kings vi. 12. † Matth. xiv. ‡ Ezek. xxxiii.

'man ſhall die in his iniquity, but his blood will I require at thine hand: neverthelefs, if 'thou warn the wicked of his way to turn from it, if he do not turn from his way, he 'ſhall die in his iniquity, but thou haſt delivered thy ſoul.' This precept, I ſay, with the threatening annexed, together with the reſt that is ſpoken in the ſame chapter, not to Ezekiel only, but to every one whom God placeth watchman over his people and flock (and watchmen are they, whoſe eyes he doth open, and whoſe conſcience he pricketh to admoniſh the ungodly), compelleth me to utter my conſcience in this matter, notwithſtanding that the whole world ſhould be offended with me for ſo doing.

If any wonder why I do conceal my name, let him be aſſured, that the fear of corporal puniſhment is neither the only, neither the chief cauſe. My purpoſe is Thrice to Blow the Trumpet in the ſame matter, if God ſo permit. Twice I intend to do it without name; but at the Laſt Blaſt to take the blame upon myſelf, that all others may be purged.

The FIRST BLAST, to awake WOMEN Degenerate.

TO promote a woman to bear rule, ſuperiority, dominion, or empire, above any realm, nation, or city, is repugnant to nature, contumely to God, a thing moſt contrarious to his revealed will and approved ordinance, and finally the ſubverſion of good order, of all equity and juſtice.

Firſt, I ſay and affirm, That the empire of a woman is *repugnant to nature:* for who can deny but it repugneth to nature, that the blind ſhall be appointed to lead and conduct ſuch as do ſee; that the weak, ſick, and impotent perſons, ſhould nouriſh and keep the hail and ſtrong; and finally, that the fooliſh, mad, and frantic, ſhall govern the diſcreet, and give counſel to ſuch as are of ſober mind? And ſuch are all women compared to men in bearing authority: for their ſight in civil government is but blindneſs, their ſtrength weakneſs, their counſel fooliſhneſs, and judgment frenzy, if it be rightly conſidered. I except ſuch as God by ſingular privilege, and for certain cauſes, known only to himſelf, hath exempted from the common rank of women, and do ſpeak of women, as nature and experience do this day declare them.

Nature, I ſay, doth paint them forth to be weak, frail, impatient, feeble, and fooliſh; and experience hath declared them to be inconſtant, variable, cruel, and void of the ſpirit of counſel and government. For theſe notable faults which in all ages have been eſpied in them, men have not only removed them from rule and authority, but alſo ſome have thought that men ſubject to the counſel and empire of their wives, were unworthy of all public office. What difference ſhall we put (ſaith Ariſtotle, in the ſecond of his Politics*) whether women bear authority, or huſbands that obey the empire of their wives be appointed to be magiſtrates? For the injuſtice, confuſion, and diſorder, which doth follow the one, muſt needs follow the other. The ſame author further reaſoneth, That the policy or government of the Lacedemonians (who otherwiſe amongſt the Grecians were moſt excellent) was not worthy to be reputed nor accounted amongſt the number of commonwealths well governed, becauſe the magiſtrates and rulers of the ſame were too much given to pleaſe and obey their wives. What would this writer, I pray you, have ſaid to that realm or nation, where a woman ſitteth crowned in parliament among the midſt of men. O fearful and terrible are thy judgments! O Lord! who hath thus abaſed man for his iniquity. If Ariſtotle and others, illuminated only by the light of nature, did ſee and pronounce cauſes ſufficient why women ought not to bear rule or authority, I am ſure, if they were living this day, to ſee a woman ſitting in judgment, or riding from parliament in the midſt of men, having the royal crown upon her head, the ſword and ſceptre borne before her, in ſign that adminiſtration of juſtice was in her power, they would be ſo aſtoniſhed with ſuch a ſight, that they would judge the world to be transformed into Amazons†; and that ſuch a metamorphoſis and change was made of all the men of that country, as poets do feign was made of all the companions of Ulyſſes; or at leaſt, that albeit the outward form of men remains, yet ſhould they judge that their hearts were changed from the wiſdom, underſtanding, and courage of men, to the fooliſh fondneſs and cowardice of women: yea, they further ſhould pronounce, That where women reign and are in authority, their vanity muſt needs be preferred to virtue, ambition and pride to temperance and modeſty; and finally, that avarice, the mother of all miſchief, muſt needs there devour equity and juſtice. But let us hear what others have ſeen and decreed in this matter. In the rules of the law thus it is written, 'Women 'are removed from all civil and public office, ſo 'that they neither may be judges, neither may 'occupy the place of the magiſtrate, neither yet 'may be ſpeakers for others.' The ſame is repeated in the third and ſixteenth books of the Di-

* 2 Pol. Ariſt. † Amazons were monſtrous women, that could not abide the government of men, and therefore killed their huſbands. Juſtin. Ariſt. 2 Pol. Lib. 50. De Regulis Juris.

geſts *; there, among certain perſons which are forbidden, *ne pro aliis poſtulent*, that is, That they be no ſpeakers nor advocates for others, women are forbidden; and this cauſe is added, That they do not againſt ſhamefacedneſs intermeddle themſelves with the cauſes of others; neither yet that they preſume to uſe the offices due to men. The law in the ſame place doth further declare, That a natural ſhamefacedneſs ought to be in womankind, which moſt certainly ſhe loſeth, whenſoever ſhe taketh upon her the office and eſtate of man; as in Calphurnia was evidently declared: for ſhe having licence to ſpeak before the ſenate, at length becomes ſo impudent and importunate, that by her babbling ſhe troubled the whole aſſembly, and ſo gave occaſion that this law was eſtabliſhed. In the firſt book of the Digeſts †, the condition of the woman is pronounced in many caſes to be worſe than of the man; as in juriſdiction (ſaith the law), in receiving of cure and tuition, in adoption, in public accuſation, in delation, in all popular action, and in motherly power, which ſhe hath not upon her own ſons. The law further will not permit, that a woman give any thing to her huſband, becauſe it is againſt the nature of her kind, being the inferior member, to preſume to give any thing to her head. The law doth moreover pronounce womankind to be moſt avaricious; which is a vice intolerable in thoſe that ſhould rule or miniſter juſtice. And Ariſtotle ‡, as before is touched, doth plainly affirm, That whenſoever women bear dominion, there muſt needs the people be diſordered, living and abounding in all intemperance, given to pride, exceſs, and vanity; and in the end, that they muſt needs come to confuſion and ruin. Would to God the examples were not ſo manifeſt to the further declaration of the imperfections, natural weakneſs, and inordinate appetites of women! I might adduce hiſtories ‖, proving ſome women to have died for ſudden joy; ſome for impatience have murdered themſelves; ſome to have burned with ſuch inordinate luſt, that, for the quenching of the ſame, they have betrayed to ſtrangers their country and city; and to have been ſo deſirous of dominion §, that, for obtaining thereof, they have murdered the children of their own ſons; yea, ſome have killed with cruelty their own huſbands and children. But to me it is ſufficient (becauſe this part of nature is not my moſt ſure foundation) to have proved, that men, illuminated only by the light of nature, have ſeen and determined, That it is a thing moſt repugnant to nature, that a woman rule and govern over man; for theſe that will not permit a woman to have power over her own ſons, will far leſs permit her to have rule over a realm. And theſe that will not ſuffer her to ſpeak in defence of thoſe that be accuſed, nor admit her accuſation intended againſt man, far leſs would ſuffer her to ſit in judgment, crowned with the royal crown, uſurping the authority in the midſt of men ¶.

But now to the ſecond part of nature, in which I include the revealed will and perfect ordinance of God; Againſt this part of nature, I ſay, it doth manifeſtly repugn, that any woman ſhall reign or bear dominion over man: for God firſt by order of the creation, and after by the curſe and malediction pronounced againſt the woman, by reaſon of her rebellion, hath declared the contrary. Firſt, I ſay, The woman in her greateſt perfection was made to ſerve and obey man, not to rule and command him. 'Man is not of the woman (ſaith 'Paul, 1 Cor. xi. 8, 9, 10.), but the woman of 'the man. And man was not created for the wo-'man, but the woman for the man: for this cauſe 'ought the woman to have power on her head;' this is a coverture in ſign of ſubjection. But after her fall and rebellion againſt God, there was put upon her a new neceſſity, and ſhe was made ſubject to man by the irrevocable ſentence of God, pronounced in theſe words (Gen. iii. 16.), 'I will 'greatly multiply thy ſorrow and conception; 'with ſorrow ſhalt thou bear thy children, and thy 'will ſhall be ſubject to thy man: and he ſhall 'have dominion over thee.' From the former part of this malediction, neither art, nobility, policy, nor law made by man, can deliver womankind. For whoſoever attaineth to that honour to be a mother,

* Lib. 3. 16. Digeſtorum ad Senatuſconſul. Velleianum. Lib. 3. De Poſtulatione, Tit 1.

† De Statu Hominum, Tit. 8. By the civil law, power is taken from women over their own children, Dig. Lib. 24. De Donatione inter Virum et Fem. Lib. 1. Dig. de Legibus et Senatuſcon. Tit. 3.

‡ Politic. 2. Great imperfections of women.

‖ Romilda, the wife of Giſulphus, betrayed to Cacanus the dukedom of Frival in Italy: Jane, queen of Naples, hanged her huſband: Athalia deſtroyed all the ſeed royal, 2 Kings, ii.

§ Ierne, Anton. Iſabell.

¶ The leſſer things are denied to women, therefore the greater cannot be granted.

proveth by experience the effect and ſtrength of God's word. But, alas! ignorance of God, ambition, and tyranny, have ſtudied to aboliſh and deſtroy the ſecond part of God's puniſhment; for women are lifted up to be heads over realms, and to rule above men at their pleaſure and appetites; but horrible is the vengeance which is prepared for the promoters, and for the perſons promoted, except they ſpeedily repent; for they ſhall be dejected from the glory of the ſons of God to the ſlavery of the devil, and to the torment that is prepared for all ſuch as do exalt themſelves againſt God. Againſt God can nothing be more manifeſt, than that a woman ſhould be exalted to reign above man; for the contrary ſentence hath God pronounced in theſe words, 'Thy will ſhall be 'ſubject to thy huſband, and he ſhall bear domi-'nion over thee.' Thus did God not only make Adam lord and governor over Eve's body, but even over her appetites and will, and thereby dejected all women from empire and dominion above man: ſo that no woman can ever preſume to reign, but the ſame ſhe muſt needs do in deſpite of God, and in contempt of his puniſhment and malediction. I am not ignorant, that the moſt part of men underſtand this part of malediction to be meant of the ſubjection of the wife to her huſband, and of the dominion which he beareth above her; but the Holy Ghoſt taketh from all women all kind of ſuperiority and power over man, ſpeaking by the mouth of St. Paul (1 Tim. ii.) as follows, 'I ſuf-'fer not a woman to teach, neither yet to uſurp 'authority above man.' Here he nameth women in general, excepting none: and in the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians, chap. xiv. the apoſtle permitteth that all perſons may propheſy one after another, that all may learn, and all may be comforted; and, leſt the plurality of ſpeakers ſhould have bred confuſion, he addeth, 'The ſpirit of the prophets 'are ſubject to the prophets;' as if he ſhould ſay, God ſhall always raiſe up ſome to whom the verity ſhall be revealed, and to ſuch you ſhall give place, albeit they ſit in the loweſt place. And thus the apoſtle would have propheſying an exerciſe to be free to the whole church, that every one ſhould communicate with the congregation what God had revealed to them, providing it were done orderly. But from this general privilege he ſecludeth all women, ſaying (1 Cor. xiv.), 'Let wo-'men keep ſilence in the congregation:' and why, I pray you? Was it becauſe he thought no women to have any knowlege? No; he giveth another, ſaying, 'Let her be ſubject, as the law ſaith.' In the words is firſt to be noted, That the apoſtle calleth the former ſentence, pronounced againſt women, a *law;* that is, the immutable decree of God, who, by his own voice, hath ſubjected her to one member of the congregation, that is, to her huſband. Whereupon the Holy Ghoſt concludeth, That ſhe may never rule, nor bear empire above man; for ſhe that is made ſubject to one, may never be preferred to many: and that by the Holy Ghoſt is manifeſtly expreſſed in theſe words, 'I 'ſuffer not a woman to uſurp authority above man.' So both by God's law, and the interpretation of the Holy Ghoſt, women are utterly forbidden to occupy the place of God in the offices foreſaid, which he has aſſigned to man, whom he hath appointed to be his lieutenant on earth. The apoſtle taketh power from all women to ſpeak in the aſſembly *: *ergo*, He permitteth no woman to rule above man. The former part of the argument is evident, and ſo the concluſion doth of neceſſity follow; for he that taketh from woman the leaſt part of authority, will not permit unto her that which is greateſt: but greater it is † to reign above realms and nations, to publiſh and make laws, to appoint judges and miniſters, than to ſpeak in the congregation. Woman's judgment, ſentence, or opinion, propoſed in the congregation, may be judged by all, may be corrected by the learned, and reformed by the godly: but woman being promoted in ſovereign authority, her laws muſt be obeyed, her opinion followed, and her tyranny maintained, ſuppoſe it be expreſsly againſt God and the profit of the commonwealth. And therefore yet again I repeat, That a woman promoted to ſit in the ſeat of God, that is, to teach, to judge, or to reign above the man, is a monſter in nature, contumely to God, and a thing moſt repugnant to his will and ordinance. That you may underſtand this my judgment to be no new interpretation of God's Scriptures, I will recite the minds of ſome ancient writers in the ſame matter. Tertullian ‡, in his book of *Woman's Apparel*, after he hath ſhewed many cauſes why gorgeous apparel is abominable and odious in a woman, he addeth theſe words, ſpeaking, as it were, to every woman by name, 'Doſt thou not know (ſaith he) that thou 'art Eve? The ſentence of God liveth, and is ef-'fectual againſt thy kind; and in this world of 'neceſſity it is that the puniſhment alſo live: thou

* A ſtrong argument. † Note. ‡ Tertul. de Habitu Mulierum.

'art the port and gate of the devil; thou art the 'firſt tranſgreſſor of God's law; thou didſt per-'ſuade and eaſily deceive him whom the devil 'durſt not aſſault; for thy merit (that is, for thy 'death) it behoved the Son of God to ſuffer death: 'and doth it yet abide in thy mind to deck thee 'above thy ſkin-coats?' By theſe and many other grave ſentences, and quick interrogations, did this godly writer labour to bring every woman in contemplation of herſelf, that ſhe might avoid and abhor whatſoever thing might puff her up with pride, or that might be an occaſion that ſhe ſhould forget the ſentence which God hath pronounced againſt the whole race and daughters of Eve: and what, I pray you, is more able to cauſe woman forget her own condition, than if ſhe be lifted up in authority above man? It is a thing very difficult to man (be he never ſo conſtant) promoted to honours, not to be tickled ſomewhat with pride; for the wind of vain glory doth eaſily carry up the dry duſt of the earth: but as for woman, it is no more poſſible that ſhe, being ſet aloft in authority above man, ſhall reſiſt the motions of pride, than it is poſſible to the weak reed, or to the turning weather-cock, not to bow or turn at the vehemency of the inconſtant wind: and therefore the ſame writer expreſsly forbiddeth all women to intermeddle with the office of man; for thus he writeth in his book *De Virgin. Velandis* *, 'It is not permitted to a 'woman to ſpeak in the congregation, neither to 'teach, neither to baptize, neither to vindicate to 'herſelf any office of man.' The ſame he ſpeaketh yet more plainly, in the preface of his ſixth book againſt Marcion †; when he recounting certain monſtrous things which were to be ſeen at the ſea called Euxinum, amongſt the reſt he reciteth, There is a great monſter in nature, that women in thoſe parts were not tamed nor emboſſed by conſideration of their own ſex and kind; but that, all ſhame laid apart, they made expences upon weapons, and learned the feats of war, having more pleaſure to fight than to marry and be ſubject to man. Thus Tertullian, who taketh from woman all office appertaining to man, would never ſuffer her to reign above man; and he that judged it a monſter in nature, that a woman ſhould exerciſe weapons, would judge it no doubt, to be a monſter of monſters, that a woman ſhould be exalted above a whole realm and nation. Of the ſame mind is Origen, and divers others, whoſe ſentences I omit, to avoid prolixity.

Auguſtine, in his twenty-ſecond book againſt Fauſtus ‡, proveth that a woman ought to do ſervice to her huſband as unto God; affirming, That in nothing hath woman equal power with man, except that neither have *power of their own bodies*: by which he would plainly include, that woman ought never to pretend nor thirſt for that power and authority which is due to man. And, in another place he affirmeth ‖, That woman ought to be repreſſed and bridled betimes, if ſhe aſpires to any dominion; alledging, That dangerous it is to ſuffer her to proceed, although it be in temporal and corporal things. And thereto he added theſe words; 'God ſeeth not for a time, neither is there any 'new thing in his ſight and knowledge;' meaning thereby, that what God hath ſeen in one woman (as concerning dominion and having of authority) the ſame he ſeeth in all; and what he hath forbidden to one, the ſame hath he forbidden to all; and this moſt evidently; yet in another place he writeth, moving this queſtion, 'How can woman be 'the image of God, ſeeing ſhe is ſubject to man, 'and hath neither authority to teach, to be wit-'neſs, nor to judge, much leſs to rule or bear em-'pire? Woman (ſaith Auguſtine) compared to 'other creatures, is the *image of God* §, for ſhe 'beareth dominion over them; but compared to 'man, ſhe may not be called the *image of God*, for 'ſhe beareth not rule nor lordſhip over man, but 'ought to obey him, *&c.*' And how woman ought to obey him, he ſpeaketh ¶ yet more clearly in theſe words, 'The woman ſhall be ſubject 'unto man as unto Chriſt, *&c.*' With Auguſtine agreeth in every point St. Ambroſe, who thus writeth **, 'Adam was deceived by Eve, and 'not Eve by Adam; and therefore juſt it is, that 'woman receive and acknowledge him for go-'vernor whom ſhe called to ſin, leſt again ſhe 'ſlide by womanly facility. And writing upon the epiſtle to the Epheſians, chap. v. he ſaith ††, 'Let women be ſubject to their own huſbands, as un-'to the Lord; for the man is head to the women, '*&c.* As the congregation is ſubject to Chriſt, 'even ſo ought women to be to their huſbands 'in all things.' He proceedeth further, ſaying, 'Women are commanded to be ſubject to men 'by the law of nature, becauſe that man is the

* Tertul. Lib. 8. De Virg. Velandis. † In Proem. Lib. 6. contra Marcion. ‡ Aug. Lib. 22. contra Fauſtinum, Cap. 31. ‖ De Trinitate, Lib. 12. Cap. 7. § In Quæſt. Vet. Teſt. Quæſt. 45. ¶ Lib. de Continentia, Cap. 4. ** Ambroſe in Hexæmeron, Lib. 5. Cap. 7. †† Idem ſuper Epheſ. Cap. 5.

'beginner of the woman; for as Chriſt is the 'Head of the church, ſo is man of the woman: 'from Chriſt the church took beginning, and 'therefore it is ſubject unto him; even ſo did 'woman take beginning from man, that ſhe ſhould 'be ſubject.' If any man think that all theſe former ſentences are ſpoken only of the ſubjection of the married woman to her huſband, as before I have proved the contrary, by the plain words and reaſoning of St. Paul, ſo ſhall I ſhortly do the ſame by other teſtimonies of the foreſaid writers. The ſame Ambroſe *, writing upon the ſecond chapter of the firſt epiſtle to Timothy, after he hath ſpoken much of the ſimple raiment of women, he addeth theſe words; 'Woman ought not only to have 'ſimple raiment, but all authority is to be denied 'unto her: for ſhe muſt be in ſubjection to man '(of whom ſhe hath taken her original) as well in 'habit as in ſervice.' And after a few words he ſaith, 'Becauſe death entered into the world by 'her, there is no boldneſs that ought to be permit-'ted unto her, but ſhe ought to be in humility.' Hereof it is plain, that from all women, married or unmarried, is all authority taken to execute any office that appertaineth to man; yea, plain it is, that all women are commanded to ſerve, to be in humility and ſubjection: which thing the ſame writer ſpeaketh yet more plainly in theſe words †; 'It is not permitted to women to ſpeak, but to be 'in ſilence, as the law ſaith. What ſaith the law? "Unto thy huſband ſhall thy converſion be, and he "ſhall bear dominion over thee." This is a ſpe-'cial law (ſaith Ambroſe), whoſe ſentence leſt it 'ſhould be violated, infirmed or made weak, wo-'men are commanded to be in ſilence.' Here he includeth all women, and yet he proceedeth further in the ſame place, ſaying, 'It is a ſhame for 'them to preſume to ſpeak of the law in the houſe 'of the Lord, who hath commanded them to be 'ſubject to their men.' But moſt plainly ſpeaketh he, writing upon the ſixteenth chapter of the epiſtle to the Romans, upon theſe words, "Salute Rufus "and his mother." 'For this (ſaith Ambroſe) did 'the apoſtle place Rufus before his mother, for 'the election of the adminiſtration of the grace of 'God ‡;' in the which a woman hath no place. By the adminiſtration of God's grace is underſtood, not only the preaching of the word and adminiſtration of the ſacraments, by which God's grace is preſented and ordinarily diſtributed to man; but alſo the adminiſtration of civil juſtice, by which virtue ought to be maintained and vice puniſhed, the execution whereof is no leſs denied to women than is the preaching of the goſpel, or adminiſtration of the ſacraments, as hereafter ſhall moſt plainly appear. Chryſoſtom, among the Grecian writers of no ſmall credit, ſpeaking in rebuke of men, who in his days were become inferior to ſome women in wit and godlineſs, hath theſe words ||; 'For this cauſe was woman put under 'thy power (he ſpeaketh to man in general), and 'thou waſt pronounced lord over her, that ſhe 'ſhould obey thee, and that the head ſhould not 'follow the feet.' But often we ſee, that he who in his order ought to be the head, doth not keep the order of the feet (that is, doth not rule the feet), and that ſhe that is in place of the feet is conſtituted to be head. He ſpeaketh the words, as it were, in admiration that man was become ſo brutiſh, that he did not conſider it to be a thing moſt monſtrous, that women ſhould be preferred to men in any thing, whom God hath ſubjected to man in all things. He proceedeth, ſaying, 'Nevertheleſs it is the part of the man, with dili-'gent care, to repel the woman that giveth him 'wicked counſel, and the woman which gave that 'peſtilent counſel unto man, ought at all times to 'have the puniſhment, which was given to Eve, 'ſounding in her ears.' And in another place he bringeth in God ſpeaking to the woman in this ſort §; 'Becauſe thou left him, of whoſe nature 'thou was participant, and from whom thou waſt 'formed, and haſt had pleaſure to have familiarity 'with that wicked beaſt, and wouldſt take his coun-'ſel; therefore I ſubject thee to man, and I ap-'point him to be thy lord; and becauſe thou 'couldſt not bear rule, learn well to be ruled.' Why they ſhould not bear rule, he declareth in other places **, ſaying, 'Womankind is impru-'dent and ſoft (or flexible); imprudent, becauſe 'ſhe cannot conſider with wiſdom and reaſon the 'things which ſhe heareth and ſeeth; and ſoft, 'becauſe ſhe is eaſily bowed.' I know Chryſoſtom bringeth in theſe words, to declare the cauſe why falſe prophets do commonly deceive women, becauſe they are eaſily perſuaded to any opinion, eſpecially if it be againſt God; and becauſe they lack prudence and right reaſon to judge of the things

* Ambroſ. ſuper Cap. 2. 1 Tim.
† Ambroſ. in 1 Ep. ad Cor. Cap. 14. Gen. 3.
‡ Rufus is by St. Paul ſaluted before his mother.
|| Chryſoſt. Homil. 17. in Geneſ.
§ Homil. 15. in Geneſ.
** In Matth. xxiii. Homil. 44.

that be ſpoken. They who are appointed to govern others, ought to be conſtant, ſtable, prudent, in doing every thing with diſcretion and reaſon, which virtues women cannot have in equality with men: for that he doth witneſs in another place *, ſaying, 'Women have in themſelves a tickling 'and ſtudy of vain-glory, and that they may have 'common with men; they are ſuddenly mov-'ed to anger, and that they have alſo in com-'mon with ſome men: but virtues in which 'they excel, they have not common with man; 'therefore the apoſtle has removed them from 'the office of teaching, which is an evident 'proof that in virtue they differ far from man.' This writer further proceedeth; and, after he hath in many words lamented the effeminate manners of men, he finally concludeth, 'That not-'withſtanding that men be degenerate, yet may 'not women uſurp any authority above them.' And in the end he addeth theſe words, 'Theſe 'things do I not ſpeak to extol women, but to the 'confuſion and ſhame of ourſelves, and to admoniſh 'us to take again the dominion that is meet and 'convenient for us; not only that power which is 'according to the excellency of dignity, but that 'which is according to providence, and according 'to help and virtue; for then is the body in beſt 'proportion, when it hath the beſt governor: but 'woman can never be the beſt governor, becauſe 'in the nature of all women lurketh ſuch vices as 'in good governors are not tolerable:' which the ſame writer expreſſeth in theſe words †, 'Woman-'kind (ſaith he) is raſh and fool-hardy; and their 'covetouſneſs is like the gulph of hell, that is un-'ſatiable.' And therefore in another place ‡ he willeth, that woman ſhall have nothing to do in judgment in common affairs, or in the government of the commonwealth, becauſe ſhe is impatient of troubles, but that ſhe ſhall live in tranquillity and quietneſs. And if ſhe have occaſion to go from the houſe, that yet ſhe ſhall have no matter of trouble neither to follow her, neither to be offered unto her, as commonly there muſt be to ſuch as bear authority. And with Chryſoſtom fully agreeth Baſilius Magnus, in a ſermon which he maketh upon ſome places of Scripture ‖, wherein he reproves divers vices; and, among the reſt, he affirmeth woman to be a tender creature, flexible, ſoft, and pitiful; which nature God hath given unto her, that ſhe may be apt to nouriſh children: which facility of the woman did Satan abuſe, and thereby brought her from God's obedience. And therefore, in divers other places, doth he conclude, That ſhe is not apt to bear rule, and that ſhe is forbidden to teach. Thus having proved, by the determinations and laws illuminated only by the light of nature, by the order of God's creation, by the curſe and malediction pronounced againſt woman, by the mouth of St. Paul, who is the interpreter of God's ſentence and law, and finally by the minds of theſe writers who in God's church have been always holden in greateſt reverence, that it is a thing moſt repugnant to nature, to God's will and appointed ordinance, yea, that it cannot be without contumely againſt God, that a woman ſhould be promoted to dominion or empire, to reign over man, be it in realm, nation, province, or city: now reſteth in few words to be ſhewed, that the ſame empire of woman is the ſubverſion of good order, equity, and juſtice. Auguſtine § defineth order to be that thing by which God hath appointed and ordained all things. Auguſtine will admit no order where God's appointment is abſent ¶. And in another place he ſaith, 'Order 'is a diſpoſition, giving their own proper places 'to things which are unequal;' which he termeth in Latin, *Parium & diſparium*, that is, of things equal or like, or things unequal or unlike; of which two places, and of the whole diſputation, which is contained in his ſecond book *De Ordine*, it is evident, that whatſoever is done without the aſſurance of God's will, or elſe againſt his will revealed in his word, is done againſt order; but ſuch is the empire and government of all women: therefore, I ſay, it is a thing plainly repugnant to good order; yea, it is the ſubverſion of the ſame. If any pleaſe to reject Auguſtine's definition, as either not proper to this purpoſe, or elſe as inſufficient to prove my intent, let the ſame man underſtand, that, in ſo doing, he hath infirmed mine argument nothing: for as I depend not upon the determinations of men, ſo I think my cauſe no weaker albeit their authority be denied unto me, providing that God's revealed will ſtand evident on my ſide. That God hath ſubjected womankind to man, by the order of his creation, and by the curſe that he hath pronounced againſt her, is before declared. Beſides theſe, he hath ſet before our eyes two other mirrors and glaſſes, in which he willeth that we ſhould behold the order which

* Ad Epheſ. Cap. 4. Serm. 3. † In Cap. 22. Joh. Homil. 87. ‡ In Joh. Hom. 41. ‖ Baſil. in aliquot Scripturæ Locos. § Aug. de Ord. Lib. 1. Cap. 10. ¶ De Civit. Dei, Lib. 19. Cap. 13.

he hath appointed and eſtabliſhed in nature; the one is the natural body of man, the other is the politic or civil body of that commonwealth, in which God by his own word hath appointed an order. In man's natural body, God hath appointed an order, That the head ſhould occupy the uppermoſt place; and the head hath he joined with the body, that from it doth life and motion flow to the reſt of the members. In the head he hath placed the eye to ſee, the ear to hear, and the tongue to ſpeak, which offices are appointed to no other members of the body. The reſt of the members have every one their own place and office, but no member may have the place or office of the head; for who would not judge that body to be a monſter, where there were no head eminent above the reſt, but that the eyes were in the hands, the tongue and the mouth beneath in the belly, and the ears in the feet? No leſs is the body of that commonwealth, where a woman beareth empire; for either doth it lack a lawful head (as in very deed it doth), or elſe an idol is exalted inſtead of the true head. An idol I call that which hath the form and appearance, but lacketh the virtue and ſtrength, which the name and proportion doth reſemble and promiſe. I confeſs, a realm may in deſpite of God (he of his wiſe judgment ſo giving them over unto a reprobate mind) exalt a woman to that monſtriferous honour to be eſteemed as head: but impoſſible it is to man or angel to give unto her the properties and perfect offices of a lawful head; for the ſame God that denied power to the hands to ſpeak, to the belly to hear, and to the feet to ſee, hath denied to the woman power to command man, and hath taken away wiſdom to conſider, and providence to forſee the things that are profitable to the commonwealth: yea, finally, he hath pronounced plainly, That man is head to woman, even as Chriſt is head to all men *. If men, in a blind rage, ſhould aſſemble together, and appoint themſelves another head than Jeſus Chriſt (as the Papiſts have done their Roman Antichriſt), ſhould therefore Chriſt loſe his own dignity, or ſhould God give to that counterfeit head power to give life to the body, to ſee whatſoever might endamage or hurt it, to ſpeak in defence, and to hear the requeſts of every ſubject? It is certain that he would not; for that honour, which before all time he hath appointed to his only Son, will he give to no creature beſides: no more will he admit or accept woman to be lawful head over man, although man, devil, and angel, will conjure in her favour. Chryſoſtom, explaining theſe words of the apoſtle, 'The head of the woman is the man,' he compareth God, in his univerſal government, to a king ſitting in his royal majeſty, to whom all his ſubjects, being commanded to give homage and obedience, appear before him, bearing every one ſuch a badge and cognizance of dignity and honour as he hath given to them, which if they deſpiſe or contemn, then do they diſhonour their king: even ſo, ſaith he, ought men and women to appear before God, bearing the enſigns of the condition which they have received from him. Man hath received a certain glory and dignity above the woman, and therefore ought he to appear before his High Majeſty, bearing the ſign of his honour, having no coverture upon his head, to witneſs that on earth man hath no head (beware, Chryſoſtom, what thou ſayeſt; thou ſhalt be reputed a traitor, if Engliſhmen hear thee, for they muſt have my ſovereign lady and miſtreſs, and Scotland hath drunken alſo the enchantment and venom of Circe); but woman ought to be covered, to witneſs that on earth ſhe hath a head, that is, man. True it is, Chryſoſtom, woman is covered in both the ſaid realms, but it is not with the ſign of ſubjection, but with the royal crown, a ſign of ſuperiority. To that he anſwereth in theſe words, What if man neglect his honour? He is no leſs to be mocked, ſaith he, than if a king ſhould depoſe himſelf of his diadem or crown, and royal eſtate, and clothe himſelf in the habit of a ſlave. What, I pray, now ſhould this godly father have ſaid, If he had ſeen the crown, ſceptre, and ſword, which are the enſigns of the royal dignity, given to a woman curſed of God, and all the men of a realm to fall down before her? I am aſſured he ſhould have judged them, not only fooliſh, but alſo enraged, and ſlaves to Satan, manifeſtly fighting againſt God and his appointed order. The more I conſider the ſubverſion of God's order, which he hath placed generally in all things, the more I do wonder at the blindneſs of man, who doth not conſider himſelf in this caſe ſo degenerate, that the brute beaſts are to be preferred unto him in this behalf; for nature hath in all beaſts printed a certain mark of dominion in the male, and a certain ſubjection in the female, which they keep inviolate: for no man ever ſaw the lion make obedience or ſtoop before the lioneſs; neither yet can it be proved, that the hind taketh the conducting of the

* 1 Cor. xi.

herd amongſt the harts. And yet, alas! man, who by the mouth of God hath dominion appointed to him over woman, doth not only, to his own ſhame, ſtoop under the obedience of woman, but alſo, in deſpite of God, and his appointed order, rejoiceth and maintaineth that monſtrous authority, as a thing lawful and juſt. The inſolent joys, the bonefires and banquetings, which were in London, and elſewhere in England, when that curſed Jezebel was proclaimed queen, did witneſs to my heart, that men were become more than enraged; for elſe, how could they have ſo rejoiced at their own confuſion and certain deſtruction? For what man was there of ſo baſe judgment (ſuppoſing that he had any light of God) who did not ſee the erecting of that monſter to be the overthrow of true religion, and the aſſured deſtruction of England, and of the ancient liberties thereof? And yet nevertheleſs all men ſo triumphed, as if God had delivered them from all calamities. If any man think theſe my words ſharp or vehement, let him conſider, that the offence is more heinous than could be expreſſed by words. God, for his great mercies ſake, illuminate the eyes of men, that they may perceive into what miſerable bondage they are brought into, by the monſtriferous empire of women. The ſecond glaſs, which God hath ſet before man's eyes, wherein he may behold the order which pleaſes his wiſdom concerning authority and dominion, is the commonwealth, to which it hath pleaſed his Majeſty to give laws, ſtatutes, rites, and ceremonies, not only concerning religion, but alſo touching the policy and government of the ſame. And againſt that order it doth manifeſtly repugn, that any woman ſhall occupy the throne of God, that is, the royal ſeat, which he by his word hath appointed to man; as in giving the law to Iſrael, concerning the election of a king is evident: for thus it is written *, 'If thou ſhalt ſay, 'I will ſet a king over thee, like as all the na-'tions that are about me: thou ſhalt make thee 'a king, whom the Lord thy God ſhall chuſe: 'one from among thy brethren ſhalt thou appoint 'king over thee: thou mayſt not ſet a ſtranger 'over thee, that is not thy brother.' Here expreſsly is a man appointed to be choſen king, and a man native amongſt themſelves; by which precept are all women and all ſtrangers ſecluded. What may be objected for the part or election of a ſtranger, ſhall be, God willing, anſwered in the Blaſt of the Second Trumpet; for this preſent, I ſay, That the electing of a woman to that honour, is not only to invert the order which God hath eſtabliſhed, but alſo to defile and pollute (ſo far as in man lieth) the throne and ſeat of God, which he hath ſanctified and appointed for man only, as his miniſter and lieutenant on earth. If any think that the foreſaid law did bind the Jews only, let the ſame man conſider that the election of a king, and appointing of judges, did neither appertain to the ceremonial law, neither yet was it merely judicial, but that it did flow from the moral law, as an ordinance having a reſpect to the conſervation of both tables; for the office of the magiſtrate ought to have the firſt and chief reſpect to God's glory, commanded and contained in the former table, as is evident by that which God enjoined by Joſhua, when he was admitted governor over his people, in theſe words †, 'Thou ſhalt di-'vide the inheritance to this people, the which I 'ſware to their fathers to give them; only be thou 'ſtrong and very courageous, that thou mayſt ob-'ſerve to do all the law which Moſes my ſervant 'commanded thee: turn not from it to the right 'hand nor to the left, that thou mayſt proſper 'whitherſoever thou goeſt. Let not the book of 'the law depart from thy mouth, but meditate 'therein day and night, that thou mayſt obſerve 'to do according to all that is written therein. 'For then ſhall thy ways proſper, and thou ſhalt 'have good ſucceſs, &c.' And the ſame precept giveth God, by the mouth of Moſes, to kings, after they are elected, in theſe words ‡, 'When he 'ſhall ſit in the throne or ſeat of his kingdom, he 'ſhall write to himſelf a copy of this law in a 'book, and that ſhall be with him, that he may 'read in it all the days of his life: that he may 'learn to fear the Lord his God, and to keep all 'the words of this law, and all theſe ſtatutes, 'that he may do them, &c. By theſe two places it is evident, that principally it appertaineth to the king or chief magiſtrate to know God's will, to be inſtructed in his law and ſtatutes, and to promote his glory with his whole heart and ſtudy, which are the chief points of the firſt table. No man denieth, but that the ſword is committed to the magiſtrate, to the end that he ſhould puniſh vice and maintain virtue. He ought not only to puniſh adultery, theft, murder, but alſo ſuch vices as openly impugn God's glory, as idolatry, blaſphemy, and manifeſt hereſy taught and obſtinately maintained; as the hiſtories and notable acts of Heze-

* Deut. xvii. 14. 15. † Joſh. i. ‡ Deut. xvii.

kiah, Jehoſhophat, and Joſiah, do plainly teach us, whoſe care was, not only to glorify God in their own life, but alſo to bring their ſubjects to the true worſhip of God; and therefore they deſtroyed all monuments of idolatry, puniſhed to death the teachers thereof, and removed from office and honours ſuch as were maintainers of the ſame: whereby, I ſuppoſe, it is evident, that the office of the king, or ſupreme magiſtrate, hath reſpect to the law moral, and to the conſervation of both tables. Now if the law moral be the conſtant and unchangeable will of God, to which the Gentile is no leſs bound than was the Jew; and if God willeth that among the Gentiles the miniſters and executors of the law be now appointed, as ſometimes they were amongſt the Jews; further, if the execution of juſtice be no leſs requiſite in the policy of the Gentiles, than ever it was amongſt the Jews, what man can be ſo fooliſh as to ſuppoſe or believe that God will now admit theſe perſons to ſit in judgment, or to reign over men in the commonwealth of the Gentiles, whom he by his expreſs word and ordinance did before debar and ſeclude from the ſame? And that women were ſecluded from the royal ſeat (beſides the places before recited of the election of a king, and beſides the places of the New Teſtament which are moſt evident), the order and election which was kept in Judah and Iſrael doth manifeſtly declare; for when males of the kingly flock failed (as oft it chanced in Iſrael, and ſometimes in Judah), it never entered into the people's hearts to chuſe and promote to honour any of the king's daughters, had he never ſo many: for they knowing God's vengeance to be poured forth upon the father by the away-taking of his ſons, they had no further reſpect to his flock, but elected ſuch a man or other as they judged moſt apt for that honour and authority: of which premiſes I conclude (as before), That to promote a woman to be head over man, is repugnant to nature, and a thing moſt contrarious to that order which God hath approved in that commonwealth, which he did inſtitute and rule by his word. But now to the laſt point, *viz.* That the empire of a woman is a thing repugnant to juſtice, and the deſtruction of every commonwealth when it is received: in few words (becauſe the matter is more than evident), I ſay, if juſtice be a conſtant and perpetual will to give to every perſon their own right (as the moſt learned in all ages have defined it to be), then to give, or to will to give to any perſon that which is not their right, muſt repugn to juſtice; but to reign above man can never be the right of woman, becauſe it is a thing denied to her by God, as before is declared: therefore to promote her to that eſtate or dignity can be nothing elſe but repugnancy to juſtice. If any find fault with juſtice as it is defined, he may well accuſe others, but me he ſhall not hurt; for I have the warrant of him who aſſuredly will defend the quarrel, and he commandeth me to cry, That whatſoever repugneth to his will expreſſed in his ſacred word, repugneth to juſtice; but that women have authority above men, repugneth to his will expreſſed in his word: and therefore, at my author's commandment, without fear, I conclude, That all ſuch authority repugneth to juſtice. The firſt part of the argument is a principle, not only univerſally received, but alſo deeply printed in the heart of man; ſo that no leſs the reprobate are coacted and conſtrained to acknowlege the ſame, than are the choſen children of God, albeit to diverſe ends. The elect with diſpleaſure of their fact confeſs their offence, having acceſs to grace and mercy; as did Adam, David, Peter, and all other penitent offenders: but the reprobate, notwithſtanding they are compelled to acknowlege the will of God to be juſt, which they have offended, yet are they never inwardly diſpleaſed with their iniquity, but rage, and complain, and ſtorm againſt God, whoſe vengeance they cannot eſcape; as did Cain, Judas, Herod, Julian the Apoſtate, yea Jezebel and Athalia: for Cain no doubt was convicted in conſcience that he had done againſt juſtice, in murdering of his brother; Judas did openly confeſs, before the high-prieſt, that he had ſinned in betraying innocent blood; Herod, being ſtricken by the angel, did mock theſe his flatterers, ſaying unto them, 'Behold, your god (meaning 'himſelf) cannot now preſerve himſelf from cor-'ruption and worms.' Julian was compelled in the end to cry, 'O Galilean (ſo always in contempt 'did he name our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt)! thou haſt 'now overcome;' and who doubts but Jezebel and Athalia were convicted in their cankered conſciences to acknowlege, that the murder which they had committed, and the empire which the one had ſix years uſurped, were repugnant to juſtice? Even ſo ſhall they, I doubt not, which do this day poſſeſs and maintain their monſtriferous authority of women, ſhortly be compelled to acknowlege, that their ſtudies and devices have been bent againſt God, and that all ſuch authority as women have uſurped repugneth to juſtice; becauſe (as I have ſaid) it repugneth to God's will expreſſed in his ſacred word. Here might I bring in the oppreſ-

ſion and injuſtice which is committed againſt realms, which ſometimes have lived free, and now are brought in bondage of foreign nations, by reaſon of this monſtriferous authority and empire of women; but that I delay till better opportunity. And now I think it expedient to anſwer ſuch objections as carnal men, ignorant of God, uſe to make for maintenance of this tyranny (authority it is not worthy to be called), and moſt unjuſt empire of women. Firſt, they do object the example of Deborah and of Huldah the propheteſs *, of whom the one judged Iſrael, and the other by all appearance did teach and exhort. I anſwer ‡, The men that object the ſame are not altogether ignorant, that examples have no ſtrength when the queſtion is of law: as if I ſhould aſk, What marriage is lawful? and it ſhould be anſwered, That lawful it is to man, not only to have ſo many wives at once, but alſo to marry two ſiſters, and to enjoy them both living at once, becauſe David, Jacob, and Solomon, ſervants of God, had the ſame: I truſt no man would juſtify the vanity of this reaſon. Or if the queſtion was demanded, If a Chriſtian with good conſcience may defraud, or ſteal, or deceive? and anſwer was made, That ſo he might, by the example of the Iſraelites, who, at God's commandment, deceived the Egyptians, and ſpoiled them of their garments, gold, and ſilver: I think likewiſe this reaſon ſhould be mocked. And what greater force, I pray you, hath the former argument? Deborah did rule in Iſrael, and Huldah ſpoke prophecy in Judah: *ergo*, It is lawful for women to reign above realms, or to teach in the preſence of men. The conſequence is vain, and of no effect; for of particular examples we may eſtabliſh no common law, but are always bound to the law written, and to the commandment expreſſed in the ſame: but the law written and pronounced by God, forbiddeth no leſs that any woman reign over man, than it forbiddeth man to take plurality of wives, to marry two ſiſters living at once, to ſteal, to rob, to murder, to lie. If any of theſe hath been tranſgreſſed, and yet God hath not imputed the ſame, it maketh not the like fact lawful to us: for God being free, may, for ſuch cauſes as are approved by his inſcrutable wiſdom, diſpenſe with the rigour of his own law, and may uſe his creatures at his pleaſure; but the ſame power is not permitted unto man, whom he hath made ſubject to his law, and not to the examples of fathers. I think this ſufficient to reaſonable and moderate ſpirits. But to repreſs the raging of womens madneſs, I will deſcend ſomewhat deeper in the matter, and not fear to affirm, That as we find a contrary ſpirit in all thoſe moſt wicked women, that this day are exalted into this tyrannous authority, to the ſpirit that was in theſe godly matrons, ſo I fear not to affirm, That their condition is unlike, and their end ſhall be diverſe ‡. In theſe matrons we find that the ſpirit of mercy, truth, and juſtice, and humility did reign; and that under them God did ſhew mercy to his people, delivering them from the tyranny of ſtrangers, and from the venom of idolatry: but in theſe of our ages, we find cruelty, falſehood, pride, covetouſneſs, deceit, oppreſſion, the ſpirit of Jezebel and Athalia; and under them ſimple people oppreſſed, true religion extinguiſhed, and the blood of Chriſt's members moſt cruelly ſhed; and, finally, the titles and liberties of ancient realms taken from the juſt poſſeſſors, and given and betrayed into the hands of ſtrangers. But to proſecute my purpoſe, let ſuch as defend theſe monſters in their tyranny prove, *firſt*, That their ſovereign miſtreſs is like to Deborah in godlineſs and piety: and *ſecondly*, That the ſame ſucceſs doth follow their tyranny, which did follow the extraordinary government of that godly matron; which although they were able to do (as they never ſhall be, let them blow till they burſt), yet ſhall her example profit them nothing at all: for they are never able to prove, that Deborah, or any other godly matron (having the commendation of the Holy Ghoſt within the Scriptures), hath uſurped authority above any nation by reaſon of their birth and blood, neither yet did they claim it by right or inheritance; but God, by his ſingular privilege, favour, and grace, exempted Deborah from the common malediction given in that behalf to woman; and, againſt nature, he made her prudent in counſel, ſtrong in courage, happy in government, and a bleſſed mother, and a deliverer of his people: which he did, partly to advance the power of his majeſty, in giving ſalvation and deliverance by means of the moſt weak veſſels, and partly to confound all men of that age, becauſe they had for the moſt part declined from his obedience: but what maketh this for Mary, and her match Philip? One thing I would aſk ſuch as depend upon the example of Deborah, Whether ſhe

* Objection 1. Judg. iv. Paral. 34. † Examples againſt law have no ſtrength when the queſtion is of law. ‡ An antitheſis betwixt the former matrons and our Jezebels.

was a widow or wife when ſhe judged Iſrael, and when God gave under her that notable victory to his people? If they anſwer, She was a widow, I would lay againſt them the teſtimony of the Holy Ghoſt, witneſſing that ſhe was the wife of Lapidoth *: and if they will alledge, that ſhe might ſo be called, notwithſtanding that her huſband was dead, I urge them further, that they are not able to prove it to be any common phraſe and manner of ſpeech in Scripture, That a woman ſhall be called the wife of a dead man, except there be ſome note added, whereby it may be known that her huſband is departed; as is witneſſed of Anna †. But in the place of the Judges, there is no note added, that her huſband ſhould be dead; but rather the contrary is expreſſed ‡: for the text ſaith, 'In that time, a woman named De-'borah, a propheteſs, wife to Lapidoth, judged 'Iſrael.' The Holy Ghoſt plainly ſpeaketh, that what time ſhe judged Iſrael ſhe was wife to Lapidoth. If ſhe was wife, and if ſhe ruled all alone in Iſrael, then I aſk, Did ſhe not prefer her huſband to that honour to be captain and leader of the hoſt of the Lord? If any think that it was her huſband, the text proveth the contrary; for it affirmeth, that Barak, of the tribe of Naphtali, was appointed to that office. If Barak had been her huſband, to what purpoſe ſhould the Holy Ghoſt ſo diligently have noted the tribe, and another name than was before expreſſed? Yea, to what purpoſe ſhould it be noted, that ſhe ſent and called him? Thus I doubt not but every reaſonable man doth conſider, that this Barak was not her huſband, and that her judgment or government in Iſrael was no uſurped power, as our queens this day unjuſtly poſſeſs; but that it was the ſpirit of prophecy that reſted upon her, what time the multitude of the people had wrought wickedly in the eyes of the Lord; by which ſpirit ſhe did rebuke the idolatry and iniquity of the people, exhort them to repentance, and in the end bring them this comfort, That God ſhould deliver them from the bondage and thraldom of their enemies: and this ſhe might do, notwithſtanding that another did occupy the place of the ſupreme magiſtrate (if any was in thoſe days in Iſrael); for ſo I find did Huldah, the wife of Shallum, in the days of Joſiah king of Judah ‖, ſpeak prophecy, and comfort the king; and yet he reſigned to her neither the ſceptre nor the ſword. That this our interpretation, how that Deborah did judge in Iſrael, was the true meaning of the Holy Ghoſt, the pondering of the hiſtory ſhall manifeſtly prove: when ſhe ſendeth for Barak, ſhe ſaith not to him, I being thy princeſs, thy ſovereign lady and queen, command thee, upon thine allegiance, and on pain of treaſon, to go and gather an army; but ſhe ſpeaketh as one that had a ſpecial revelation from God, which was neither known to Barak nor to the people, ſaying, 'Hath not the Lord God of Iſrael commanded 'thee.' Alſo when ſhe had delivered to him the whole counſel of God, appointing unto him the number of his ſoldiers, the tribes out of which they ſhould be gathered, the place of the battle, and had aſſured him of the victory in God's name, which ſhe could not have done without a ſpecial revelation from heaven, he fainted, and openly refuſed to enter into journey, except the propheteſs would accompany him. But what, did ſhe uſe againſt him any external power? Did ſhe threaten him with rebellion and death? No, no; but, for aſſurance of his faint heart, being content to go with him, ſhe pronounceth, That the glory ſhould not be his in that journey, but that the Lord ſhould ſell Siſera into the hand of a woman. Hereby it is evident, that Deborah did all by his ſpiritual ſword the word of God, and not by any uſurped temporal government nor authority over Iſrael, as our queens do this day claim. In Iſrael, I ſuppoſe, at that time, there was no lawful magiſtrate, by reaſon of their great affliction; for ſo witneſſeth the hiſtory, ſaying, 'And Ehud being dead, 'the Lord ſold Iſrael into the hand of Jabin king 'of Canaan; and he, by Siſera his captain, afflicted Iſrael greatly the ſpace of twenty years: and Deborah herſelf, in her ſong of thankſgiving, confeſſeth, That before ſhe did ariſe as a mother in Iſrael, and in the days of Jael, there was nothing but confuſion and trouble. If any ſtick to the term, alledging the Holy Ghoſt ſaith, 'That ſhe 'judged Iſrael;' let them underſtand, that neither doth the Hebrew word, neither yet the Latin, always ſignify civil judgment, or the execution of the temporal ſword, but moſt commonly is taken in the ſenſe which we have before expreſſed: for of Chriſt it is ſaid, 'He ſhall judge many nations; 'and that he ſhall pronounce judgment to the 'Gentiles;' and yet it is evident, that he was no miniſter of the temporal ſword. God commandeth Judah and Jeruſalem to judge between him and his vineyard, and yet he appointed not all of them to be civil magiſtrates. To Ezekiel § it is ſaid,

* Judg. iv. † Luke ii. ‡ Judg. iv. 4. ‖ 2 Kings xxii. § Ezek. xx. 22. 34.

'Shalt thou not judge them, ſon of man?' And after, 'Thou ſon of man, ſhalt thou not judge, 'ſhalt thou not judge, I ſay, the city of blood?' And alſo, 'Behold I ſhall judge betwixt beaſt and 'beaſt.' And ſuch places in great numbers are to be found throughout the whole Scriptures. And yet I truſt no man will be ſo fooliſh as to think, that any of the prophets were appointed by God to be politic judges, or to puniſh the ſins of men by corporal puniſhment: No; the manner of their judgment is expreſſed in theſe words *, 'Declare to 'them all their abominations; and thou ſhalt ſay 'to them, Thus ſaith the Lord God, A city ſhed-'ding blood in the midſt of her, that her time may 'approach, and which hath made idols againſt 'herſelf, that ſhe might be polluted; thou haſt 'tranſgreſſed in the blood that thou haſt ſhed, and 'art polluted in the idols which thou haſt made.' Thus, I ſay, do God's prophets judge, pronouncing the ſentence of God againſt malefactors. And ſo I doubt not but Deborah judged at that time, when Iſrael had declined from God, rebuking their defection, and exhorting them to repentance, without uſurpation of any civil authority: and if the people gave to her for a time any reverence or honour, as her godlineſs and happy counſel did well deſerve, yet it was no ſuch empire as our monſters claim; for which of her ſons, or neareſt kinſmen, left ſhe ruler and judge in Iſrael after her? The Holy Ghoſt expreſſeth no ſuch thing. Wherefore it is evident, that by her example God offereth no occaſion to eſtabliſh any government of women above men, realms and nations. But is it not lawful †, ſay ſome, that women have their right and inheritance, likeas the daughters of Zelophehad were commanded by the mouth of Moſes ‡ to have their portion of ground in their tribe? I anſwer, It is both lawful and equitable, that women poſſeſs their inheritance: but I add therewith, That to bear rule and authority over men, can never be right nor inheritance to a woman: for that can never be juſt inheritance to any perſon, which God by his word has plainly denied unto them; but to all women God hath denied authority above man, as moſt manifeſtly is before declared: therefore, to her it can never be inheritance. The portion of Zelophehad's daughters was not to reign over any one tribe, nor yet over any one man within Iſrael, but only that they might have a portion of ground amongſt the men of their tribe, leſt that the name of their father ſhould be aboliſhed: and this was granted to them, without any reſpect had to any civil government. And what maketh this, I pray you, for the eſtabliſhing this monſtrous empire of women? Although women may ſucceed to the poſſeſſion, ſubſtance, patrimony, or inheritance of their fathers, yet they may not ſucceed in their father's offices, leaſt of all to that office, the executor whereof doth occupy the place and throne of God. One thing there is yet to be obſerved, in the law made concerning the inheritance of the daughters of Zelophehad ‖, *viz.* That it was forbidden to them to marry without their own tribe, leſt ſuch portion as fell to their lot ſhould be tranſferred from one tribe to another, and ſo ſhould the tribe of Manaſſeh be defrauded and ſpoiled of their juſt inheritance by their occaſion. Wonder it is, that the patrons of our ladies did not conſider this law, before they counſelled the blind princes and unworthy nobles of their country, to betray the liberties thereof into the hands of ſtrangers; England, for ſatisfying the inordinate appetites of that cruel monſter Mary (unworthy, by reaſon of her bloody tyranny, of the name of a woman) betrayed, alas! to the proud Spaniard; and Scotland, by the raſh madneſs of fooliſh governors, and by the practice of a crafty dame, reſigned likewiſe, under the title of marriage, into the power of France. Doth ſuch tranſlations of realms pleaſe God's juſtice? or, Is the poſſeſſion by ſuch means lawful in God's ſight? Aſſuredly no: for if God would not permit that the inheritance, commodity, and uſual fence, which may be gathered of the portion of ground limited and aſſigned to one tribe of the children of Iſrael, ſhould paſs to another by the marriage of any daughter, notwithſtanding that they were all one people, ſpeaking one tongue, deſcended of one father, profeſſors of one God and one religion; will he ſuffer that the laws, liberties, commodities, and fruits of whole realms be given into the power and diſtribution of others, by reaſon of marriage, eſpecially in the power of ſuch as, beſides that of a ſtrange tongue, of ſtrange names and laws, are alſo ignorant of God, enemies to his truth, deniers of Chriſt Jeſus, perſecutors of his true members, and haters of all virtue? The Spaniards, for very deſpite which they do bear againſt Chriſt Jeſus, whom their forefathers did crucify (for Jews they are, as hiſtories do witneſs, and themſelves confeſs), do this day make plain war againſt all true profeſſors of his holy goſpel; and the French king, and his peſtilent prelates, by the flaming fires,

* Ezek. xxii. † 2 Objection. ‡ Numb. xxvii. ‖ Numb. xxxvi.

which lick up the innocent blood of Chriſt's members, and by cruel edicts, do notify and proclaim how blindly and outrageouſly they fight againſt the verity of God: and yet to theſe two cruel tyrants, France and Spain, is the right and poſſeſſion of England and Scotland appointed. But juſt and lawful ſhall that poſſeſſion never be, till God do change the ſtatute of his former law, which he will not do for the pleaſure of man: for he hath not created the earth to ſatisfy the ambition of two or three tyrants, but for the univerſal ſeed of Adam; and hath appointed and defined the bounds of their habitation, aſſigning to divers nations divers countries, as he himſelf confeſſeth, ſpeaking to Iſrael in theſe words *, 'You ſhall paſs by the bounds 'and limits of your brethren, the ſons of Eſau, 'who dwell in Mount Seir. They ſhall fear you; 'but take diligent heed that you ſhow not your-'ſelves cruel againſt them: for I will give you no 'part of their land, no not the breadth of a foot; 'for Mount Seir I have given to Eſau to be poſſeſ-'ed.' And the ſame doth he witneſs of the ſons of Lot, to whom he had given Ar to be poſſeſſed. And Moſes plainly affirmeth †, 'That when the 'Almighty did diſtribute and divide poſſeſſions to 'the Gentiles, and when he did diſperſe and ſcat-'ter the ſons of men, that then he did appoint the 'limits and bounds of the people, for the number 'of the ſons of Iſrael.' Whereof it is plain, that God hath not expoſed the earth in prey to tyrants, making all things lawful which by violence and murder they may poſſeſs; but that he hath appointed to every ſeveral nation a ſeveral poſſeſſion, willing them to ſtand content (as nature did teach a Heathen ‡ to affirm) with that portion which by lot and juſt means they had enjoyed. For what cauſe God permitteth this his diſtribution to be troubled, and realms and ancient nations to be poſſeſſed of ſtrangers, I delay at this time to treat: but come to a third objection. The conſent, ſay our ladies advocates, of realms, and laws pronounced and admitted in this behalf, long conſuetude and cuſtom, together with the felicity of ſome women in empires, have eſtabliſhed their authority ||. I anſwer, Neither does the tyranny of princes, neither the fooliſhneſs of people, neither wicked laws made againſt God, neither yet the felicity that in this earth may hereof enſue, make that thing lawful, which he by his word hath manifeſtly condemned: for if the approbation of princes and people, and laws made by men, or the conſent of realms, may eſtabliſh any thing againſt God and his word, then ſhould idolatry be preferred to true religion; for more realms and nations, more laws and decrees publiſhed by emperors, with common conſent of their councils, have eſtabliſhed the one, than have approved the other; and yet I think that no man of ſound judgment will therefore juſtify and defend idolatry: no more ought any man this odious empire of women, although it were approved of all men by their laws: for the ſame God, that in plain words forbiddeth idolatry, doth alſo forbid the authority of women over men. I know theſe who maintain this monſtrous empire, have yet two main ſhifts: *Firſt*, They alledge §, That albeit women may not abſolutely reign by themſelves, becauſe they may neither ſit in judgment, neither pronounce ſentence, neither execute any public office, yet they may do ſuch things by their lieutenants, deputes, and judges ſubſtitute. *Secondly*, Say they, A woman born to rule over any realm, may chuſe her own huſband, and to him ſhe may transfer and give her authority and right. To both I anſwer in few words: *Firſt*, That from a corrupt and venomed fountain can ſpring no wholeſome waters. *Secondly*, That no perſon hath power to give the thing which doth not juſtly appertain to themſelves; but the authority of a woman is a corrupted fountain: and therefore from her can never ſpring any lawful officer. She is not born to rule over man, and therefore ſhe can appoint none by her gift, nor by her power (which ſhe hath not), to the place of a lawful magiſtrate: and therefore whoſoever receiveth of a woman office or authority, are adulterous and baſtard office-bearers before God. This may appear ſtrange at the firſt; but if we will look with an indifferent eye, the reaſon ſhall ſuddenly appear. Suppoſe the caſe, That a tyrant by conſpiracy uſurped the royal ſeat and dignity of a king, and in the ſame did ſo eſtabliſh himſelf, that he appointed officers, and did what pleaſed him for a time; and in this mean time the native king made ſtrict inhibition to all his ſubjects, that none ſhould acknowledge him, nor receive dignity of him; yet nevertheleſs they would honour the ſame traitor as king, and become his officers in all affairs of the realm: if after the native prince did recover his juſt honour and poſſeſſion, ſhould he repute or eſteem any man of the traitor's appointment for a lawful magiſtrate, or for his friend and true ſubject? or, ſhould he not rather, with one ſen-

* Deut. ii. † Deut. xxxii. ‡ Cicero. Offic. Lib. 1. || Objection 3. § Objection 4.

tence, condemn the head with the members? And if he ſhould do ſo, Who were able to accuſe him of rigour, much leſs to condemn his ſentence of injuſtice? And dare we deny the ſame power to God in the like caſe? For that woman reigneth above man, ſhe hath obtained it by treaſon and conſpiracy; How can it be then, that ſhe, being guilty and criminal of treaſon againſt God committed, can appoint any officer pleaſing in his ſight? It is impoſſible. Wherefore let men that receive of women authority, honour, or office, be moſt ſurely perſuaded, that, in ſo maintaining that uſurped power, they declare themſelves enemies to God. If any think that becauſe the realm and eſtates thereof have given their conſent unto a woman, and have eſtabliſhed her and her authority, that therefore it is lawful and acceptable to God; let the ſame men remember what I have ſaid before, *viz.* That man cannot approve the doing nor conſent of any multitude, concluding any thing againſt his word and ordinance: and therefore they muſt have a more aſſured defence againſt God's wrath, elſe they ſhall not be able to ſtand in the preſence of the conſuming fire; that is, they muſt acknowlege, that the government of a woman is a thing moſt odious in the preſence of God; they muſt refuſe to be her officers, becauſe ſhe is a traitoreſs and rebel againſt God; and, finally, they muſt ſtudy to repreſs her inordinate pride and tyranny to the uttermoſt of their power. The ſame is the duty of the nobility and eſtates, by whoſe blindneſs a woman is promoted: *Firſt*, In ſo far as they have moſt heinouſly offended God, placing in authority ſuch as God by his word hath removed from the ſame, unfeignedly they ought to call for mercy; and being admoniſhed of their error and damnable fact, in ſign and token of true repentance, with common conſent they ought to retreat that which unadviſedly and by ignorance they have pronounced, and without further delay to remove from authority all ſuch perſons as by uſurpation, violence, or tyranny, do poſſeſs the ſame: for ſo did Iſrael and Judah after they had revolted from David, and Judah alone in the days of Athalia. For after that ſhe * by murdering her ſon's children, had the empire over the land, and had moſt unhappily reigned in Judah ſix years, Jehoiada, the high-prieſt, called together the captains and chief rulers of the people, and ſhewing to them king Joaſh, did bind them by an oath to depoſe that wicked woman, and to promote the king to his royal ſeat; which they faithfully did, killing at his command, not only that cruel and miſchievous woman, but alſo the people did deſtroy the temple of Baal, broke his altars and images, and killed Mattan, Baal's high-prieſt, before his altars. The ſame is the duty as well of the eſtates, as of the people, that have been blinded: *Firſt*, They ought to remove from honour and authority that monſter in nature (ſo call I a woman clad in the habit of a man), a woman againſt nature reigning above man. *Secondly*, If any perſon preſume to defend that impiety, they ought not to fear, firſt to pronounce, and thereafter to execute againſt them, the ſentence of death. If any are afraid to violate the oath of obedience which they have made to ſuch monſters, let them moſt aſſuredly be perſuaded, that as the beginning of their oaths proceeding from ignorance was ſin, ſo is the obſtinate purpoſe to keep the ſame nothing but plain rebellion againſt God. But of this matter in the Second Blaſt, God willing, we ſhall ſpeak more at large. Now, to put an end to the Firſt Blaſt: let all men take heed what quarrel and cauſe they do from henceforth defend. If God raiſe up any noble heart to vindicate the liberty of his country, and to ſuppreſs the monſtrous empire of women, let all ſuch as ſhall preſume to defend them in the ſame moſt certainly know, that, in ſo doing, they lift their hands againſt God; and that one day they ſhall find his power to fight againſt their fooliſhneſs. Let not Chriſt's faithful ſoldiers be utterly diſcouraged; neither let the tyrants rejoice, albeit for a time they triumph: for the cauſe why he ſuffereth his ſoldiers to fall in battle (as by Holy Scripture may be gathered), is ſometimes to bear down the pride of fleſh, ſometimes to puniſh the offences of his own children, and to bring them to unfeigned acknowlegment of the ſame. You know the cauſe of the Iſraelites, who did fight againſt Benjamin, was moſt juſt; for it was to puniſh that moſt horrible abomination of theſe ſons of Belial abuſing the Levite's wife, whom the Benjamites did defend; and they had God's precept to aſſure them of well-doing; for he not only commanded them to fight, but alſo appointed Judah to be their leader and captain. But becauſe at the firſt they truſted in their multitude, power, and ſtrength, therefore they fell twice in battle againſt theſe moſt wicked adulterers: yet after they had wept before the Lord, after they had faſted and made ſacrifice, in ſign of their unfeigned repentance, they ſo prevailed

* 2 Kings xi.

againſt that proud tribe of Benjamin, that after twenty-five thouſand ſtrong men were killed in the battle, they deſtroyed man, woman, child, and beaſt, as well in the fields as in the cities, which were all burnt with fire; ſo that of that whole tribe remained only ſix hundred men, who fled to the wilderneſs, where they remained four months, and ſo were ſaved*. The ſame God who did execute this grievous puniſhment, even by the hands of thoſe whom he ſuffered twice to be overcome in battle, doth this day retain his power and juſtice: but curſed Jezebel of England, with the peſtilent and deteſtable generation of Papiſts, make no little brag and boaſt that they have triumphed, not only againſt wit, but alſo againſt all ſuch as have enterpriſed any thing againſt them and their proceedings. But let her and them conſider, that yet they have not prevailed againſt God. His throne is more high than the length of their horns can be able to reach. Let them further conſider, that, in the beginning of this their bloody reign, the harveſt of their iniquity was not come to full maturity and ripeneſs: no; it was ſo green (ſo ſecret I mean, ſo covered, and ſo hid with hypocriſy), that ſome (even of the ſervants of God) thought it not impoſſible that wolves might be changed into lambs, and alſo that the viper might remove her natural venom. But God, who doth reveal, in his time appointed, the ſecrets of hearts, and that will have his judgments juſtified, even by the very wicked, hath now given open teſtimony of her, and their beaſtly cruelty. So that now, not only the blood of father Latimer, diſcreet and learned Ridley, innocent lady Jane Dudley, and many others, that fire hath conſumed, and the ſword of tyranny moſt unjuſtly hath ſlain, doth call for vengeance in the ear of the Lord of Hoſts; but alſo the ſobs and tears of the poor oppreſſed, the groanings of the Lord's watchmen, yea, and every earthly creature abuſed by their tyranny, do continually cry and call for haſty execution of the ſame. I fear not to ſay, That the day of vengeance, which ſhall apprehend that horrible monſter Jezebel of England, and ſuch as maintain her monſtrous cruelty, is already appointed in the counſel of the Eternal: and I verily believe, that it is ſo near, that ſhe ſhall not reign ſo long in tyranny as hitherto ſhe hath done, when God ſhall declare himſelf to be her enemy, and ſhall pour forth contempt upon her according to her cruelty. Her empire and reign is a wall without foundation; I mean the ſame of the authority of all women: it hath been under-propped, this blind time bygone, with the fooliſhneſs of the people, and with the wicked laws of ignorant and tyrannous princes: but the fire of God's word is already laid to theſe rotten props (I mean the pope's law with the reſt), and preſently they burn, albeit we eſpy not the flame. When they are conſumed (as ſhortly they will be, for ſtubble and dry timber cannot long endure the fire), that rotten wall, the uſurped and unjuſt empire of women, ſhall fall by itſelf in deſpite of all men, to the deſtruction of ſo many as ſhall labour to with-hold it. And therefore let all men be advertiſed, for the Trumpet hath once blown.

* Judg. xx.

CONTENTS OF THE SECOND BLAST.

TO THE READER.

BECAUSE many are offended at the Firſt Blaſt of the Trumpet, in which I affirm, That to promote a woman to bear rule or empire above any realm, nation, or city, is repugnant to nature, contumely to God, and a thing moſt contrarious to his revealed and approved ordinance; and becauſe alſo, that ſome have promiſed (as I underſtand) a confutation of the ſame; I have delayed the Second Blaſt, till ſuch time as their reaſons appear, by which I either may be reformed in opinion, or elſe ſhall have further occaſion more ſimply and plainly to utter my judgment. Yet, in the mean time, for the diſcharge of my conſcience, and for avoiding ſuſpicion which might be engendered by reaſon of my ſilence, I could not ceaſe to notify theſe ſubſequent propoſitions, which, by God's grace, I purpoſe to treat in the Second Blaſt promiſed.

1. It is not birth only, nor propinquity of blood, that maketh a king lawfully to reign above a people, profeſſing Chriſt Jeſus and his eternal verity; but in his election muſt the ordinance which God hath eſtabliſhed in the election of inferior judges be obſerved.

2. No manifeſt idolater, nor notorious tranſgreſſor of God's holy precepts, ought to be promoted to any public government, honour, or dignity, in any realm, province, or city, that have ſubjected themſelves to Chriſt Jeſus, and to his bleſſed goſpel.

3. Neither can oath nor promiſe bind any ſuch people, to obey and maintain tyrants againſt God, and againſt his truth known.

4. But if either raſhly they have promoted any manifeſt wicked perſon, or yet ignorantly have choſen ſuch an one as after declareth himſelf unworthy of government above the people of God (and ſuch are all idolaters and cruel perſecutors), moſt juſtly may the ſame men depoſe and puniſh him, that unadviſedly before they did nominate, appoint, and elect.

MATTH. vi. *If the eye be ſingle, the whole body ſhall be clear.*

A

LETTER

TO

THE PEOPLE OF EDINBURGH,

BY

JOHN KNOX:

First printed at STIRLING, by ROBERT LEKPREVIK, *Anno* 1571.

To his loving Brethren, whom God once gloriouſly gathered in the Church of Edinburgh, and now are diſperſed for Trial of our Faith, &c.

THE troubles of the juſt ſhall ſhortly come to an end, to the glory of God, and to their eternal comfort. Beloved brethren in the Lord Jeſus, partakers now of his afflictions, if the inability of body would ſuffer, I would write a long letter; but being in that eſtate that I may not write with my own hand two lines, I muſt abide the good leiſure of God, and deſire you to have me excuſed, that I have not ſooner viſited you in this your dolorous perſecution. When I call to mind the fearful threatenings of God that have been oftentimes thundered out into your ears, and do conſider theſe preſent days, in the midſt of my dolour, I praiſe my God, that Satan hath not gotten the full victory, as he pretended: for this ſeparation, which now is made to the grief of many hearts, is yet a ſevere document, that the word of God hath not loſt the whole ſtrength in you: but that God, working thereby, hath pulled you forth from the midſt of the wicked, leſt that you ſhould be with them condemned, who now moſt manifeſtly rebel both againſt God and man.

Of one thing I muſt put you in mind, and I pray God that you may fruitfully remember it, That the word of God preached by the mouth of man, is not a vain ſound, and words ſpoken without a purpoſe; but is the ſummoning of God himſelf, forewarning men before the judgment come. Ye have heard it plainly ſpoken, That we would to Egypt again, in deſpite of Jeremiah, and all admonitions; which threatening for that time was not only mocked, but alſo boldly ſpoken againſt. But whether this day declareth the truth of that and other threatenings, let the very blind world judge: for what can be to return to Egypt, if to join hands with idolaters be not? Yea, to erect an authority (by God juſtly condemned) without order, both againſt God and man? Such men, when they were ſpoken unto, and were plainly admoniſhed of their appearing defection, could not abide to be called proud contemners of God; who now ſpare not at every moment to blaſpheme God, and by their wicked works plainly to deny, that there is a God that maketh difference betwixt vice and virtue.

Rejoice therefore, and praiſe God's mercies, who hath called you from the company of ſuch: and continue conſtant in that, that God of his mercy hath wrought in you, *viz.* a fear to remain in the faction of the wicked; which fear I pray God may daily increaſe in your hearts. I

know the aſſaults that you ſhall ſuffer are ſore and hard to be gainſtood; and therefore be you fervent in prayer, that ye repent not that God hath choſen you to ſuffer affliction with his Son Jeſus Chriſt. Hard it is, I ſay, to gainſtand fleſh and blood, and whatſoever is moſt precious in this life only, in hope of that kingdom promiſed; and only they that continue to the end ſhall ſtand in aſſurance before the Lord Jeſus, in that general day, when virtue ſhall receive a juſt reward, and vice (with the workers of impiety) ſhall ſuffer wrath and vengeance without end.

Be not ye ſlandered at the multitude of them that have joined hands with impiety: 'For if they had 'been of us (as St. John ſaith) they had remained with us.' But now this their defection doth plainly declare, that when they were with us, they were but as corrupted humours within the body, which behoved to be expelled forth, before the body could convaleſce, and come to perfection again. Lament their fall, but follow not their trade: for howſoever they proſper in their attempt, the end thereof ſhall be their deſtruction temporal and eternal, unleſs ſpeedy repentance prevent God's judgments; which to wiſh is godly, but to believe is fooliſh preſumption, as oftentimes ye have heard.

Look not for final victory before that the ſtrength and pride of fleſh be beaten down, neither be ye diſcouraged, albeit that iniquity proſper before the world; for the time of their felicity, which troubleth you for the preſent, ſhall be ſhort: join not with them therefore, as ye will avoid plagues preſent, and condemnation eternal. Be faithful and loving one to another: let bitterneſs and ſuſpicion be far out of your hearts: and let every one watch for the preſervation of another, without grudging or murmuring; being aſſured, that as God hath appointed you to ſuffer affliction for righteouſneſs' ſake, ſo hath he appointed you to poſſeſs a kingdom, wherein neither Satan, ſin, nor death, ſhall have power to moleſt you. Rejoice in the Lord, that he hath counted you worthy to ſuffer for his name's ſake. Pray for me, brethren, that I may fight my battle lawfully to the end. The Lord Jeſus preſerve you now and ever. Amen.

At St. Andrews, the 17th
of July 1571.

Your brother to power in Chriſt Jeſus,

JOHN KNOX.

If I might write, I would exhort you to remember, That 'by many tribulations we muſt enter into 'the kingdom of heaven.'

A

SERMON,

PREACHED AT EDINBURGH,

By the Rev. Mr. JOHN KNOX,

AUGUST 19, 1565.

ISAIAH xxvi. 13, 14, 15, 16, &c.

O Lord our God, other lords beſides thee have had dominion over us; but by thee only will we make mention of thy name.

They are dead, they ſhall not live; they are deceaſed, they ſhall not riſe: therefore haſt thou viſited and deſtroyed them, and made all their memory to periſh.

Thou haſt increaſed the nation, O Lord, thou haſt increaſed the nation, thou art glorified; thou haſt removed it far unto the ends of the earth.

Lord, in trouble have they viſited thee, they poured out a prayer when thy chaſtening was upon them, &c.

THE

PREFACE.

JOHN KNOX, *the Servant of* JESUS CHRIST, *in preaching of his holy Goſpel, to the benevolent Reader deſireth Grace and Peace, with the Spirit of righteous Judgment.*

WONDER not, Chriſtian reader, that notwithſtanding all my ſtudy and travel within the Scriptures of God, theſe twenty years, I have ſet forth nothing in expounding any portion of Scripture, except this rude and indigeſted Sermon, preached in the public audience of the church of Edinburgh, the 19th of Auguſt, *anno* 1565. That I did not in writing communicate my judgment upon the Scriptures, I have ever thought myſelf to have moſt juſt reaſon; for conſidering myſelf rather called of my God to inſtruct the ignorant, comfort the ſorrowful, confirm the weak, and rebuke the proud, by tongue and lively voice, in theſe moſt corrupt days, than to compoſe books for the age to come, ſeeing that ſo much is written (by men of moſt ſingular erudition), and yet ſo little well obſerved, I decreed to contain myſelf within the bounds of that vocation, whereunto I found myſelf eſpecially called.

I dare not deny (leſt that in ſo doing I ſhould be injurious to the giver) but that God hath revealed unto me ſecrets unknown to the world; and alſo, that he hath made my tongue a trumpet, to forewarn realms and nations; yea, certain great revelations of mutations and changes, when no ſuch things were feared, nor yet was appearing; a portion whereof cannot the world deny (be it never ſo blind) to be fulfilled; and the reſt, alas! I fear, ſhall follow with greater haſte, and in more full perfection, than my ſorrowful heart deſireth: notwithſtanding theſe revelations and aſſurances, I did ever abſtain to commit any thing to writing, contented only to have obeyed the charge of him who commanded me to cry.

If any then will aſk, To what purpoſe this only Sermon is ſet forth, and greater matters omitted? I anſwer, To let ſuch as Satan hath not altogether blinded, ſee upon how ſmall occaſions great offence is now conceived. This Sermon is it, for which (from my bed) I was called before the council; and, after long reaſoning, I was by ſome forbidden to preach in Edinburgh, ſo long as the king and queen were in town. This Sermon is it, that ſo offendeth ſuch as would pleaſe the court, and will not appear to be enemies to the truth; yet they dare affirm, that I exceeded the bounds of God's meſſenger: I have therefore faithfully committed unto writing, whatſoever I could remember might have been offenſive in that ſermon, to the end, that as well the enemies of God's truth, as the profeſſors of the ſame, may either note unto me wherein I have offended, or at the leaſt ceaſe to condemn me, before they have convinced me by God's manifeſt word.

If any man think it eaſy unto me, to mitigate by my pen the inconſiderate ſharpneſs of my tongue, and ſo cannot men freely judge of that my ſermon; I anſwer, That I am neither ſo impudent, that I will ſtudy to abuſe the world in this great light; neither yet ſo void of the fear of my God, that I will avow a lie in his own preſence: and no leſs do I eſteem it to be a lie, to deny or conceal that which in his name I have once pronounced, than to affirm, that God hath ſpoken, when his word aſſures me not of the ſame: for in the public place I conſult not with fleſh and blood, what I ſhall propoſe to the people; but as the Spirit of my God, who hath ſent me, and unto whom I muſt anſwer, moveth me, ſo I ſpeak: and when I have once pronounced threatenings in his name (how unpleaſant ſoever they be to the world), I dare no more deny them, than I dare deny that God hath made me his meſſenger, to forewarn the diſobedient of their aſſured deſtruction.

At that Sermon were auditors unto me, not only profeſſors of the truth, and ſuch as favour me, but rank Papiſts, diſſembling hypocrites, and no ſmall number of covetous clawbacks of the new court: now I will appeal to the conſcience of them all, as they will anſwer in the preſence of the eternal God, that either they bear me record, now writing the truth, or elſe note unto me the ſentences offenſive then by me pronounced, and now omitted in writing: for in God's preſence I proteſt, that, ſo far as my memory would ſerve me, I have written more vehemently, than in the action I ſpake and pronounced; but of purpoſe I have omitted perſuaſions and exhortations, which then were made. *Quædam hic deſunt.*

A

SERMON.

ISAIAH xxvi. 13, 14, 15, 16, &c.

O Lord our God, other lords beſides thee have had dominion over us; but by thee only will we make mention of thy name, &c.

AS the cunning mariner (being maſter), having his ſhip toſſed with a vehement tempeſt, and contrary winds, is compelled oft to traverſe, leſt that, either by too much reſiſting to the violence of the waves, his veſſel might be overwhelmed; or by too much liberty granted, to be carried whither the fury of the tempeſt would, his ſhip ſhould be driven upon the ſhore, and ſo make ſhipwreck: even ſo doth our prophet Iſaiah in this text, which now you have heard read; for he, foreſeeing the great deſolation that was decreed in the council of the Eternal, againſt Jeruſalem and Judah, *viz.* That the whole people, that bare the name of God, ſhould be diſperſed; that the holy city ſhould be deſtroyed; the temple wherein was the ark of the covenant, and where God had promiſed to give his own preſence, ſhould be burnt with fire; and the king taken, his ſons in his own preſence murdered, his own eyes immediately after to be put out; the nobility, ſome cruelly murdered, ſome ſhamefully led away captives; and, finally, the whole ſeed of Abraham razed, as it were, from the face of the earth: the prophet, I ſay, fearing theſe horrible calamities, doth, as it were, ſometimes ſuffer himſelf, and the people committed to his charge, to be carried away with the violence of the tempeſt, without further reſiſtance than by pouring forth his and their dolorous complaints before the Majeſty of God, as in the 13th, 17th, and 18th verſes of this preſent text we may read. At other times he valiantly reſiſteth the deſperate tempeſt, and pronounceth the fearful deſtruction of all ſuch as trouble the church of God; which he pronounceth, that God will multiply even in ſuch time, as when it appeareth utterly to be exterminated: but becauſe there is no final reſt to the whole body till that the head return to judgment, he calleth the afflicted to patience, and promiſeth ſuch a viſitation, as whereby the wickedneſs of the wicked ſhall be diſcloſed, and finally recompenſed in their own boſoms.

Theſe are the chief points of which, by the grace of God, we intend more largely at this preſent to ſpeak;

Firſt, The prophet ſaith, 'O Lord our God, 'other lords beſides thee have ruled us.'

This, no doubt, is the beginning of the dolorous complaint, in which he complaineth of the unjuſt tyranny that the poor afflicted Iſraelites ſuſtained during the time of their captivity. True it is, that the prophet was gathered to his fathers in peace, before that this apprehended the people: for a hundred years after his deceaſe was not the people led away captive; yet he, foreſeeing the aſſurance of the calamity, did before-hand indite and dictate unto them the complaint, that after they ſhould make. But at the firſt ſight it appeareth, that the complaint hath but ſmall weight: for what new thing was it, that other lords than God in his own perſon ruled them, ſeeing that ſuch had been their government from the beginning? For who knoweth not, that Moſes, Aaron, and Joſhua, the judges, Samuel, David, and other godly rulers, were men, and not God; and ſo

other lords than God, ruled them in their greateſt proſperity.

For the better underſtanding of this complaint, and of the mind of the prophet, we muſt *firſt* obſerve from whence all authority floweth; and, *ſecondly*, to what end powers are appointed by God: which two points being diſcuſſed, we ſhall better underſtand, what lords and what authority rule beſide God, and who they are in whom God and his merciful preſence rules.

The *firſt* is reſolved to us by the words of the apoſtle, ſaying, 'There is no power but of God.' David bringeth in the eternal God ſpeaking to judges and rulers, ſaying, 'I have ſaid, ye are 'gods, and ſons of the Moſt High.'. Pſal. lxxxii. And Solomon, in the perſon of God, affirmeth the ſame, ſaying, 'By me kings reign, and princes 'diſcern the things that are juſt.' Of which place it is evident, that it is neither birth, influence of ſtars, election of people, force of arms, nor finally, whatſoever can be comprehended under the power of nature, that makes the diſtinction betwixt the ſuperior power and the inferior, or that doth eſtabliſh the royal throne of kings; but it is the only and perfect ordinance of God, who willeth his terror, power, and majeſty, in a part to ſhine in the thrones of kings, and in the faces of judges, and that for the profit and comfort of man: ſo that whoſoever would ſtudy to deface that order of government that God hath eſtabliſhed, and by his holy word allowed, and bring in ſuch a confuſion, as no difference ſhould be betwixt the upper powers and the ſubjects, doth nothing but avert and turn upſide down the very throne of God, which he wills to be fixed here upon earth; as in the end and cauſe of this ordinance more plainly ſhall appear: which is the ſecond point we have to obſerve, for the better underſtanding of the prophet's words and mind.

The end and cauſe then, why God printeth in the weak and feeble fleſh of man, this image of his own power and majeſty, is not to puff up fleſh in opinion of itſelf; neither yet that the heart of him, that is exalted above others, ſhall be lifted up by preſumption and pride, and ſo deſpiſe others; but that he ſhall conſider, that he is appointed lieutenant to one, whoſe eyes continually watch upon him, to ſee and examine how he behaveth himſelf in his office. St. Paul, in few words, declareth the end wherefore the ſword is committed to the powers, ſaying, 'It is to the puniſhment of the 'wicked doers, and unto the praiſe of ſuch as do 'well.' Rom. xiii.

Of which words it is evident, that the ſword of God is not committed to the hand of man, to uſe as it pleaſeth him, but only to puniſh vice and maintain virtue, that men may live in ſuch ſociety, as before God is acceptable. And this is the very and only cauſe, why God hath appointed powers in this earth.

For ſuch is the furious rage of man's corrupt nature, that unleſs ſevere puniſhment were appointed and put in execution upon malefactors, better it were, that man ſhould live among brutes and wild beaſts than among men. But at this preſent I dare not enter into the deſcription of this common-place; for ſo ſhould I not ſatisfy the text, which by God's grace I purpoſe to abſolve. This only by the way, I would that ſuch as are placed in authority ſhould conſider, whether they reign and rule by God, ſo that God ruleth them; or if they rule without, beſides, and againſt God, of whom our prophet here doth complain.

If any liſt to take trial of this point, it is not hard; for Moſes, in the election of judges, and of a king, deſcribeth not only what perſons ſhall be choſen to that honour, but doth alſo give to him that is elected and choſen, the rule by which he ſhall try himſelf, whether God reign in him or not, ſaying, 'When he ſhall ſit upon the throne of 'his kingdom, he ſhall write to himſelf an exem-'plar of this law, in a book by the prieſts and Le-'vites; it ſhall be with him, and he ſhall read 'therein, all the days of his life: that he may 'learn to fear the Lord his God, and to keep all 'the words of his law, and theſe ſtatutes, that he 'may do them; that his heart be not lifted up 'above his brethren, and that he turn not from 'the commandment, to the right hand, nor to the 'left.' Deut. xvii.

The ſame is repeated to Joſhua, in his inauguration to the government of the people by God himſelf, ſaying, 'Let not the book of this law depart from 'thy mouth, but meditate in it day and night, that 'thou mayeſt keep it, and do according to all that 'which is written in it. For then ſhall thy way be 'proſperous, and thou ſhalt do prudently.' Joſh. i.

The *firſt* thing then that God craveth of him, that is called to the honour of a king, is, 'The 'knowledge of his will revealed in his word.'

The *ſecond* is, 'An upright and willing mind, to 'put in execution ſuch things as God commandeth 'in his law, without declining to the right, or to 'the left hand.'

Kings then have not an abſolute power, to do in their government what pleaſeth them, but their

power is limited by God's word; ſo that if they ſtrike where God hath not commanded, they are but murderers; and if they ſpare where God hath commanded to ſtrike, they and their throne are criminal and guilty of the wickedneſs that aboundeth upon the face of the earth, for lack of puniſhment.

O that kings and princes would conſider what account ſhall be craved of them, as well of their ignorance and miſknowledge of God's will, as for the neglecting of their office! But now, to return to the words of the prophet; in the perſon of the whole people he doth complain unto God, that the Babylonians (whom he calleth, 'other lords beſides God,' both becauſe of their ignorance of God, and by reaſon of their cruelty and inhumanity) had long ruled over them in great rigour, without pity or compaſſion had upon the ancient men, and famous matrons: for they, being mortal enemies to the people of God, ſought by all means to aggravate their yoke, yea, utterly to have exterminated the memory of them, and of their religion, from the face of the earth.

After the firſt part of this dolorous complaint, the prophet declareth the proteſtation of the people, ſaying, 'Nevertheleſs in thee ſhall we remember 'thy name,' (others read it, But we will remember thee only, and thy name); but in the Hebrew there is no conjunction copulative in that ſentence. The mind of the prophet is plain, *viz.* That notwithſtanding the long-ſuſtained affliction, the people of God declined not to a falſe and vain religion, but remembered God, that ſometime appeared to them in his merciful preſence; which albeit then they ſaw not, yet would they ſtill remember his name; that is, they would call to mind the doctrine and promiſe, which at ſometime they heard, albeit in their proſperity they did not ſufficiently glorify God, who ſo mercifully ruled in the midſt of them. The temptation, no doubt, of the Iſraelites was great in thoſe days; they were carried captives from the land of Canaan, which was to them the gage and pledge of God's favour towards them: for it was the inheritance that God promiſed to Abraham, and to his ſeed for ever. The league and covenant of God's protection appeared to have been broken; they lamentably complain, that they ſaw not their accuſtomed ſigns of God's merciful preſence. The true prophets were few, and the abominations uſed in Babylon were exceeding many: and ſo it might have appeared to them, that in vain it was that they were called the poſterity of Abraham, or that ever they had received the law, or form of right religion from God. That we may the better feel it in ourſelves, the temptation, I ſay, was even ſuch, as if God ſhould utterly deſtroy all order and policy that this day is within his church, that the true preaching of the word ſhould be ſuppreſſed, the right uſe of ſacraments aboliſhed, idolatry and Papiſtical abomination erected up again; and therewith, that our bodies ſhould be taken priſoners by Turks, or other manifeſt enemies of God, and of all godlineſs. Such, I ſay, was their temptation; how notable then is this their confeſſion that in bondage they make, *viz.* That they will remember God only; albeit he hath appeared to turn his face from them, they will remember his name, and will call to mind the deliverance promiſed!

Hereof have we to conſider, what is our duty, if God bring us (as for our offences and unthankfulneſs juſtly he may) to the like extremity: this confeſſion is not the fair flattering words of hypocrites, lying and bathing in their pleaſures; but it is the mighty operation of the Spirit of God, who leaveth not his own deſtitute of ſome comfort, in their moſt deſperate calamities. This is then our duty, not only to confeſs our God in time of peace and quietneſs, but he chiefly craveth, that we avow him in the midſt of his and our enemies; and this is not in us to do, but it behoveth that the Spirit of God work in us, above all power of nature; and thus we ought earneſtly to meditate before the battle riſe more vehement, which appeareth not to be far off. But now muſt we enter in ſomewhat more deeply to conſider theſe judgments of God.

This people dealt withall, as we have heard, was the only people upon the face of the earth to whom God was rightly known; among them only were his laws, ſtatutes, ordinances, and ſacrifices, uſed and put in practice; they only invocated his name, and to them alone had he promiſed his protection and aſſiſtance: What then ſhould be the cauſe, that he ſhould give them over into this great reproach, and bring them into ſuch extremity, as his own name, in them, ſhould be blaſphemed? The prophet Ezekiel, that ſaw this horrible deſtruction fore-ſpoken by Iſaiah put in juſt execution, giveth an anſwer in theſe words, 'I gave 'unto them laws that were good, in the which 'whoſoever ſhould walk, ſhould live in them; 'but they would not walk in my ways, but rebelled againſt me; and therefore, I have given unto 'them laws that are not good, and judgments, in 'the which they ſhall not live.' Ezek. xx. The

writers of the Books of Kings and Chronicles declare this in more plain words, saying, 'The Lord 'sent unto them his prophets, rising early, desiring of them to return unto the Lord, and to 'amend their wicked ways (for he would have 'spared his people, and his tabernacle); but they 'mocked his servants, and would not return unto the Lord their God to walk in his ways.' 2 Kings xvii. Yea, Judah itself kept not the precepts of the Lord God, but walked in the manners and ordinances of Israel: that is, of such as then had declined to idolatry from the days of Jeroboam: and therefore, the Lord God abhorred the whole seed of Israel, that is, the whole body of the people; he punished them, and gave them into the hands of those that spoiled them, and so he cast them out from his presence.

Hereof it is evident, that their disobedience unto God, and unto the voice of his prophets, was the cause of their destruction. Now have we to take heed how we should use the good laws of God; that is, his will revealed unto us in his word, and that order of justice, that by him, for the comfort of man, is established amongst men. It is no doubt but that obedience is the most acceptable sacrifice unto God, and that which above all things he requireth, that when he manifesteth himself by his word, that men follow according to their vocation and commandment. Now so it is, that God, by that great Pastor our Lord Jesus, now manifestly in his word calleth us from all impiety, as well of body as of mind, to holiness of life, and to his spiritual service; and for this purpose he hath erected the throne of his mercy among us, the true preaching of his word, together with the right administration of his sacraments: but what is our obedience, let every man examine his own conscience, and consider what statutes and laws we would have to be given unto us.

Wouldst thou, O Scotland! have a king to reign over thee in justice, equity, and mercy? Subject thou thyself to the Lord thy God, obey his commandments, and magnify thou that word that calleth unto thee, 'This is the way, walk in it,' Isa. xxx.; and if thou wilt not, flatter not thyself; the same justice remaineth this day in God to punish thee, Scotland, and thee, Edinburgh in especial, that before punished the land of Judah, and the city of Jerusalem. Every realm or nation (saith the prophet Jeremiah) that likewise offendeth, shall be likewise punished, Jer. ix.; but if thou shalt see impiety placed in the seat of justice above thee, so that in the throne of God (as Solomon doth complain, Eccles. iii.) reigneth nothing but fraud and violence, accuse thine own ingratitude and rebellion against God; for that is the only cause, why God taketh away (as the same prophet in another place doth speak) 'the strong 'man and the man of war, the judge and the prophet, the prudent and the aged, the captain and 'the honourable, the counsellor and the cunning 'artificer; and I will appoint, saith the Lord, 'children to be their princes, and babes shall rule 'over them. Children are extortioners of my 'people, and women have rule over them,' Isa. iii.

If these calamities, I say, apprehend us, so that we see nothing but the oppression of good men, and of all godliness, and wicked men without God to reign over us; let us accuse and condemn ourselves, as the only cause of our own miseries. For if we had heard the voice of the Lord our God, and given upright obedience unto the same, God should have multiplied our peace, and should have rewarded our obedience before the eyes of the world. But now let us hear what the prophet saith further.

'The dead shall not live, saith he, neither shall 'the tyrants, nor the dead arise, because thou hast 'visited and scattered them, and destroyed all their 'memory,' verse 14.

From this 14th verse, unto the end of the 19th, it appeareth, that the prophet observeth no order; yea, that he speaketh things directly repugning one to another; for, *first*, he saith, 'The dead 'shall not live:' after, he affirmeth, 'Thy dead men 'shall live.' *Secondly*, he saith, 'Thou hast visited 'and scattered them, and destroyed all their me-'mory.' Immediately after, he saith, 'Thou hast 'increased the nation, O Lord, thou hast increas-'ed the nation. They have visited thee, and have 'poured forth a prayer before thee.'

Who, I say, would not think, that these are things not only spoken forth of good order and purpose, but also manifestly repugning one to another? For to live, and not to live, to be so destroyed that no memorial remaineth, and to be so increased that the coasts of the earth shall be replenished, seem to import plain contradiction. For removing of this doubt, and for better understanding of the prophet's mind, we must understand, that the prophet had to do with divers sorts of men; he had to do with the conjured and manifest enemies of God's people, the Chaldeans or Babylonians; even so such as profess Christ Jesus have to do with the Turks and Saracens. He had

to do with the ſeed of Abraham, whereof there were three ſorts. The ten tribes all degenerate from the true worſhipping of God, and corrupted with idolatry, as this day are our peſtilent Papiſts in all realms and nations; there reſted only the tribe of Judah at Jeruſalem, where the form of true religion was obſerved, the law taught, and ordinances of God outwardly kept: but yet there were in that body (I mean, in the body of the viſible church) a great number that were hypocrites, as this day yet are among us that do profeſs the Lord Jeſus, and have refuſed Papiſtry; not a few that were licentious livers; ſome that turned their back to God, that is, had forſaken all true religion; and ſome that lived a moſt abominable life, as Ezekiel ſaith in his viſion; and yet there were ſome godly, as a few wheat-corns oppreſſed and hid among the multitude of chaff: now, according to this diverſity, the prophet keepeth divers purpoſes, and yet in moſt perfect order.

And firſt (after the firſt part of the complaint of the afflicted, as we have heard in vehemency of ſpirit), he burſteth forth againſt all the proud enemies of God's people, againſt all ſuch as trouble them, and againſt all ſuch as mock and forſake God, and ſaith, 'The dead ſhall not live, the proud 'giants ſhall not riſe, thou haſt ſcattered them, 'and deſtroyed their memorial.' In which words he fighteth againſt the preſent temptation and dolorous ſtate of God's people, and againſt the inſolent pride of ſuch as oppreſſed them; as if the prophet ſhould ſay, O ye troublers of God's people! howſoever it appeareth to you in this your bloody rage, that God regardeth not your cruelty, nor conſidereth not what violence you do to his poor afflicted, yet ſhall ye be viſited, yea, your carcaſes ſhall fall and lie as ſtinking carrion upon the face of the earth, ye ſhall fall without hope of life, or of a bleſſed reſurrection; yea, howſoever ye gather your ſubſtance, and augment your families, ye ſhall be ſo ſcattered, that ye ſhall leave no memorial of you to the poſterities to come, but that which ſhall be execrable and odious.

Hereof have the tyrants their admonition, and the afflicted church ineſtimable comfort: the tyrants that do oppreſs, ſhall receive the ſame end that they did, which have paſſed before; that is, they ſhall die and fall with ſhame, without hope of reſurrection, as is foreſaid: not that they ſhall not ariſe to their own confuſion and juſt condemnation; but that they ſhall not recover power, to trouble the ſervants of God; neither yet ſhall the wicked ariſe, as David ſaith, in the counſel of the juſt. Now have the wicked their councils, their thrones, and finally handling (for the moſt part) of all things that are upon the face of the earth; but the poor ſervants of God are reputed unworthy of mens preſence, envied, mocked; yea, they are more vile before theſe proud tyrants, than is the very dirt and mire that is trodden under foot: but in that glorious reſurrection, this ſtate ſhall be changed; for then ſhall ſuch as now, by their abominable living and cruelty, deſtroy the earth, and moleſt God's children, ſee him whom they have pierced; they ſhall ſee the glory of ſuch as now they perſecute, to their terror and everlaſting confuſion. The remembrance hereof ought to make us patient in the days of affliction, and ſo to comfort us, that when we ſee tyrants in their blind rage tread under foot the ſaints of God, that utterly we deſpair not, as if there were neither wiſdom, juſtice, nor power above in the heavens, to repreſs ſuch tyrants, and to redreſs the dolours of the unjuſtly afflicted: no, brethren, let us be aſſured, that the right hand of the Lord will change the ſtate of things that are moſt deſperate. In our God there is wiſdom and power, in a moment to change the joy and mirth of our enemies into everlaſting mourning, and our ſorrows into joy and gladneſs that ſhall have no end.

Let us therefore, in theſe apparent calamities, (and marvel not that I ſay calamities apparent; for he that ſeeth not a fire begun, that ſhall burn more than we look for, unleſs God of his mercy quench it, is more than blind), not be diſcouraged, but with unfeigned repentance let us return to the Lord our God, let us accuſe and condemn our former negligence, and ſtedfaſtly depend upon his promiſed deliverance; ſo ſhall our temporal ſorrows be converted into everlaſting joy. The doubt that might be moved concerning the deſtruction of thoſe whom God exalteth, ſhall be diſcuſſed, if time will ſuffer, after that we have paſſed throughout the text. Now proceedeth the prophet, and ſaith,

'Thou haſt increaſed the nations, O Lord, thou 'haſt increaſed the nations; thou art made glo-'rious, thou haſt enlarged all the coaſts of the 'earth,' verſe 15.

'Lord, in trouble,' &c. verſe 16.

In theſe words the prophet giveth conſolation to the afflicted, aſſuring them, that how horrible ſoever that deſolation ſhould be, yet ſhould the ſeed of Abraham be ſo multiplied, that it ſhould repleniſh the coaſts of the earth; yea, that God ſhould be more glorified in their affliction, than he

was during the time of their proſperity. This promiſe, no doubt, was incredible when it was made; for who could have been perſuaded, that the deſtruction of Jeruſalem ſhould have been the means whereby the nation of the Jews ſhould have been increaſed? ſeeing that much rather it appeared, that the overthrow of Jeruſalem ſhould have been the very aboliſhing of the ſeed of Abraham: but we muſt conſider, to what end it was that God revealed himſelf to Abraham, and what is contained in the promiſe of the multiplication of his ſeed, and the benediction promiſed thereto.

Firſt, God revealed himſelf to Abraham, and that by the means of his word, to let all fleſh after underſtand, that God firſt called man, and revealed himſelf unto him; that fleſh can do nothing but rebel againſt God; for Abraham, no doubt, was an idolater, before that God called him from Ur of the Chaldees. The promiſe was made, that the ſeed of Abraham ſhould be multiplied as the ſtars of heaven, and as the ſand of the ſea; which is not ſimply to be underſtood of his natural ſeed, although it was ſometimes greatly increaſed; but rather of ſuch as ſhould become the ſpiritual ſeed of Abraham, as the apoſtle ſpeaketh. Now, if we be able to prove, that the right knowledge of God, his wiſdom, juſtice, mercy, and power, was more amply declared in their captivity, than ever it was at any time before, then can we not deny, but that God (even when to man's judgment he had utterly razed them from the face of the earth) did increaſe the nation of the Jews, ſo that he was glorified in them, and did extend the coaſts of the earth for their habitation. And, for the better underſtanding hereof, let us ſhortly try the hiſtories from their captivity to their deliverance; and after the ſame, to the coming of the Meſſiah.

It is no doubt but that Satan intended, by the diſperſion of the Jews, ſo to have profaned the whole ſeed of Abraham, that among them ſhould neither have remained the true knowledge of God, nor yet the ſpirit of ſanctification, but that all ſhould have come to a like contempt of God: for, I pray you, for what purpoſe was it, that Daniel and his fellows were taken into the king's court, were commanded to be fed at the king's table, and were put to the ſchools of their diviners, ſoothſayers, and aſtrologers? It may be thought that it proceeded of the king's humanity, and of a zeal that he had, that they ſhould be brought up in virtue and good learning; and I doubt not but it was ſo underſtood of a great number of the Jews: but the ſecret practice of the devil was underſtood of Daniel, when he refuſed to defile himſelf with the king's meat, which was forbidden to the ſeed of Abraham in the law of their God. Well, God beginneth ſhortly after to ſhew himſelf mindful of his promiſe made by his prophet, and to trouble Nebuchadnezzar himſelf, by ſhewing to him a viſion in his dream; which did the more trouble him, becauſe he could not forget the terror of it, neither yet could he remember what the viſion and the parcels thereof were: whereupon were called all diviners, interpreters of dreams, and ſoothſayers, of whom the king demanded, if they could let him underſtand what he had dreamed: but while that they anſwer, That ſuch a queſtion uſed not to be demanded of any ſoothſayer or magician, for the reſolution thereof only appertained to the gods, whoſe habitation was not with men, the charge was given, that they all ſhould be ſlain; and amongſt the reſt Daniel was ſought (whoſe innocence the devil envied), to have ſuffered the ſame judgment; he reclaimeth, and aſketh time to diſcloſe that ſecret (I only touch the hiſtory, to let you ſee by what means God increaſeth his knowledge); which being granted, the viſion is revealed unto him; he ſheweth the ſame unto the king, with the true interpretation of it; adding, that the knowledge thereof came not from the ſtars, but only from the God of Abraham, who only was and is the true God. Which thing underſtood, the king burſt forth in his confeſſion, ſaying, 'Of a truth your God is the moſt excellent 'of all gods, and he is Lord of kings, and only 'he that revealeth the ſecrets, ſeeing that thou 'couldſt open this ſecret.' And when Nebuchadnezzar after that, puffed up in pride by the counſel of his wicked nobility, would make an image, before which he would that all tongues and nations ſubject to him ſhould make adoration; and that Shadrach, Meſhach, and Abed-nego, would not obey his unjuſt commandment, and ſo were caſt into the flaming furnace of fire; and yet by God's angels were ſo preſerved, that no ſmell of fire remained in their perſons nor garments: this ſame king giveth a more notable confeſſion, ſaying, 'The Lord God of Shadrach, Meſhach, and Abed-'nego, is to be praiſed, who hath ſent his angels, 'and delivered his worſhippers that put truſt in 'him, who have done againſt the king's command-'ment; who have rather given their own bodies 'to torment, than that they would worſhip another 'god, except their own God. By me therefore 'is there made a decree, that whoſoever ſhall blaſ-'pheme the God of Shadrach, Meſhach, and Abed-

'nego, that he ſhall be cut in pieces, and his houſe 'ſhall be made deteſtable.' Dan. iii.

Thus we ſee how God began, even almoſt in the beginning of their captivity, to notify his name, to multiply his knowledge, and ſet forth as well his power as his wiſdom, and true worſhipping, by thoſe that were taken priſoners, yea, that were deſpiſed, and of all men contemned; ſo that the name and fear of the God of Abraham was never before notified to ſo many realms and nations. This wonderous work of God proceeded from one empire to another; for Daniel being promoted to great honour by Darius king of the Perſians and Medes, falleth into a deſperate danger; for he was committed to priſon among lions, becauſe that he was deprehended, breaking the king's injunction; not that the king deſired the deſtruction of God's ſervants, but becauſe the corrupt idolaters, that in hatred of Daniel had procured that law to be made, urged the king againſt his nature; but God, by his angel, did ſtop the lions mouths, and ſo preſerved his ſervant; which conſidered, with the ſudden deſtruction of Daniel's enemies by the ſame lions, king Darius, beſides his own confeſſion, wrote to all people, tongues, and nations, after this form; 'It is decreed by me, That in all the dominions 'of my kingdom, men ſhall fear and reverence 'the God of Daniel, becauſe he is the Living God, 'abiding for ever, whoſe kingdom ſhall not be 'deſtroyed, and his dominion remaineth; who 'ſaveth and delivereth, and ſheweth ſigns and 'wonders in heaven and in earth, who hath de-'livered Daniel from the lions.

This knowledge was yet further increaſed in the days of Cyrus, who giving freedom to the captives to return to their own native country, giveth this confeſſion; 'Thus ſaith Cyrus the king of Perſians, 'All the kingdoms of the earth hath the Lord God 'of heaven given unto me, and hath commanded 'me, that a houſe be built to him in Jeruſalem, 'which is in Judah. Whoſoever therefore of you, 'that are of his people, let the Lord his God be 'with him, and let him paſs up to Jeruſalem, and 'let him build the houſe of the Lord God of Iſrael; 'for he only is God that is in Jeruſalem.' 1 Eſd. ii. Time will not ſuffer me to treat the points of this confeſſion, neither yet did I for that purpoſe adduce the hiſtory; but only to let us ſee, how conſtantly God kept his promiſe in increaſing his people, and in augmenting his true knowledge, when that both they that were the ſeed of Abraham, and that religion which they profeſſed appeared utterly to have been extinguiſhed above mens expectation. I ſay, he brought freedom out of bondage, light out of darkneſs, and life out of death. I am not ignorant, that the building of the temple, and reparation of the walls of Jeruſalem, were long ſtaid, ſo that the work had many enemies; but ſo did the hand of God prevail in the end, that a decree was made by Darius (by him I ſuppoſe that ſucceeded to Cambyſes), not only that all things neceſſary for the building of the temple, and for the ſacrifices that were to be there burnt, ſhould be miniſtered upon the king's charges; but alſo, that 'whoſoever ſhould hinder that work, 'or change that decree, that a tree ſhould be tak-'en out of his houſe, and that he ſhould be hang-'ed thereupon; yea, that his houſe ſhould be 'made a dunghill,' 1 Eſd. vi.; and thereto he add-eth a prayer, ſaying, 'The God of heaven, who 'hath placed his name there, root out every king 'and people, (O that kings and nations would 'underſtand!) that ſhall put his hand, either to 'change or to hurt this houſe of God that is in Je-'ruſalem.' And ſo, in deſpite of Satan, was the temple built, the walls repaired, and the city inhabited; and in the moſt deſperate dangers it was preſerved, till that the Meſſiah promiſed, the glory of the ſecond temple came, manifeſted himſelf to the world, ſuffered and roſe again, according to the Scriptures; and ſo, by ſending forth his goſpel from Jeruſalem, did repleniſh the earth with the true knowledge of God: and ſo did God in perfection increaſe the nation, and the ſpiritual ſeed of Abraham.

Wherefore, dear brethren, we have no ſmall conſolation, if the ſtate of all things be this day rightly conſidered; we ſee in what fury and rage the world, for the moſt part, is now raiſed, againſt the poor church of Jeſus Chriſt, unto which he hath proclaimed liberty, after the fearful bondage of that ſpiritual Babylon, in which we have been holden captives longer ſpace than Iſrael was priſoner in Babylon itſelf: for if we ſhall conſider, upon the one part, the multitude of thoſe that live wholly without Chriſt; and, upon the other part, the blind rage of the peſtilent Papiſts; what ſhall we think of the ſmall number of them that do profeſs Chriſt Jeſus, but that they are as a poor ſheep, already ſeized in the claws of the lion; yea, that they, and the true religion which they profeſs, ſhall in a moment utterly be conſumed?

But againſt this fearful temptation, let us be armed with the promiſe of God, *viz.* that he will be the protector of his church; yea, that he will multiply it, even when to man's judgment it ap-

peareth utterly to be exterminated. This promiſe hath our God performed, in the multiplication of Abraham's ſeed, in preſervation of it, when Satan laboured utterly to have deſtroyed it, in deliverance of the ſame, as we have heard, from Babylon. He hath ſent his Son Chriſt Jeſus, clad in our fleſh, who hath taſted of all our infirmities (ſin excepted), who hath promiſed to be with us to the end of the world; he hath further kept promiſe in publication, yea, in the reſtitution of his glorious goſpel: Shall we then think that he will leave his church deſtitute in this moſt dangerous age? Only let us ſtick to his truth, and ſtudy to conform our lives to the ſame, and he ſhall multiply his knowledge, and increaſe his people. But now let us hear what the prophet ſaith more:

'Lord, in trouble have they viſited thee, they 'poured out a prayer when thy chaſtening was up-'on them,' ver. 16.

The prophet meaneth, that ſuch as in the time of quietneſs did not rightly regard God nor his judgments, were compelled, by ſharp corrections, to ſeek God; yea, by cries and dolorous complaints to viſit him. True it is, that ſuch obedience deſerveth ſmall praiſe before men; for who can praiſe, or accept that in good part, which cometh as it were of mere compulſion? And yet rare it is, that any of God's children do give unfeigned obedience, until the hand of God turn them: for if quietneſs and proſperity make them not utterly to forget their duty, both towards God and man, as David for a ſeaſon, yet it maketh them careleſs, inſolent, and in many things unmindful of thoſe things that God chiefly craveth of them; which imperfection eſpied, and the danger that thereof might enſue, our heavenly Father viſiteth the ſins of his children, but in the rod of his mercy, by which they are moved to return to their God, to accuſe their former negligence, and to promiſe better obedience in all times hereafter, as David confeſſeth, ſaying, 'Before I fell in affliction I 'went aſtray, but now will I keep thy ſtatutes.'

But yet, for the better underſtanding of the prophet's mind, we may conſider how God doth viſit man, and how man doth viſit God; and what difference there is betwixt the viſitation of God upon the reprobate, and his viſitation upon the choſen.

God ſometimes viſiteth the reprobate, in his hot diſpleaſure, pouring upon them his plagues for their long rebellion; as we have heard before, that he viſited the proud, and deſtroyed their memory. Other times God is ſaid to viſit his people, being in affliction, to whom he ſendeth comfort or promiſe of deliverance, as he did viſit the ſeed of Abraham, being oppreſſed in Egypt. And Zacharias ſaith, That God had viſited his people, and ſent unto them hope of deliverance, when John the Baptiſt was born. But of none of theſe viſitations ſpeaketh our prophet here, but of that only which we have already touched; *viz.* when that God layeth his correction upon his own children, to call them from the venomous breaſts of this corrupt world, that they ſuck not in over great abundance the poiſon thereof; and doth, as it were, wean them from their mothers breaſts, that they may learn to receive other nouriſhment. True it is, that this weaning (or ſpeaning, as we term it) from wordly pleaſure, is a thing ſtrange to the fleſh; and yet it is a thing ſo neceſſary to God's children, that, unleſs they be weaned from the pleaſures of the world, they can never feed upon that delectable milk of God's eternal verity; for the corruption of the one doth either hinder the other to be received, or elſe ſo troubleth the whole powers of man, that the ſoul can never ſo digeſt the truth of God as that he ought to do.

Albeit this appeareth hard, yet it is moſt evident; for what liquor can we receive from the breaſts of the world, but that which is in the world? What that is, the apoſtle John teacheth, ſaying, 'Whatſoever is in the world, is either the 'luſt of the eyes, the luſt of the fleſh, or the 'pride of life.' 1 John ii. Now, ſeeing that theſe are not of the Father, but of the world, how can it be, that our ſouls can feed upon chaſtity, temperance, and humility, ſo long as that our ſtomachs are repleniſhed with the corruption of theſe vices?

Now ſo it is, that willingly fleſh can never refuſe theſe fore-named, but rather ſtill delighteth itſelf in every one of them; yea, in them all, as the examples are but too evident.

It behoveth therefore, that God himſelf ſhall violently pull his children from theſe venomous breaſts, that when they lack the liquor and poiſon of the one, they may viſit him, and learn to be nouriſhed of him. Oh if the eyes of worldly princes ſhould be opened, that they might ſee with what humour and liquor their ſouls are fed, while that their whole delight conſiſteth in pride, ambition, and the luſts of the ſtinking fleſh! We underſtand then how God doth viſit men, as well by his ſevere judgments, as by his merciful viſitation of deliverance from trouble, or by bringing trouble upon his choſen for their humiliation; and now it reſteth to underſtand how man viſiteth God.

Man doth viſit God, when he appeareth in his preſence, be it to the hearing of his word, or to the participation of his ſacraments; as the people of Iſrael, beſides the obſervation of their Sabbaths and daily oblations, were commanded thrice a-year to preſent themſelves before the preſence of the tabernacle, and as we do, and as often as we preſent ourſelves to the hearing of the word; for there is the footſtool, yea, there is the face and throne of God himſelf, whereſoever the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt is truly preached, and his ſacraments rightly miniſtered.

But men may on this ſort viſit God hypocritically; for they may come for the faſhion, they may hear with deaf ears; yea, they may underſtand, and yet never determine with themſelves to obey that which God requireth: and let ſuch men be aſſured, that he (who ſearcheth the ſecrets of hearts) will be avenged of all ſuch; for nothing can be to God more odious, than to mock him in his own preſence. Let every man therefore examine himſelf, with what mind, and what purpoſe, he cometh to hear the word of God; yea, with what ear he heareth it, and what teſtimony his heart giveth unto him, when that God commandeth virtue, and forbiddeth impiety.

Repineſt thou when God requireth obedience? Thou heareſt to thine own condemnation. Mockeſt thou at God's threatenings? Thou ſhalt feel the weight and truth of them, albeit too late, when fleſh and blood cannot deliver thee from his hand. But the viſitation (whereof our prophet ſpeaketh) is only proper to the ſons of God, who, in the time when God taketh from them the pleaſures of the world, or ſheweth his angry countenance unto them, have their recourſe unto him, and, confeſſing their former negligence with troubled hearts, cry for his mercy. This viſitation is not proper to all afflicted, but appertaineth only to God's children: for the reprobates can never have acceſs to God's mercy in time of their tribulation, and that becauſe they abuſe as well his long patience, as the manifold benefits they receive from his hands; for as the ſame prophet heretofore ſaith, 'Let the wicked 'obtain mercy, yet ſhall he never learn wiſdom, 'but in the land of righteouſneſs,' that is, where the very knowlege of God aboundeth, 'he will do 'wickedly.' Which is a crime above all others abominable; for to what end is it that God erecteth his throne among us, but that we ſhould fear him? Why doth he reveal his holy will unto us, but that we ſhould obey it? Why doth he deliver us from trouble, but that we ſhould be witneſſes unto the world, that he is gracious and merciful?

Now, when that men, hearing their duty, and knowing what God requireth of them, do malapertly fight againſt all equity and juſtice, what, I pray you, do they elſe, but make manifeſt war againſt God? Yea, when they have received from God ſuch deliverance, that they cannot deny but that God himſelf hath in his great mercy viſited them, and yet that they continue wicked as before; what deſerve they but effectually to be given over unto a reprobate ſenſe, that headlong they may run to ruin, both of body and ſoul? It is almoſt incredible that a man ſhould be ſo enraged againſt God, that neither his plagues, nor yet his mercy ſhewed, ſhould move him to repentance; but becauſe the Scriptures bear witneſs of the one and the other, let us ceaſe to marvel, and let us firmly believe, that ſuch things as have been, are even preſently before our eyes, albeit many, blinded by affection, cannot ſee them.

Ahab (as in the Book of the Kings it is written) received many notable benefits of the hand of God, who did viſit him in divers ſorts, ſometimes by his plagues, ſometimes by his word, and ſometimes by his merciful deliverance; he made him king, and, for the idolatry uſed by him and his wife, he plagued the whole of Iſrael by famine; he revealed to him his will, and true religion, by the prophet Elijah; he gave unto him ſundry deliverances, but one moſt ſpecial, when proud Benhadad came to beſiege Samaria, and was not content to receive Ahab's gold, ſilver, ſons, daughters, and wives, but alſo required, that his ſervants ſhould have at their pleaſure whatſoever was delectable in Samaria: true it is, that his elders and people willed him not to hear the proud tyrant; But who made unto him the promiſe of deliverance? And who appointed and put his army in order? Who aſſured him of victory? The prophet of God only, who aſſured him, that by the ſervants of the princes of the provinces, who in number were only two hundred thirty-and-two, he ſhould deface the great army, in which there were two-and-thirty kings, with all their forces: and as the prophet of God promiſed, ſo it came to paſs; victory was obtained, not once only, but twice, and that by the merciful viſitation of the Lord.

But how did Ahab viſit God again for his great benefit received? Did he remove his idolatry? Did he correct his idolatrous wife Jezebel? No, we find no ſuch thing; but the one and the other we find to have continued and increaſed in former

impiety: but what was the end thereof? The laſt viſitation of God was, that dogs licked the blood of the one, and did eat the fleſh of the other. In few words then we underſtand, what difference there is betwixt the viſitation of God upon the reprobate, and his viſitation upon his choſen: the reprobate are viſited, but never truly humbled, nor yet amended; the choſen being viſited, they ſob, and they cry unto God for mercy; which obtained, they magnify God's name, and after declare the fruits of repentance. Let us therefore that hear theſe judgments of our God, call for the aſſiſtance of his Holy Spirit, that howſoever it pleaſeth him to viſit us, that we may ſtoop under his merciful hands, and unfeignedly cry to him when he correcteth us; and ſo ſhall we know in experience, that our cries and complaints were not in vain. But let us hear what the prophet ſaith further:

'Like as a woman (ſaith he) with child, that 'draweth near the travel, is in ſorrow, and cry-'eth in her pains, ſo have we been in thy ſight, 'O Lord, we have conceived, we have born in 'vain, as though we ſhould have brought forth 'the wind,' ver. 17.

'Salvations were not made to the earth, neither 'did the inhabitants of the earth fall,' ver. 18.

This is the ſecond part of the prophet's complaint, in which he, in the perſon of God's people, complaineth, that of their great affliction there appeared no end. This ſame ſimilitude is uſed by our Maſter Jeſus Chriſt; for when he ſpeaketh of the troubles of his church, he compareth them to the pains of a woman travelling in her child-birth. But it is to another end; for there he promiſeth exceeding and permanent joy, after a ſort, though it appear trouble. But here is the trouble long and vehement, albeit the fruit of it was not ſuddenly eſpied. He ſpeaketh no doubt of that long and dolorous time of their captivity, in which they continually travelled for deliverance, but obtained it not before the complete end of ſeventy years: during which time, the earth, that is, the land of Judah, which ſometimes was ſanctified unto God, but was then given to be profaned by wicked people, got no help, nor perceived any deliverance: for the inhabitants of the world fell not; that is, the tyrants and oppreſſors of God's people were not taken away, but ſtill remained and continued blaſphemers of God, and troublers of his church. But becauſe I perceive the hours to paſs more ſwiftly than they have ſeemed at other times, I mind to contract that which reſteth of this text into certain points.

The prophet firſt fighteth againſt the preſent deſpair; after he introduceth God himſelf calling upon his people; and, laſt of all, he aſſureth his afflicted, That God will come, and require account of all the blood-thirſty tyrants of the earth.

Firſt, Fighting againſt the preſent deſpair, he ſaith, 'Thy dead ſhall live, even my body (or 'with my body) ſhall they ariſe; awake and ſing, 'ye that dwell in the duſt; for thy dew is as the 'dew of herbs,' ver. 19.

The prophet here pierceth through all impediments that nature could object; and, by the victory of faith, he overcometh, not only the common enemies, but the great and laſt enemy of all, *viz.* death itſelf: for this would he ſay, Lord, I ſee nothing to thy choſen, but miſery to follow miſery, and one affliction to ſucceed another; yea, in the end I ſee, that death ſhould devour thy deareſt children. But yet, O Lord! I ſee thy promiſe to be true, and thy love to remain towards thy choſen, even when death appeared to have devoured them: 'For thy dead ſhall live, yea, not 'only ſhall they live, but my very dead carcaſe 'ſhall ariſe;' and ſo I ſee honour and glory to ſucceed this temporal ſhame, I ſee joy permanent to come after trouble, order to ſpring out of this terrible confuſion; and, finally, I ſee that life ſhall devour death, ſo that death ſhall be deſtroyed, and ſo thy ſervants ſhall have life. This, I ſay, is the victory of faith, when in the midſt of death, through the light of God's word, the afflicted ſee life. Hypocrites, in the time of quietneſs and proſperity, can generally confeſs, that God is true in his promiſes; but bring them to the extremity, and there ceaſeth the hypocrite further to truſt in God, than he ſeeth natural means, whereby God uſeth to work: but the true faithful, when all hope of natural means faileth, then fly they to God himſelf, and to the truth of his promiſe, who is above nature; yea, whoſe works are not ſo ſubject to the ordinary courſe of nature, that when nature faileth, his power and promiſe fail alſo therewith.

Let us further obſerve, That the prophet here ſpeaketh not of all dead in general, but ſaith, 'Thy dead, O Lord, ſhall live:' in which words he maketh difference betwixt thoſe that die in the Lord, and thoſe that die in their natural corruption, and in the Old Adam. Die in the Lord can none, except thoſe that live in him (I mean, thoſe that attain to the years of diſcretion); and none live in him, but thoſe that, with the apoſtle, can

ſay, 'I live, and yet not I, but Chriſt Jeſus that 'dwelleth in me; the life that I now live, I have 'by the faith of the Son of God.' Gal. ii. Not that I mean, that the faithful have at all hours ſuch ſenſe of the life everlaſting, that they fear not the death and the troubles of this life; no, not ſo; for the faith of God's children is weak, yea, and in many things imperfect: but I mean, that ſuch as in death, and after death ſhall live, muſt communicate in this life with Jeſus Chriſt, and muſt be regenerated by the ſeed of life; that is, by the word of the everlaſting God, which whoſoever deſpiſeth, refuſeth life and joy everlaſting.

The prophet transferreth all the promiſes of God to himſelf, ſaying, 'Even my dead body ſhall ariſe;' and immediately after, giveth commandment and charge to the dwellers in the duſt, that is, to the dead carcaſes of thoſe that were departed (for the ſpirit and ſoul of man dwelleth not in the duſt), 'That they ſhould awake, that they ſhould ſing and 'rejoice;' for they ſhould ariſe and ſpring up from the earth, even as the herbs do, after they have received the dew from above.

Time will not ſuffer that theſe particulars be ſo largely treated as they ought to be, and as I gladly would; therefore let us conſider, that the prophet, in transferring the power and promiſe of God to himſelf, doth not vindicate to himſelf any particular prerogative above the people of God, as that he alone ſhould live and ariſe, and not they alſo; but he doth it, to let them underſtand, that he taught a doctrine whereof he was certain, yea, and whereof they ſhould have experience after his death: as if he ſhould ſay, My words appear to you now to be incredible, but the day ſhall come, that I ſhall be taken from you, my carcaſe ſhall be incloſed in the boſom of the earth; and therefore ſhall ye be led away captives to Babylon, where ye ſhall remain many days and years, as it were buried in your ſepulchres.

But then call to mind, that I ſaid unto you before hand, that my body ſhall ariſe; even ſo ſhall ye riſe from your graves out of Babylon, and be reſtored to your own country, and city of Jeruſalem: this, I doubt not, is the true meaning of the prophet. The charge that he giveth to the dwellers in the duſt, is to expreſs the power of God's word, whereby he not only giveth life, where death apparently had prevailed; but alſo, by it, he calleth things that are not, even as if they were. True it is, that the prophet Iſaiah ſaw not the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, much leſs could he ſee the reſtitution of it with his corporal eyes; but he leaveth this, as it were, in teſtament with them, That when they were in the extremity of all bondage, they ſhould call to mind what the prophet of God had before ſpoken.

And leſt that his doctrine, and this promiſe of God made unto them by his mouth, ſhould have been forgotten (as we are ever prone and ready to forget God's promiſes, when we are preſſed with any ſorrow), God raiſed up unto them, in the midſt of their calamity, his prophet Ezekiel, unto whom, among many other viſions, he gave this; 'The 'hand of the Lord firſt led him in a place, which 'was full of dry and diſperſed bones.' Ezek. xxxvii. The queſtion was demanded of the prophet, If theſe bones, being wonderous dry, ſhould live? The prophet anſwered, The knowledge thereof appertained unto God. Charge was given unto him, that he ſhould ſpeak unto the dry bones, and ſay, 'Thus ſaith the Lord God to theſe bones, Behold, 'I ſhall give you breath, and you ſhall live: I ſhall 'give unto you ſinews, fleſh, and ſkin, and you 'ſhall live.' And while the prophet ſpake (as he was commanded), he heard a voice, and he ſaw every bone join in his marrow; he ſaw them covered with fleſh and ſkin, albeit there was no ſpirit of life in them. He was commanded again to ſpeak, and to ſay, 'Thus ſaith the Lord God, 'come, O Spirit, from the four quarters, and blow 'in theſe that are ſlain, that they may live.' And as he propheſied, the ſpirit of life came; they lived, and ſtood upon their feet. Now doth the Lord interpret what this viſion meant, ſaying, 'O ſon 'of man, theſe bones are the whole houſe of Iſ-'rael. Behold, they ſay, our bones are dried, our 'hope is periſhed, we are plainly cut off. But be-'hold, ſaith the Lord, I will open your graves, I 'will bring you forth of them, ye ſhall live, and 'come unto the land of Iſrael, and ye ſhall know 'that I am the Lord.'

This viſion, I ſay, given to the prophet, and by the prophet preached to the people, when they thought that God had utterly forgotten them, compelled them more diligently to advert to what the former prophets had ſpoken. It is no doubt but they carried with them both the prophecy of Iſaiah and Jeremiah, ſo that the prophet Ezekiel is a commentary to theſe words of Iſaiah, where he ſaith, 'Thy dead, O Lord, ſhall live, with my 'body they ſhall ariſe.' The prophet bringeth in this ſimilitude of the dew, to anſwer unto that part of their fidelity, who can believe no further of God's promiſes than they are able to apprehend by natural judgment; as if he would ſay, Think ye

this impoſſible, that God ſhall give life unto you, and bring you to an eſtate of a commonwealth again, after that ye are dead, and as it were razed from the face of the earth? But why do ye not conſider, what God worketh from year to year in the order of nature? Sometimes ye ſee the face of the earth decked and beautified with herbs, flowers, graſs, and fruits; again ye ſee the ſame utterly taken away by ſtorms, and vehemency of the winter: What doth God to repleniſh the earth again, and to reſtore the beauty thereof? He ſendeth down his ſmall and ſoft dew, the drops whereof, in their deſcending, are neither great nor viſible, and yet thereby are the pores and ſecret veins of the earth, which before by vehemency of froſt and cold were ſhut up, opened again, and ſo doth the earth produce again the like herbs, flowers, and fruits: Shall ye then think, that the dew of God's heavenly grace ſhall not be as effectual in you to whom he hath made his promiſe, as that it is in the herbs and fruits that from year to year bud forth and decay? If ye do ſo, the prophet would ſay your incredibility is inexcuſable; becauſe ye do neither rightly weigh the power, nor the promiſe of your God.

The like ſimilitude uſeth the apoſtle Paul againſt ſuch as called the reſurrection in doubt, becauſe that by natural judgment they could not apprehend that fleſh once putrified, and diſſolved, as it were, in other ſubſtance, ſhould riſe again, and return again to the ſame ſubſtance and nature: 'O fool 'ſaith he), that which thou ſoweſt is not quick-'ened, except it die; and that which thou ſoweſt, 'thou ſoweſt not that body that ſhall be, but bare 'corn, as it falleth, of wheat, or ſome other, but 'God giveth it a body as it pleaſeth him, even to 'every ſeed his own body.' In which words and ſentence, the apoſtle ſharply rebuketh the groſs ignorance of the Corinthians, who began to call in doubt the chief article of our faith, the reſurrection of the fleſh after that it was once diſſolved, becauſe that natural judgment, as he ſaid, reclaimed thereto; he reproveth, I ſay, their groſs ignorance, becauſe they might have ſeen and conſidered ſome proof and document thereof in the very order of nature: for albeit the wheat, or other corn, caſt in the earth, appeareth to die or putrify, and ſo to be loſt, yet we ſee that it is not periſhed, but that it fructifieth according to God's will and ordinance.

Now, if the power of God be ſo manifeſt in raiſing up of the fruits of the earth, unto the which no particular promiſe is made by God, what ſhall be his power and virtue in raiſing up of our bodies, ſeeing that thereto he is bound by the ſolemn promiſe of Jeſus Chriſt his Eternal Wiſdom, and the Verity itſelf that cannot lie? Yea, ſeeing that the members muſt once communicate with the glory of the head, how ſhall our bodies, which are fleſh of his fleſh, and bone of his bones, lie ſtill for ever in corruption, ſeeing that our Head, Jeſus Chriſt, is now exalted in his glory? Neither yet is this power and good-will of God to be reſtrained unto the laſt and general reſurrection only, but we ought to conſider it in the marvellous preſervation of his church, and in the raiſing up of the ſame from the very bottom of death, when by tyrants it hath been oppreſſed from age to age.

Now, of the former words of the prophet, we have to gather this comfort, that if at any time we ſee the face of the church within this realm ſo defaced (as I think it ſhall be ſooner than we look for), when we ſhall ſee, I ſay, virtue to be deſpiſed, vice to be maintained, the verity of God to be impugned, lies and mens inventions holden in authority; and finally, when we ſhall ſee the true religion of our God, and the zealous obſervers of the ſame, to be trodden under the feet of ſuch as in their heart ſay, 'That there is no God,' Pſal. xiv.: let us then call to mind what have been the wonderous works of our God from the beginning; that it is his proper office to bring light out of darkneſs, order out of confuſion, life out of death; and finally, that this is he that calleth things that are not, even as if they were, as before we have heard: and if in the day of our temptation (which in my judgment approacheth faſt) we be thus armed, if our incredulity cannot utterly be removed, yet ſhall it ſo be corrected, that damnable deſpair oppreſs us not. But now let us hear how the prophet proceedeth:

'Come, ſaith he, thou my people, enter with-'in thy chamber, ſhut thy door after thee, hide 'thyſelf a very little while, until the indignation 'paſs over.'

Here the prophet bringeth in God amiably, calling upon his people to come to himſelf, and to reſt with him, until ſuch time as the fury and ſharp plagues ſhould be executed upon the wicked and diſobedient. It may appear at the firſt ſight, that all theſe words of the prophet, in the perſon of God, calling the people unto reſt, are ſpoken in vain; for we neither find chambers, nor reſt, more prepared for the deareſt children of God (ſo far as man's judgment can diſcern) than there was for the rebellious and diſobedient; for ſuch as fell not by the edge of the ſword, or died not of peſtilence,

or by hunger, were either carried captives unto Babylon, or elſe departed after into Egypt, ſo that none of Abraham's ſeed had either chamber or quiet place to remain within the land of Canaan. For the reſolution hereof, we muſt underſtand, That albeit the chambers whereunto God called his choſen be not viſible, yet notwithſtanding they are certain, and offer unto God's children quiet habitation in ſpirit, howſoever the fleſh be travelled and tormented.

The chambers are then God's ſure promiſes, unto which God's people are commanded to reſort; yea, within which they are commanded to cloſe themſelves in the time of greateſt adverſity. The manner of ſpeaking is borrowed from that judgment and foreſight which God hath printed in this our nature; for when that men eſpy great tempeſts appearing to come, willingly they will not remain uncovered upon the fields, but ſtraightway they will draw them to their houſes or holds, that they may eſcape the vehemency of the ſame; and if they fear any enemy to purſue them, they will ſhut their doors, to the end that ſuddenly the enemy ſhould not have entry.

After this manner God ſpeaketh to his people; as if he ſhould ſay, The tempeſt that ſhall come upon this whole nation ſhall be ſo terrible, that nothing ſhall appear but extermination to come upon the whole body: but thou my people, I ſay, that heareſt my word, believeſt the ſame, and trembleſt at the threatenings of my prophets, now when the world doth inſolently reſiſt: let ſuch, I ſay, enter within the ſecret chamber of my promiſes, let them contain themſelves quietly there; yea, let them ſhut the door upon them, and ſuffer not infidelity, the mortal enemy of my truth, and of my people that depend thereupon, to have free entry to trouble them (yea, farther to murder) in my promiſe; and ſo ſhall they perceive that my indignation ſhall paſs, and that ſuch as depend upon me ſhall be ſaved.

Thus we may perceive the meaning of the prophet; whereof we have firſt to obſerve, That God acknowledgeth them for his people, that are in greateſt affliction; yea, ſuch as are reputed unworthy of mens preſence, are yet admitted within the ſecret chamber of God. Let no man think that fleſh and blood can ſuddenly attain to that comfort; and therefore moſt expedient it is, that we be frequently exerciſed in meditation of the ſame. Eaſy it is, I grant, in time of proſperity, to ſay, and to think, That God is our God, and that we are his people; but when he hath given us over into the hands of our enemies, and turned, as it were, his back unto us, then, I ſay, ſtill to reclaim him to be our God, and to have this aſſurance, that we are his people, proceedeth wholly from the Holy Spirit of God, as is the greateſt victory of faith, which overcometh the world; for increaſe whereof, we ought continually to pray.

This doctrine we ſhall not think ſtrange, if we ſhall conſider how ſuddenly our ſpirits are carried away from our God, and from believing his promiſe: ſo ſoon as any great temptation doth apprehend us, then begin we to doubt, if ever we believed God's promiſes, if God will fulfil them to us, if we abide in his favour, if he regardeth and looketh upon the violence and injury that is done unto us; and a multitude of ſuch cogitations, which before lurked quietly in our corrupted hearts, burſt violently forth when we are oppreſſed with any deſperate calamity. Againſt which this is the remedy, once to apprehend, and ſtill to retain God to be our God, and firmly to believe, that we are his people whom he loveth, and will defend, not only in affliction, but even in the midſt of death itſelf.

Secondly, Let us obſerve, That the judgments of our God never were, nor yet ſhall be ſo vehement upon the face of the earth, but that there hath been, and ſhall be, ſome ſecret habitation prepared in the ſanctuary of God, for ſome of his choſen, where they ſhall be preſerved until the indignation paſs by; and that God prepareth a time, that they may glorify him again, before the face of the world, that ſometimes deſpiſed them; and this ought to be unto us no ſmall comfort in theſe appearing dangers, *viz.* that we be ſurely perſuaded, That how vehement ſoever the tempeſt ſhall be, that it yet ſhall paſs over, and ſome of us ſhall be preſerved to glorify the name of our God, as is aforeſaid.

Two vices lurk in this our nature: the one is, That we cannot tremble at God's threatenings, before that the plagues apprehend us, albeit that we ſee cauſe moſt juſt, why that his fierce wrath ſhould burn as a devouring fire; the other is, That when calamities before pronounced, fall upon us, then begin we to ſink down in deſpair, ſo that we never look for any comfortable end of the ſame.

To correct this our mortal infirmity, in time of quietneſs we ought to conſider what is the juſtice of our God, and how odious ſin is; and, above all other, how odious idolatry is in his preſence, who hath forbidden it, and who hath ſo ſeverely puniſhed it in all ages from the beginning: and in the

time of our affliction we ought to conſider, what have been the wonderous works of our God, in preſervation of his church, when it hath been in uttermoſt extremity: for never ſhall we find the church humbled under the hands of traitors, and cruelly tormented by them, but therewith we ſhall find God's juſt vengeance to fall upon the cruel perſecutors, and his merciful deliverance to be ſhewed to the afflicted: and, in taking of this trial, we ſhould not only call to mind the hiſtories of ancient times, but alſo we ſhould diligently mark, what notable works God hath wrought, even in this our age, as well upon the one as upon the other. We ought not to think, that our God beareth leſs love to his church this day, than that he hath done from the beginning; for as our God in his own nature is immutable, ſo remaineth his love towards his elect always unchangeable: for as in Chriſt Jeſus he hath choſen his church, before the beginning of all ages; ſo by him will he maintain and preſerve the ſame unto the end: yea, he will quiet the ſtorms, and cauſe the earth to open her mouth, and receive theſe raging floods of violent waters, caſt out by the dragon, to drown and carry away the woman, which is the ſpouſe of Jeſus Chriſt, unto whom God for his own name's ſake will be the perpetual Protector.

This ſaw that notable ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt, Athanaſius, who (being exiled from Alexandria by that blaſphemous apoſtate Julian the emperor) ſaid unto his flock, who bitterly wept for his envious baniſhment, 'Weep not, but be of good comfort '(ſaid he), for this little cloud will ſuddenly vaniſh.' A little cloud he called both the emperor himſelf and his cruel tyranny: and albeit that ſmall appearance there was of any deliverance to the church of God, or yet of any puniſhment to have apprehended the proud tyrants, when the man of God pronounced theſe words, 'Yet ſhortly after God did 'give witneſs, that thoſe words did not proceed 'from fleſh nor blood, but from God's very Spirit.' For not long after, being in warfare, he received a deadly wound, whether by his own hand, or by one of his own ſoldiers, the writers clearly conclude not; but caſting his own blood againſt the heaven, he ſaid, *Viciſti tandem Galileæ;* that is, 'At laſt 'thou haſt overcome, thou Galilean:' ſo in deſpite he termed the Lord Jeſus; and ſo periſhed that tyrant in his own iniquity: the ſtorm ceaſed, and the church of God received new comfort.

Such ſhall be the end of all cruel perſecutors, their reign ſhall be ſhort, their end miſerable, and their name ſhall be left in execrations to God's people; and yet ſhall the church of God remain to God's glory, after all ſtorms. But now ſhortly, let us come to the laſt point:

'For behold (ſaith the prophet) the Lord will 'come out of his place, to viſit the iniquity of the 'inhabitants of the earth upon them; and the earth 'ſhall diſcloſe her blood, and ſhall no more hide 'her ſlain, ver. 21. Becauſe that the final end of the troubles of God's choſen ſhall not be, before that the Lord Jeſus ſhall return to reſtore all things to their full perfection.

The prophet bringeth forth the eternal God, as it were, from his own place and habitation, and therewith ſheweth the cauſe of his coming to be, that he might take account of all ſuch as have wrought wickedly; for that he meaneth, where he ſaith, 'He will viſit the iniquity of the inhabit-'ants of the earth upon them.' And leſt that any ſhould think, that the wrong doers are ſo many, that they cannot be called to an account, he giveth unto the earth, as it were, an office and charge, to bear witneſs againſt all thoſe that have wrought wickedly, and chiefly againſt thoſe that have ſhed innocent blood from the beginning; and ſaith, 'That the earth ſhall diſcloſe her blood, and ſhall 'no more hide her ſlain men.'

If tyrants of the earth, and ſuch as delight in the ſhedding of blood, ſhould be perſuaded that this ſentence is true, they would not ſo furiouſly come to their own deſtruction; for what man can be ſo enraged, that he would willingly do even before the eyes of God that which might provoke his Majeſty to anger, yea, provoke him to become his enemy for ever, if that he underſtood, how fearful a thing it is to fall into the hands of the Living God?

The cauſe then of this blind fury of the world, is the ignorance of God, and that men think that God is but an idol; and that there is no knowledge above, that beholdeth their tyranny; neither yet juſtice that will, nor power that can repreſs their impiety: but yet the Spirit of Truth doth witneſs the contrary, affirming, That as the eyes of the Lord are upon the juſt, and as his ears are ready to receive their ſobbing and prayers, ſo is his angry viſage againſt ſuch as work iniquity; he hateth and holdeth in abomination every deceitful and blood-thirſty man, whereof he hath given ſufficient document from age to age, in preſerving the one, or at leaſt in revenging of their cauſe, and in puniſhing of the other.

Where it is ſaid, 'That the Lord will come 'from his place, and that he will viſit the iniquity

‘ of the inhabitants of the earth upon them, and ‘ that the earth ſhall diſcloſe her blood ;’ we have to conſider, what moſt commonly hath been, and what ſhall be the condition of the church of God, *viz.* that it is not only hated, mocked, and deſpiſed, but that it is expoſed, as it were in a prey, unto the fury of the wicked ; ſo that the blood of the children of God is ſpilt like unto water upon the face of the earth.

The underſtanding whereof, albeit it be unpleaſant to the fleſh, yet to us it is moſt profitable, leſt that we, ſeeing the cruel treatment of God's ſervants, begin to forſake the ſpouſe of Jeſus Chriſt, becauſe that ſhe is not ſo dealt withal in this unthankful world, as the juſt and upright dealing of God's children do deſerve ; but contrariwiſe, for mercy they receive cruelty, for doing good to many, of all the reprobate they receive evil : and this is decreed in God's eternal council, that the members may follow the trace of the head ; to the end that God in his juſt judgment ſhould finally condemn the wicked : for how ſhould he puniſh the inhabitants of the earth, if their iniquity deſerved it not? How ſhould the earth diſcloſe our blood, if it ſhould not be unjuſtly ſpilt ? We muſt then commit ourſelves into the hands of our God, and lay down our necks ; yea, and patiently ſuffer our blood to be ſhed, that the righteous Judge may require account, as moſt aſſuredly he ſhall, of all the blood that hath been ſhed, from the blood of Abel the Juſt, till the day that the earth ſhall diſcloſe the ſame. I ſay, every one that ſheddeth, or conſenteth to ſhed the blood of God's children, ſhall be guilty of the whole ; ſo that all the blood of God's children ſhall cry vengeance, not only in general, but alſo in particular, upon every one that hath ſhed the blood of any that unjuſtly ſuffered.

And if any think it ſtrange, that ſuch as live this day can be guilty of the blood that was ſhed in the days of the apoſtles, let them conſider, that the Verity itſelf pronounced, That all the blood that was ſhed from the days of Abel, unto the days of Zacharias, ſhould come upon that unthankful generation, that heard his doctrine and refuſed it.

The reaſon is evident ; for as there is two heads and captains that rule over the whole world, *viz.* Jeſus Chriſt, the Prince of juſtice and peace, and Satan, called the Prince of the world, ſo are there but two armies that have continued battle from the beginning, and ſhall fight unto the end : the quarrel is one, which the army of Jeſus Chriſt do ſuſtain, and which the reprobate do perſecute, *viz.* The eternal truth of the eternal God, and the image of Jeſus Chriſt printed in his elect ; ſo that whoſoever in any age perſecuteth any one member of Jeſus Chriſt, for his truth's ſake, ſubſcribeth, as it were, with his hand, the perſecution of all that have paſſed before him.

And this ought the tyrants of this age deeply to conſider ; for they ſhall be guilty, not only of the blood ſhed by themſelves, but of all (as is ſaid) that hath been ſhed for the cauſe of Jeſus Chriſt from the beginning of the world.

Let the faithful not be diſcouraged, although they be appointed as ſheep to the ſlaughter-houſe ; for he, for whoſe ſake they ſuffer, ſhall not forget to revenge their cauſe. I am not ignorant that fleſh and blood will think that kind of ſupport too late, for we had rather be preſerved ſtill alive, than to have our blood revenged after our death : and truly, if our felicity ſtood in this life, or if death temporal ſhould bring unto us any damage, our deſire in that behalf were not to be diſallowed or condemned : but ſeeing that death is common to all, and that this temporal life is nothing but miſery, and that death doth fully join us with our God, and giveth unto us the poſſeſſion of our inheritance, why ſhould we think it ſtrange to leave this world, and go to our Head and ſovereign Captain Jeſus Chriſt ?

Laſtly, We have to obſerve this manner of ſpeaking, where the prophet ſaith, that, ‘ the ‘ earth ſhall diſcloſe her blood :’ in which words the prophet would accuſe the cruelty of thoſe that dare ſo unmercifully and violently force, from the breaſts of the earth, the deareſt children of God, and cruelly cut their throats in her boſom, who is by God appointed the common mother of mankind, ſo that ſhe unwillingly is compelled to open her mouth and receive their blood.

If ſuch tyranny were uſed againſt any natural woman, as violently to pull her infant from her breaſts, cut the throat of it in her own boſom, and compel her to receive the blood of her dear child in her own mouth, all nations would hold the fact ſo abominable, that the like had never been done in the courſe of nature : no leſs wickedneſs commit they that ſhed the blood of God's children upon the face of their common mother, the earth (as I ſaid before) : but be of good courage, O little and deſpiſed flock of Chriſt Jeſus ! for he that ſeeth your grief, hath power to revenge it ; he will not ſuffer one tear of yours to fall, but it ſhall be kept and reſerved in his bottle, till the fulneſs thereof be poured down from heaven, up-

on thoſe that cauſed you to weep and mourn: this your merciful God, I ſay, will not ſuffer your blood for ever to be covered with the earth; nay, the flaming fires that have licked up the blood of any of our brethren; the earth that hath been defiled with it, I ſay, with the blood of God's children; for otherwiſe, to ſhed the blood of the cruel blood-ſhedders, is to purge the land from blood, and as it were to ſanctify it: the earth, I ſay, ſhall purge herſelf of it, and ſhew it before the face of God; yea, the beaſts, fowls, and other creatures whatſoever, ſhall be compelled to render that which they have received, be it fleſh, blood, or bones, that appertained to thy children, O Lord! which altogether thou ſhalt glorify, according to thy promiſe, made to us in our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, thy well-beloved Son; to whom, with thee, and the Holy Ghoſt, be honour, praiſe, and glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

Let us now humble ourſelves in the preſence of our God, and from the bottom of our hearts, let us deſire him to aſſiſt us with the power of his Holy Spirit; that albeit, for our former negligence, God giveth us over into the hands of others than ſuch as rule in his fear, that yet he letteth us not forget his mercy, and that glorious name that hath been proclaimed amongſt us; but that we may look through the dolorous ſtorm of his preſent diſpleaſure, and ſee as well what puniſhment he hath appointed for the cruel tyrants, as what reward he hath laid in ſtore for ſuch as continue in his fear to the end: that it would further pleaſe him to aſſiſt, that albeit we ſee his church ſo diminiſhed, that it appears to be brought (as it were) to utter extermination, that we may be aſſured, that in our God there is great power and will, to increaſe the number of his choſen, until they be enlarged to the uttermoſt parts of the earth: give us, O Lord! hearts to viſit thee in time of affliction; and albeit we ſee no end of our dolours, yet our faith and hope may conduct us to the aſſured hope of that joyful reſurrection, in which we ſhall poſſeſs the fruit of that for which we now labour: in the mean time, grant unto us, O Lord! to repoſe ourſelves in the ſanctuary of thy promiſe, that in thee we may find comfort, till that this thy great indignation (begun amongſt us) may paſs over, and thou thyſelf appear to the comfort of thy afflicted, and to the terror of thine and our enemies.

Let us pray with heart and mouth,

'Almighty God, and merciful Father, &c.
'Lord, into thy hands I commend my ſpirit; for
'the terrible roaring of guns*, and the noiſe of
'armour, do ſo pierce my heart, that my ſoul
'thirſteth to depart.'

The laſt day of Auguſt 1565, *at four of the clock in the afternoon, written indigeſtly, but yet truly, ſo far as memory would ſerve, of thoſe things that in public I ſpake on Sunday, Auguſt* 19; *for which I was diſcharged to preach for a time.*

'Be merciful to thy flock, O Lord! and at thy
'good pleaſure put end to my miſery.'

JOHN KNOX.

* The Caſtle of Edinburgh was ſhooting againſt the exiled for Chriſt Jeſus' ſake.

AN

ADMONITION

TO

ENGLAND and SCOTLAND, to call them to Repentance.

Written by ANTONI GILBY.

WHEREAS many have written many profitable admonitions to you twain (O England and Scotland! both making one iſland moſt happy, if you could know your own happineſs); ſome againſt the government of women, wherewith ye are both plagued; ſome againſt unlawful obedience, and the admitting of ſtrangers to be your kings; ſome declaring the vile nature of the Spaniards, whom thou, O England! to thy deſtruction maintaineſt; ſome the pride of the Frenchmen, whom thou, O Scotland! to thy ruin receiveſt: and many hundreds, with pen, with tongue, with word, with writing, with jeopardy and loſs of lands, goods, and lives, have admoniſhed you both twain of that cankered poiſon of Papiſtry, that ye foſter and pamper to your own perdition and utter deſtruction of ſouls and bodies, of yourſelves and yours for now and ever. I thought it my duty (ſeeing your deſtruction to man's judgment to draw ſo near), how much or little ſoever they have prevailed, yet once again to admoniſh you both, to give teſtimony to that truth, which my brethren have written, and eſpecially to ſtir your hearts to repentance, or at the leaſt to offer myſelf a witneſs againſt you: for the juſtice of God, and his righteous judgments, which doubtleſs (if your hearts be hardened) againſt you both are at hand to be uttered.

Thus by our writings, whom it pleaſeth God to ſtir up of your nations, all men, that now live, and that ſhall come after us, ſhall have cauſe alſo to praiſe the mercy of God, that ſo oft admoniſheth before he do ſtrike, and to conſider his juſt puniſhment, when he ſhall pour forth his vengeance. Give ear therefore betimes, O Britany! (for of that name both rejoiceth) whilſt the Lord calleth, exhorteth, and admoniſheth, that is the acceptable time, when he will be found. If ye refuſe the time offered, ye cannot have it afterwards, though with tears (as did Eſau) ye do ſeem to ſeek it.

Yet once again, in God's behalf, I do offer you the very means, which if God of his mercies grant you grace to follow, I doubt nothing but that of all your enemies ſpeedily ye ſhall be delivered. Ye rejoice at this word, I am ſure, if you have any hope of the performance: then hearken to the matter, which I do write unto you, not forth of mens dreams nor fables, nor forth of profane hiſtories, painted with man's wiſdom, vain eloquence, or ſubtile reaſons; but forth of the infallible truth of God's word, and by ſuch plain demonſtrations as ſhall be able to convince every one of your own conſciences, be he never ſo obſtinate. I will aſk no further judges. Is not this God's curſe and threatening, amongſt many others, pronounced againſt the ſinful land and diſobedient people?

'That ſtrangers ſhould devour the fruit of thy 'land, that the ſtranger ſhould climb above thee, 'and thou ſhould come down and be his inferior; 'he ſhall be the head, and thou the tail. The Lord 'ſhall bring upon thee a people far off, whoſe 'tongue thou canſt not underſtand; thy ſtrong 'walls wherein thou truſted, ſhall be deſtroyed,' &c. And doth not Iſaiah reckon this alſo as the extremity of all plagues, for the wickedneſs of the people, to have 'women raiſed up to rule over 'you?' But what ſaith the ſame prophet, in the beginning of his prophecy, for a remedy againſt theſe and all other evils?

'Your hands are full of blood, ſaith he, O you 'princes of Sodom, and you people of Gomorrah; 'but waſh you, make you clean, take away your 'wicked thoughts forth of my ſight. Ceaſe to do 'evil, learn to do well, ſeek judgment, help the 'oppreſſed, &c.; then will I turn my hand to thee, 'and try out all thy droſs, and take away thy tin, 'and I will reſtore thy judges as afore-time, and 'counſellors as of old.' And Moſes ſaid before in the place alledged, 'That if thou wilt hear the 'voice of the Lord thy God, and do his command-'ments, thou ſhalt be bleſſed in the town, and 'bleſſed in the field. The Lord ſhall cauſe thine 'enemies, that riſe up againſt thee, to fall before 'thee,' &c.

Lo, the way in few words, O Britany! to win God's favour, and therefore to overcome thine enemies. But to print this more deeply into your hearts, O ye princes and people of that iſland! whom God hath begun to puniſh, ſeek, I warn you, no ſhifting holes to excuſe your faults, no political practices to reſiſt God's vengeance.

And firſt, I ſpeak to you (O rulers and princes of both the realms!) repent your treaſon, and bewail your unthankfulneſs: for by no other means can you eſcape God's judgments. You ſtomach, I know, to be called traitors; but what ſhall it avail to ſpare the name, where the facts are more than evident. You hath God erected amongſt your brethren, to the end that by your wiſdom and godly government your ſubjects ſhould be kept as well from domeſtic oppreſſion, as from bondage and ſlavery of ſtrangers. But ye, alas! declining from God, are made the inſtruments to betray and ſell the liberty of thoſe, for whom ye ought to have ſpent your lives: for your conſent and aſſiſtance is the cauſe, that ſtrangers now oppreſs and devour the poor within your realms; who ſhortly, if God call you not to repentance, ſhall recompenſe you as ye have deſerved: for the cup which your brethren do now drink, ſhall be put into your hands, and you ſhall drink the dregs of it to your deſtruction. And wonder it is if ye be become ſo fooliſh and ſo blind, that ye think yourſelves able long to continue, and to be ſafe, when your brethren round about you ſhall periſh; that you can pack your matters well enough with the princes; that ye can make you ſtrong with marriages, with flatteries, and other fond practices; or that with your multitude or ſtrength ye can eſcape the days of vengeance, or that ye can hide yourſelves in holes or corners. Nay though you ſhould hide you in the hills, God can draw you thence; if you had the eagle's wings, to fly beyond the Eaſt Seas, you cannot avoid God's preſence.

Submit yourſelves therefore unto him, which holdeth your breath in your noſtrils, who with one blaſt of his mouth can deſtroy all his enemies. Embrace his Son Chriſt, leſt ye periſh; and for your obſtinacy againſt him and his word, repent betimes, as we all do admoniſh. Repent for your cruelty againſt his ſervants, and the contempt of his word ſo plainly offered, as it was never ſince the beginning of the world. Repent, we cry Repent: for repentance is the only way of your redreſs and deliverance. Did God ever long ſpare any people, whom he hath taught by his prophets, without ſome evident repentance? Or uſeth any father to pardon his child, whom he hath begun to chaſtize, without ſome token of repentance? Conſider how the Lord hath treated Iſrael and Judah his own people: how oft they treſpaſſed, and how he gave them over into the hand of their enemies. But whenſoever they repented, and turned again to God unfeignedly, he ſent them judges and deliverers, kings and ſaviours. This way then of repentance, and unfeigned turning to God by obedience, is the only way before God accepted and allowed. Therefore was Noah ſent to the old world, to bring this doctrine of repentance; and all the old prophets, as Elijah, Eliſha, Iſaiah, Jeremiah, and Malachi; and he, who excelled all the prophets, John the Baptiſt. Any of whoſe ſtyles, and ſharp rebukes of ſinners, if I ſhould now uſe, it would be thought full ſtrange, and hardly would be ſuffered: yet were any of their leſſons, whereby they called to repentance, moſt meet for our time and age, and nothing diſagreeing from this my preſent purpoſe; for the ſame Spirit ſtill ſtriveth againſt the malice of our times, though in diverſe inſtruments, and ſundry ſorts and faſhions. Noah pronounceth,

that within an hundred and twenty years all fleſh ſhould be deſtroyed. We have many Noahs, that ſo crieth in our times, yet no man repenteth. All the time that Noah was preparing for the ark, to avoid God's vengeance, the multitude derided this holy prophet, as the multitude of you two realms doth at this day deride all them that, by obedience to God's word, ſeek the means appointed to avoid God's judgments. Then the people would not repent; but, as they ſhould live for ever, they married, they banqueted, they builded, they planted, deriding God's meſſenger. Do not you the like? I appeal to your own conſciences. You marry, but not in God, but to betray your countries; you banquet and build with the blood of the poor.

The Lord calleth to faſting (ſaith the prophet Iſaiah), to mortify themſelves, and to kill their luſts; but they kill ſheep and bullocks: Jeremiah crieth for tears and lamentation; they laugh and mock: Malachi crieth to the people of his time, 'Turn 'unto me, and I will turn to you, ſaith the Lord 'of Hoſts;' and they proudly anſwer, 'Wherein 'ſhall we return?' Are ye not ſuch? Do not ye aſk, Wherein ſhall we return, when ye will not know your ſins? when ye cannot confeſs nor acknowledge your faults, though ye go a-whoring in every ſtreet, town, and village, with your idols? though the blood of the oppreſſed cry every where againſt you for vengeance? So that ſeeing no token of repentance, I cannot cry unto you with John the Baptiſt, 'O ye generation of vipers! who hath 'taught you to flee from the wrath to come?'

O that I might ſee ſo good tokens, that ye would fear God's wrath and vengeance. But this muſt I ſay to you, both to your confuſion and ſhame, that ye are ſuch vipers and ſerpents, until I ſee better tokens. You do what you can to deſtroy your parents; you caſt off God your heavenly Father; ye will not fear him, calling you to repentance; you deſtroy and baniſh your ſpiritual fathers, who once had begotten you as ſpiritual children by the word of truth; you conſume your country, which hath given you corporal life; you ſting with tongues and tails all that would draw you from your wickedneſs.

Finally, Man, woman, and child, are either venomed with your poiſons, or ſtinged with your tails. In you are fulfilled the words of David; 'Their throat is an open ſepulchre, with their 'tongues they have deceived, the poiſon of aſps is 'under their lips, their mouths are full of curſes 'and bitterneſs, their feet are ſwift to ſhed blood, 'deſtruction and wretchedneſs are in their ways, 'and the way of peace they have not known, the 'fear of God is not before their eyes,' &c.

I do know your tender ears; you cannot be grated with ſuch ſharp ſentences of condemnation, that thus prick you to the hearts: howbeit thus it behoveth, that ye be taught to judge yourſelves, that in the end ye be not condemned with the wicked world. But I will wound you no more with the words of the prophets, with the ſayings of David, or of this holy ſaint of God John the Baptiſt; but with our Saviour Chriſt's two moſt ſweet parables, of the two ſons, and of the huſbandmen, to whom he ſet his vineyard: I will labour to ſet before your eyes your rebellion, hypocriſy, and cruelty, if ſo I can bring any of you to repentance. Our Saviour Chriſt putteth forth this parable; 'A certain man had two ſons: and he 'came to the firſt, and ſaid, Son, go and work to-'day in my vineyard; who anſwered, I will not, 'but afterwards repented and went: then came he 'to the ſecond, and ſaid likewiſe; and he anſwer-'ed, I will, Sir, but went not.'

Wherein a wonderful comfort firſt is to be conſidered, how the Lord our God, Maker of heaven and earth, doth humble himſelf not only to be called a man, a huſbandman, a houſeholder, and ſuch like, but he abaſeth himſelf of mercy to us vile earth and aſhes, that his Son becometh man, to make mankind glorious in his ſight; to make all thoſe that do not refuſe his grace offered, of the ſlaves of Satan, his ſons by adoption. You are his ſons, you are his vineyard, you are as dear unto him as the apple of his eye, as Moſes ſpeaketh, if you can believe it: he ſweareth that you ſhall be his inheritance, and he will be yours, if ye will only receive his grace, and believe him. When he ſweareth, will ye call his truth into doubt? his glory into ſhame by your unbelief? Better it were, that all creatures ſhould periſh, heaven, man, and angels, than that God ſhould not have credit, or that his glory in the leaſt jot ſhould be diminiſhed. He hath called you by his word now many a time to work in his vineyard: I aſk what you have anſwered? Your conſcience can witneſs, and all the world ſeeth it. Some of you have ſaid plainly, like rebellious children, that ye would not do it, that ye would not work in your Father's vineyard.

Shall I apply this part to Scotland? I may right well do it, and alſo to a great part in England. But Scotland indeed called moſt plainly and evidently through the mercies of God, both by their own faithful countrymen, and alſo by earneſt tra-

vel of our Engliſh nation, to come to the Lord's vineyard, in the time of king Edward, hath, to the damage of both, continually refuſed, as the conſcience of many this day beareth witneſs.

That time, as ye know, the vineyard in England, by the children of God, was not altogether neglected; and then moſt earneſtly were ye (O brethren of Scotland!) required to join hands with us in the Lord's work: but Satan, alas! would not ſuffer it. His old foſtered malice, and Antichriſt his ſon, could not abide that Chriſt ſhould grow ſo ſtrong, by joining that iſle together in perfect religion, whom God hath ſo many ways coupled and ſtrengthened by his work in nature. The Papiſts practiſed all their fine crafts in England, Scotland, and in France, that the Goſpellers ſhould not with ſo ſtrong walls be defended, leſt this one iſland ſhould become a ſafe ſanctuary, as it began to be, to all the perſecuted in all places. They move ſturdy ſtomachs, they diſpenſe with perjuries, they work by their crafty confeſſions, they raiſe up war in the end, whereby ye (dear brethren of Scotland) were ſore plagued.

Of all theſe traiterous ſlights ye cannot be ignorant: for yet it is not paſt the memory of man, that your king made promiſe to have met king Henry VIII. at York, whoſe purpoſe (albeit in other things I do not allow him) in that caſe was moſt godly and praiſe-worthy; for it was to make an end of that ungodly war, and cruel murder, which long had continued betwixt the two realms. Your king, I ſay, made promiſe to meet him; the breach whereof, as it was the occaſion of much trouble, ſo is it evidently known, that your cardinal and his clergy laboured and procured the ſame: for it is not unknown to ſome amongſt you, how many thouſand crowns the churchmen did promiſe for maintenance of the war, which king Henry did denounce by reaſon of that breach.

Superfluous it were to me, to recite all the cauſes moving your peſtilent prieſts to ſolicit your king to that infidelity: but this is moſt evident, that they feared nothing but the fall of their glory, and the trouble of their kingdom, which then in England began to be ſhaken, by ſuppreſſing of the abbeys. This moved your prieſts earneſtly to labour, that your king ſhould falſly break his promiſe. But what affliction ye ſuſtained by that, and other of their practices, yourſelves can witneſs: for your borders were deſtroyed, your nobility for the moſt part were taken priſoners, and your king for ſorrow ſuddenly died.

But theſe your miſeries did nothing move your prieſts to repentance; but rather did inflame them againſt God, and againſt the profit of their native realm. For when again after the death of your king, your friendſhip and favours were ſought, firſt by king Henry, and after his death by king Edward his ſon, and by him who then was choſen protector, how craftily, I ſay, did then your prieſts undermine all, ye are not ignorant.

When your governor, with the conſent of the moſt part of the nobility, had ſolemnly ſworn, in the abbey of Holyrood-houſe (Sir Ralph Sadler then being ambaſſador for England), to perform the marriage contracted betwixt king Edward and your young queen, and faithfully to ſtand to every point concluded and agreed for performance of that union, when ſeals were interchanged, and the ambaſſador diſmiſſed, what ſtir, tumult, and ſedition, raiſed your cardinal in that your realm, it is not unknown; *viz.* how that by his craft and malice the realm was divided, the governor compelled to ſeek his favour, to violate his oath, and ſo to become infamous for ever. And, finally, by the pride of the Papiſts was that league broken.

But what did thereof enſue? Edinburgh, Leith, Dundee, yea, the moſt part of the realm did feel: your ſhips were ſtaid, your goods were loſt, your chief towns were burnt, and at the end the beauty of your realm did fall by the edge of the ſword; the hand of God manifeſtly fighting againſt you, becauſe, againſt your ſolemn oath, ye did fight againſt them who ſought your favours by that godly conjunction, which before was promiſed. But ſtill proceeded your enemies the clergy, and their adherents in their purpoſed malice. Wonder not that I term them your enemies: for albeit they be your countrymen, yet becauſe they ſeek nothing more than the maintenance of their own kingdom, which is the power of darkneſs, and the kingdom of Antichriſt, they are become conjured enemies to every city, nation, or man, that labour to come to the knowledge of the truth. That peſtilent generation, I ſay, did not ceaſe, till they obtained their purpoſe, by delivering your young queen into the hands of the French king, aſſuredly minding, by that means, to cut for ever the knot of the friendſhip that might have enfued betwixt England and Scotland by that godly conjunction. What the Papiſts feared is manifeſt: for then Chriſt Jeſus, being more purely preached in England than at any time before, would ſhortly have ſuppreſſed their pride and vain glory; and therefore they raged, that he ſhould not reign above them alſo.

But what is like to apprehend you, becauſe ye did not betimes withſtand their moſt wicked counſels, wiſe men do conſider. How heavy and unpleaſant ſhall the burden and yoke of a Frenchman be to your ſhoulders and necks, God grant that experience do not teach you.

But to return to my former purpoſe, by all thoſe means rehearſed, by his meſſengers, by the blood of his ſaints ſhed amongſt you, by favours and friendſhip, by war and the ſword, yea, by famine and peſtilence, and all other means, hath God, your merciful Father, called you to labour in his vineyard; but to this day, alas! we hear not of your humble obedience; but ſtill ye ſay with ſtubborn faces, we will not labour, we will not be bound to ſuch thraldom, to abide the burdens of the vineyard. Ye think perchance I am too ſharp, and that I accuſe you more than you deſerve: for amongſt you many do know the will of your Father, and many make profeſſion of his goſpel: but conſider, brethren, that it is not enough to know the commandment, and to profeſs the ſame in mouth; but it is neceſſary, that ye refuſe yourſelves your own pleaſures, appetites, and your own wiſdom, if ye ſhall be judged faithful labourers in the Lord's vineyard; and that ye bear the burdens together with your brethren, and ſuffer heat and ſweat, before ye taſte the fruits with them. God will not ſtand content, that ye look over the hedge, and behold the labours of your brethren: but he requireth, that ye put your hands alſo to your labours; that ye travel continually to pluck up all unprofitable weeds, albeit in ſo doing the thorns prick you to the hard bones; that ye aſſiſt your brethren in their labours, though it be to the hazard of your lives, the loſs of your ſubſtance, and diſpleaſure of the whole earth. Except that thus ye be minded to labour, the Lord of the vineyard will not acknowledge you for his faithful ſervants. And becauſe this matter is of weight and great importance, I will ſpeak ſomewhat more plainly for your inſtruction.

It is reported (to the great comfort of all godly that hear it), that ſome of you (dear brethren of Scotland) do deſire Chriſt Jeſus to be faithfully preached amongſt you; which thing if from the heart you deſire, and with godly wiſdom and ſtout courage follow your purpoſe and enterpriſe, ye ſhall be bleſſed of the Lord for ever. But in the beginning ye muſt beware, that ye follow not the example of your brethren of England, in whoſe hands albeit the work of the Lord appeared to proſper for a time, yet becauſe the eye was not ſingle, we ſee to our grief the overthrow of the ſame. They began to plant Chriſt Jeſus in the hearts of the people, and to baniſh that Romiſh Antichriſt, they did drive out the filthy ſwine from their dens and holes (I mean the monks, and other ſuch Papiſtical vermin, from their cloiſters and abbeys).

This was a good beginning; but, alas! in the one and the other there was great fault: for the baniſhing of that Romiſh Antichriſt was rather by the fear of the laws pronounced againſt him by acts of parliament, than by the lively preaching of Chriſt Jeſus, and by the diſcovering of his abominations; and the ſuppreſſion of the abbeys did rather ſmell of avarice, than of true religion. Thoſe venomous locuſts, which before were held within their cloiſters, were then ſent abroad, to deſtroy all good and green herbs: for ſuperſtitious friars, ignorant monks, and idle abbots, were made archbiſhops, biſhops, parſons, vicars, and ſuch as ought to feed the ſouls of men; who thus ſet at liberty, did continually root up the Lord's vineyard. And one crafty gardiner, whoſe name was Stephen, having wolf-like conditions, did maintain many a wolf, did ſow wicked ſeed in the garden, and cheriſhed many weeds to deface the vineyard: and his maid Mary, who after was his miſtreſs, now married to Philip, wanting no will to wickedneſs when ſhe was at the weakeſt, nor ſtomach to do evil when ſhe got the maſtery, did cheriſh many weeds.

Thoſe two, I ſay, have ſo broken the hedges of the ſame vineyard (God ſo puniſhing the ſins of thoſe that ought to have made better proviſion for the ſame), that the huſbandmen are hanged up, the diggers, dreſſers, and planters, are baniſhed, impriſoned, and burned. Such havock is made, that all wild beaſts have power to pollute the ſanctuary of the Lord.

O heavens! behold her cruelty; O earth! cry for vengeance; O ſeas, and deſert mountains, witneſſes of her wickedneſs! break forth againſt this monſter of England. But whether do I run, by the bitterneſs of my grief! I muſt needs leave thee, O Scotland! after that I have advertiſed thee of this, that thou follow not the example, as I have ſaid, of England: but, in the bowels of Chriſt Jeſus, I exhort thee, that if thou pretendeſt to any reformation in religion, which is the chief labour of the vineyard, that thou do it at the firſt with a ſingle eye, and all ſimplicity, that from year to year thou be not compelled to change, as was England; but let thy reformation be full and plain, ac-

cording to God's holy will and word, without addition. Let all the plants, which thy heavenly Father hath not planted, be rooted out at once; let not avarice blind thee, neither yet worldly wiſdom diſcourage thy heart; let none bear the name of a teacher, that is known to be a foſterer of ſuperſtition, or any kind of wickedneſs: and thou, ſo doing, ſhalt move God, of his great mercy, to ſend unto thee faithful workmen in abundance, to bleſs the work, that thou pretendeſt in the vineyard; and to preſerve thee to the glory of his own name, and to thy everlaſting comfort. Thus muſt thou, Scotland, repent thy former diſobedience, if that thou wilt be approved of the Lord.

And now do I return to thee, O England! I do liken thee to the ſecond ſon in the parable, who anſwered his father with flattering words, ſaying, 'I go, father, but yet he went not at all:' for ſince the time that I had any remembrance, our heavenly Father, of his great mercy, hath not ceaſed to call thee into his vineyard; and to theſe late days thou haſt ſaid always, That thou wouldſt enter, and be obedient.

In the time of king Henry VIII. when, by Tindal, Frith, Bilney, and other faithful ſervants, God called England to dreſs his vineyard, many promiſed full fair, whom I could name. But what fruit followed? Nothing but bitter grapes, yea, briars and brambles, the wormwood of avarice, the gall of cruelty, the poiſon of filthy fornication, flowing from head to foot, the contempt of God, and open defence of the cake-idol, by open proclamation to be read in the churches inſtead of God's Scriptures. Thus was there no reformation, but a deformation, in the time of that tyrant and leacherous monſter. The boar, I grant, was buſy rooting and digging in the earth, and all his pigs that followed him: but they ſought only for the pleaſant fruits, that they winded with their long ſnouts: and for their own bellies ſake, they rooted up many weeds; but they turned the ground ſo, mingling good and bad together, ſweet and ſour, medicine and poiſon, they made, I ſay, ſuch confuſion of religion and laws, that no good thing could grow, but by great miracle, under ſuch gardiners. And no marvel, if it be rightly conſidered: for this boar raged againſt God, againſt devil, againſt Chriſt, and againſt Antichriſt; as the foam that he caſt out againſt Luther; the eraſing of the name of the pope, and yet allowing his laws; and his murder of many Chriſtian ſoldiers, and of many Papiſts; do clearly and evidently teſtify unto us: eſpecially the burning of Barnes, Hierome, and Garret, three faithful preachers of the truth; and hanging, the ſame day, for maintenance of the pope, Powel, Abel, and Fetherſtone; do clearly paint his beaſtlineſs, that he cared for no manner of religion. This monſtrous boar, for all this, muſt needs be called the Head of the church, on pain of treaſon; diſplacing Chriſt, our only Head, who ought alone to have this title.

Wherefore, in this point (O England!) ye were no better than the Romiſh Antichriſt, who by the ſame title maketh himſelf a god, ſitteth in mens conſciences, baniſheth the word of God, as did your king Henry, whom ye ſo magnify: for in his beſt time nothing was heard, but the king's book, and the king's proceedings, the king's homilies in the churches, where God's word ſhould only have been preached. So made you your king a god, believing nothing but what he allowed. But how he died I will not write for ſhame; I will not name how he turned to his vomit; I will not write your other wickedneſs of thoſe times, your murders without meaſure, adulteries and inceſts of your king, his lords and commons. It grieveth me to write thoſe evils of my country, ſave only that I muſt needs declare, what fruits were found in the vineyard after you promiſed to work therein, to move you to repentance, and to juſtify God's judgments, how grievouſly ſoever he ſhall plague you hereafter. Wherefore I deſire you to call to remembrance your beſt ſtate under king Edward, when all men, with general conſent, promiſed to work in the vineyard; and ye ſhall have cauſe, I doubt not, to lament your wickedneſs, that ſo contemned the voice of God for your own luſts, for your cruelty, for your covetouſneſs, that the name of God was, by your vanities, evil ſpoken of in other nations. I will name no particular things, becauſe I reverence thoſe times, ſave only the killing of both the king's uncles, and the impriſonment of Hoper for Popiſh garments. God grant you all repenting hearts; for no order nor ſtate did any part of his duty in thoſe days. But to ſpeak of the beſt, whereof ye uſed to boaſt; your religion was but an Engliſh mattins, patched forth of the pope's porteſs; many things were in your great book ſuperſtitious and fooliſh; all were driven to a preſcript-ſervice, like the Papiſts, that they ſhould think their duties diſcharged, if the number were ſaid of pſalms and chapters.

Finally, There could no diſcipline be brought into the church, nor correction of manners. I will touch no further abuſes, yet willing and de-

ſtring you to conſider them in your hearts, that knowing your negligence ye may bring forth fruits of repentance. For this I admoniſh you (O ye people of England!) whereſoever you be ſcattered or placed, that unleſs ye do right ſpeedily repent of your former negligence, it is not the Spaniards only that ye have to fear, as rods of God's wrath, but all other nations, France, Turkey, and Denmark; yea, all creatures ſhall be armed againſt you, for the contempt of thoſe times, when your heavenly Father ſo mercifully called you. To what contempt was God's word, and the admonition of his prophets, come in all eſtates, before God did ſtrike, ſome men are not ignorant. The preachers themſelves, for the moſt part, could find no fault in religion, but that the church was poor, and lacked living. Truth it is, that the abbey-lands, and other ſuch revenues, as before appertained to the Papiſtical church, were moſt wickedly and ungodlily ſpent; but yet many things would have been reformed, before that the kitchen had been better provided for to our prelates in England. It was moſt evident, that many of you, under the cloak of religion, ſerved your own bellies; ſome were ſo buſy to heap benefice upon benefice, ſome to labour in parliament for purchaſing of lands, that the time was ſmall which could be found for the reformation of abuſes, and very little which was ſpent upon the feeding of your flocks. I need not now to examine particular crimes of preachers. Only, I ſay, that the goſpel was ſo lightly eſteemed, that the moſt part of men thought rather that God ſhould bow and obey to their appetites, than that they ſhould be ſubject to his holy commandments: for the commons did continue in malice and rebellion, in craft and ſubtilty, notwithſtanding all laws that could be deviſed for reformation of abuſes; the merchants had their own ſouls to ſell for gain; the gentlemen were become Nimrods and giants; and the nobility and council would ſuffer no rebukes of God's meſſengers, though their offences were never ſo manifeſt. Let thoſe that preached in the court, the Lent before king Edward died, ſpeak their conſcience, and accuſe me, if I lie; yea, let a writing written by that miſerable man, then duke of Northumberland, to maſter Harlow, for that time biſhop of Harford, be brought to light; and it ſhall teſtify, that he was not aſhamed to ſay, That the liberty of the preachers tongues would cauſe the council and nobility to riſe up againſt them; for they could not ſuffer themſelves ſo to be treated.

Theſe were the fruits even in the time of harveſt, a little before the winter came. And of the time of Mary, what ſhould I write? England is now ſo miſerable, that no pen can paint it. It ceaſeth to be in the number of children, becauſe it openly deſpiſeth God the Father. It hath caſt off the truth known and confeſſed, and followeth lies and errors, which once it deteſted. It buildeth the building, which it once deſtroyed: it raiſeth up the idols, which once were there confounded: it murdereth the ſaints: it maintaineth Baal's prophets by the commandment of Jezebel. Such are the evil huſbandmen that now haunt the vineyard, ſo that this is true that our Saviour Chriſt ſaith, 'The Lord himſelf hath planted a fair vine-'yard; he hedged it round about, and builded a 'tower, &c.: and when the time of the fruit 'drew near, he ſent his ſervants to the huſband-'men, to receive the fruits thereof; but they 'caught his ſervants, they beat one, they killed 'another, and ſtoned others. Again he ſent 'other ſervants more, and they ſerved them like-'wiſe.'

What need any expoſition to apply this unto England? All is fulfilled that is ſpoken in that parable, unleſs they do wait for the Son himſelf for to come, that they may handle him likewiſe, as they have done his ſervants. But all is one, ſaith our Saviour Chriſt; 'That which ye do to 'one of theſe little ones, the ſame ye do to me,' be it good or bad. 'Why doſt thou perſecute me,' ſaith Chriſt to Saul, when he was, as he now is, at the right hand of God his Father in the heavens. Therefore they perſecute, they baniſh, they burn Chriſt the Son of God in his members. The judgment therefore now remaineth, which the wicked then gave againſt themſelves, That 'the 'Lord of the vineyard will cruelly deſtroy thoſe 'evil perſons, and will let forth his vineyard unto 'other huſbandmen:' and the confirmation of the ſame by the ſentence of the chief Judge, that 'the kingdom of God ſhall be taken from ſuch, 'and given to a people that ſhall bring forth the 'fruits thereof:' which judgment is begun in England, and ſhortly, alas! will be fully executed and finiſhed, without right ſpeedy repentance. Some hope is in Scotland, which hath not ſhewed forth any ſuch cruelty, and hath not contemned the known treaſures; but, like wanton children, have contemned the commandment of their father, partly of frailty, partly of ignorance. But England, the ſervant that knew the will of his

Lord and Maſter, which was once lightened with moſt clear beams, which hath taſted of the ſweetneſs of the word of God, and of the joys of the world to come, which hath abjured Antichriſt, and all idolatry, which hath boaſted to profeſs Chriſt with great boldneſs before all the world, muſt be beaten with many ſtripes; it cannot be avoided.

But to be ſhort, this only remaineth for both theſe nations, that they repent and return into the vineyard, with the firſt ſon: for neither ſhall ignorance excuſe any land or nation, as is plain in the firſt of the Romans; neither can any people be received without the fruits of repentance, as John the Baptiſt proclaimeth.

The fruits of repentance I call, not only to know your ſins, and to lament them, but to amend your lives, and make ſtraight the Lord's paths, by reſiſting Satan and ſin, and obeying God, in doing the works of righteouſneſs, and executing God's precepts and judgments, ſo long amongſt you contemned: 'For even now is the ax put to the root 'of the tree, ſo that every tree that bringeth not 'forth good fruit, ſhall be hewn down, and caſt 'into the fire. The Lord hath now his fan in his 'hand, and will purge his flour, and gather the 'wheat into his garner, but will burn the chaff 'with unquenchable fire.'

Repent therefore, whilſt ye have time, before ye be fanned, hewn down, and fired. When I do behold both your two realms, I ſee the fan, I ſee the ax. But this I am ſure is the beginning of your ruin, that ye do marry with ſtrangers, and give your power to foreign nations, ſuch as fear not God, but are open idolaters, blaſphemers, perſecutors of the ſaints of God, that careth neither for heaven nor hell, God nor devil, ſo that they may win lands, towns, and countries. God ſhall hew you down by them therefore, as he hath done other nations by like means and cauſes; and they ſhall fan you forth of your own huſks and homes, to make you vagabonds and beggars, and after poſſeſs your lands and goods, as God threatened by Moſes, as was before alledged. Truſt not to thy ſtrength afterward, when thy enemy is ſettled, if thou have no ſtrength to reſiſt his beginnings, no more than thou canſt overcome a canker that hath over-run many members. That God would not have you to truſt to your force of men, towns, or caſtles, there are examples enough; that you both have felt to your grief; and I cannot write without mourning: for how little availed the multitude and ſtout courage of you, dear brethren of Scotland, at Muſſelburgh, or Pinkfield, the carcaſes, alas! of many thouſands, who that day fell on the edge of the ſword, may teach you: and how vain are all ſtrengths, be they judged never ſo ſtrong or invincible? let Calais lately taken, admoniſh you.

But I do leave ſuch examples to your conſiderations, to teach you to call to the Living Lord, who offereth himſelf, as a merciful Father unto you, ſtill calling you to repentance by words, by writings, and moſt gentle corrections, if ye will not be hard-hearted.

Yet here have we to lament the miſerable ſtate of mankind, who are ſo ſeduced by the ſubtile ſerpent, that they cannot know their miſery, when they are admoniſhed, nor perceive their perdition, when it draweth ſo near. When the ſervants of God ſet forth his truth, they are charged to trouble realms and countries, as was Elijah: when they warn men not to join hands with wicked kings and princes, they are counted traitors, as was Iſaiah and Jeremiah. Such is man's malice. But if there be a God, who is firſt of all to be ſought, and without whom nothing can be profitable unto us, but without him all things are unhappy and accurſed; if the kingdom of God, and the righteouſneſs thereof, muſt firſt be ſought, and then all things ſhall be miniſtered; if our heavenly King muſt before man be obeyed, then all ſuch doctrine, as calleth us from man to God, is eaſy to be perceived, and ought not to be reſiſted.

Wherefore I do admoniſh and exhort you both, in the name of the Living God, that howſoever you have hitherto ſhewed yourſelves the ſervants of men, to bear and to flatter with the world, that now ye learn, in God's cauſe, to deſpiſe the faces of men, to bend yourſelves againſt this wicked world, neither regarding the viſards of honours, vain titles, nor dignities, any further than they ſeek God's only glory; for his glory will he not ſuffer to be contemned for any cauſe: no, he will pour contempt on thoſe princes that ſtrive againſt his truth; but thoſe that glorify him, will he glorify. And what kingdom, realm, or nation, ſoever it be, that will not ſeek to ſanctify his name, they ſhall, in the day of God's grievous viſitation, which is now at hand, be utterly confounded; their ſtrength ſhall be ſtraw, their honours ſhall be ſhame, and all their idolatrous prieſts, in whoſe lies they delight, together with their idols, with

whom they are bewitched, ſhall be ſtubble and brimſtone to burn together, when the wrath of the Lord of Hoſts ſhall ſet them on fire. The prieſts ſhall not ſave their gods, nor the gods their worſhippers, but both alike accurſed ſhall they periſh for ever. And though our merciful Father hath long ſuffered heretofore in the time of ignorance, yet now, in the end of the world, he calleth all people ſo plainly by his word to repentance, that he muſt needs take ſpeedy vengeance, if his calling be contemned, eſpecially becauſe the day cannot long be delayed, wherein he hath determined to judge all people and nations of the whole world, and to put an end to wickedneſs.

Wherefore to conclude, Behold, your only remedy remaineth, to repent your time of ignorance, of ſtubbornneſs, of cruelty, of idolatry, wherein ye have ſo long continued; and now with all diligence to ſeek for knowledge of the word of God, and openly to profeſs the goſpel, which is the power of God, whereof ye ought not to be aſhamed. Ceaſe at the laſt from your old ſtubbornneſs, whereby ye have deſerved vengeance; and labour in the vineyard with all meekneſs, that ye may receive mercy and grace: ceaſe from your cruelty againſt Chriſt's members, and learn to ſuffer for Chriſt's ſake, if ye will be true Chriſtians: baniſh all idolatry and Popiſh ſuperſtition from amongſt you, elſe can you have no part in Chriſt's kingdom, no more than Chriſt can be partaker with Antichriſt. Pray to the Lord of Hoſts and Armies, to give you the courage, ſtrength, and means. The Lord's arm is not ſhortened now, no more than of old. Be ſtrong therefore in the Lord, for the defence of the truth, though all the world riſe againſt it. Now when the battle is fierce againſt the Living God for dead idols (even for the vile wafer-cake, the moſt vain idol that ever was), againſt the goſpel of Chriſt for the inventions of Antichriſt, againſt Chriſt's members for Popiſh ceremonies, can any of you, that will be counted God's children, ſtill halt on both hands? If that cake baked in iron tongs, not able to abide a blaſt of wind, be the eternal God, follow it; but if he only be God, that hath created the heavens, abhor ſuch vile idols, that have no force to ſave themſelves: if Chriſt's goſpel and doctrine be ſufficient to ſalvation, and by receiving of it ye are called Chriſtians, away with all Antichriſt's inventions, brought into your Romiſh churches: if you hope to have any part with Chriſt, cheriſh his members, and maintain them againſt their enemies the Papiſts, and the biſhop of Rome the very Antichriſt.

What ſtrength, what force, what power, what counſel ſoever ye have of God, bend all to this end and purpoſe, as ye will make anſwer to your heavenly King for the talent received. If you have no regard to thoſe principal points, which only or chiefly ſhould be before your eyes, go on with your foreign marriages; join France to Scotland, and Spain to England, if it be poſſible, yet ſhall ye all be confounded. The Lord ſhall plague you one with another, until you be conſumed; your ſtrength, wherein ye truſt, ſhall be ſhaken to nought; your courage ſhall be cowardice; your wiſdom ſhall be folly; and the Lord of Hoſts, by your ruin and deſtruction, will be renowned and praiſed, and his juſt judgments throughout the earth ſhall be honoured and feared.

Whereas, on the contrary, if you will maintain God's truth on the earth, he will receive you as his children into the heavens: if you confeſs his Chriſt before this wicked generation, Chriſt ſhall confeſs you before his Father in the heavens, in the preſence of his angels. But if you perſiſt ſtubbornly to baniſh God's word, and his Son Chriſt in his members, forth of your earthly kingdoms, how can ye look for any part in his heavenly kingdom! Much more if ye continue to murder his meſſengers, what can ye look for amongſt yourſelves, but that ye ſhould dig one in another's belly to be your own murderers? So that if ye will ſtill remain, after all theſe admonitions, in your murders and idolatries, be aſſured, that in this world you ſhall have enough of your idolatries, and ſhall be filled with bloody murders; and, in the end, ye ſhall be 'judged without the gates of 'the heavenly Jeruſalem, amongſt the dogs, en-'chanters, whoremongers, and murderers, and 'idolaters, with all thoſe that loveth lies. But he 'that overcometh all theſe, ſhall inherit all things; 'and I will be his God, ſaith the Lord, and he 'ſhall be my ſon. Whereas the fearful in God's 'cauſe, the unbelieving, the abominable, the mur-'derers, whoremongers, ſorcerers, and idolaters, 'ſhall have their part in the lake that burneth 'with fire and brimſtone.'

Lo, here is the choice of life and death, of miſery and wealth, offered unto you by God's mercies, and the means how you may win God's favour opened, whereby only ye may prevail againſt your enemies! God grant you hearts to anſwer as the people did to Joſhua, offer-

ing the like choice; 'God forbid (ſay they) 'that we ſhould forſake God; we will ſerve the 'Lord our God, and obey his voice, for he is our 'God.'

And we, your baniſhed brethren, by the power of God, to provoke you forward, will thus pronounce with Joſhua, 'That we, and our families, 'will ſerve the Lord God, though all nations run 'to idols,' though all people do perſecute us. We know that Satan hath but a ſhort time to rage; and that Chriſt, our Captain, right ſpeedily will crown his ſoldiers: to whom, as he is the eternal God with his Father, be all honour and glory, for ever and ever. So be it.

485

THE

FIRST AND SECOND BOOKS OF DISCIPLINE:

TOGETHER WITH SOME

ACTS

OF THE

GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

CLEARING AND CONFIRMING THE SAME:

AND AN

ACT OF PARLIAMENT.

According to all that I ſhew thee, after the pattern of the tabernacle, and the pattern of all the inſtruments thereof, even ſo ſhall ye make it. Exod. xxv. 9.

THE

PREFACE.

AFTER theſe dark and dreadful days of barbarous blindneſs and ſuperſtition, wherein by the deceit of dumb dogs, bloody wars for many years had covered the face of this land, it pleaſed the bountifulneſs of God, in that riches of his love, as not regarding the time of former ignorance, with a marvellous mercy to viſit this realm, by ſending, not one Jonah to ſuch a Nineveh, or one Philip to ſuch a Samaria, but firſt few, ſince many, and all faithful, holy, wiſe, ſpeedily to preach the goſpel in Scotland, as in another Antioch. At the terror of theſe trumpets, like ſmoke before the wind, were quickly driven away, not only the darkneſs of idolatry, and damnable diſſenſion among the members of this kingdom, wherein conſiſted the ſtrength of that bloody beaſt, by whoſe tyrannous cruelty, and deceivable ways, princes and people were ſhamefully abuſed, and often compelled, with the claws of violence, to ſhed the blood of the ſaints, yea, to keep the Book of the unchangeable Teſtament of Jeſus Chriſt, under the cover of a ſtrange tongue, as a claſped book, that it ſhould not be read: but alſo, many of that Antichriſtian ſect, who, in the time of perſecution, had uſed the curious arts of that kingdom of lies, and ſervice of Baal, were turned to the truth of God, and preached the word of his grace; ſo that in a ſhort time that Romiſh Jericho fell, the people that ſat in darkneſs ſaw a great light, and where the power of Satan had prevailed, the throne of Chriſt was ſet up, the word increaſed, and the Lord added to the kirk from day to day ſuch as were to be ſaved; ſo magnifying the ſtrength of his own arm againſt his enemies, in that proſperous time, that neither proud Anakims, nor crafty Gibeonites, were able to ſtand before the Spirit that ſpake in theſe men of God, when they were but few: and though they walked in the fleſh, yet did they not war after the fleſh; but by the ſpiritual arms of bold preaching, reverend miniſtration of the ſacraments, and ſincere ruling of the flock of Chriſt with diſcretion, and without partiality, and always praying, and often faſting, they baniſhed Atheiſm, barbarity, and Papiſtry, quenched the fire of contentions, prevented dangers, planted the kirks, teached and perſuaded great and ſmall, poor and rich, and perſons of all eſtates, to profeſs the goſpel. And howſoever they were daily croſſed with deceit and oppoſition, ſo led they diverſity in the hand of amity, that all things concerning the great work of that glorious reformation, to the praiſe of God, and the comfort of the godly, were wiſely and firmly appointed. In thoſe happy days, the ſervants of the Lord, in love were like Jonathan and David; in courage, like Gideon's three hundred; in unity, like the ſaints that firſt received the goſpel; in care and diligence, like the builders of the wall of Jeruſalem; and ſo marching like the Lord's armies. Then were they neither deſpiſed nor abhorred, but received as the angels of God; and yet in the Lord's troops, neither for work nor war were there to be found any pompous prelate, abbot, prior, biſhop, or archbiſhop, that loves to ſhine in dignity, and rejoice in rent, with the contempt of their brethren, and neglect of the Lord's ſervice. O Scotland! What was then thy felicity? Then didſt thou ſing and ſhout with the voice of joy, 'God will ariſe, 'and his enemies ſhall be ſcattered; they alſo that hate him ſhall fly before him. Thou 'haſt brought a vine out of Egypt. Thou haſt caſt out the Heathen, and planted it. Thou 'madeſt room for it, and didſt cauſe it to take root, and it filled the land,' &c.

The ſuperſtitious ignorant, the perverſe Papiſt, the crafty paraſite, and the ſelf-loving politician, the Chriſtian-coloured belly-god, and the looſe liver, the time-ſerver, and all the ſorts of that filthy ſect, that hate to be reformed, often conſpired againſt the building of that glorious temple, but all in vain; for by the power of God they were diſappointed. Yet, in theſe laſt days, ſome dangerous Delilah hath betrayed Sampſon, and told wherein his ſtrength lay, with no leſs hurt to this kirk, than was performed by the falſe brethren, who were craftily ſent in, and crept in privily, among the faithful, to ſpy out their liberty which they had in Chriſt Jeſus, that they might bring them unto bondage. It is clearly known to many in this kingdom, and in foreign parts, what a wall for defence, and a band for peace, and progreſs of the goſpel, was that heavenly diſcipline, whereby brotherly amity, and ſacred harmony of prince, paſtors, and profeſſors, were ſo continued and increaſed, that all, as one man, did ſtand together for the doctrine, ſacraments, and kirk-government, againſt the adverſaries, either lurking or profeſſed. It was the hedge of the Lord's vineyard, and the hammer whereby the horns, both of adverſaries and diſobeyers, were beaten and broken. And of this happy mean it might be truly ſaid, That in the ſtrength of it, more than by our own virtue, were we ſtrong, and prevailed. And to ſharpen our love, it is thus written, by a ſtranger, but a friend; 'Albeit it be neceſſary, that they who have their city 'in heaven, repoſe altogether thereupon, yet nothing ſhould let us to behold, as it were 'heaven upon earth, that is, the power of God in his own, &c. By moſt evident reaſons 'I judge the kirk of Scotland to be of this ſort: in which the many mighty and long con-'tinuing aſſaults of Satan, the like whereof, as I think, no nation ſuſtained, could neither 'defile the purity of doctrine, nor bow the rule of right diſcipline. This is a great gift of 'God, that he hath brought together to Scotland, both the purity of religion and diſcipline, 'whereby, as in a bond, the doctrine is ſafely kept. I pray and beſeech you ſo to keep 'theſe two together, as that ye may be aſſured, that if the one fall, the other can no ways 'long ſtand.'

It cannot be denied, but by the ſpace of fifty years and above, Scotland ran well, the doctrine was in ſuch ſort preached, and diſcipline appointed and practiſed; yea, both profeſſed, eſtabliſhed, and conſtantly defended; not only by thoſe faithful men, that went before, but by them who followed, and yet live, in ſuch concord of kirk, and policy, that the like thereof is ſcarcely to be found in ſtory, or ſeen with eyes in any nation, ſince the revelation of the myſtery of the goſpel to the firſt apoſtles. But now of late, with pity to ſpeak it, no uncircumciſed Philiſtine or Aſſyrian, but ſome of the diſciples, deſirous to ſit at the right hand, and pretending to reſtore again the kingdom to Iſrael, the kirk to her old rents and privileges, at firſt did minch and ſparingly ſpeak, but afterward practiſe and loudly preach, that except, after the manner of other nations, the kirk of Scotland admitted again prelates, the princes of that wicked hierarchy, with ſome untruſty traditions, and change of things indifferent, as they term them, but in effect the diſgracing of paſtors, ejecting of elders, deſtroying of aſſemblies, and faſhioning doctrine, diſcipline, ſacraments, confeſſions of faith, forms of prayer, and all in a new ſhape; it cannot be ſaved, nor vindicated from poverty and contempt, but by the means of this malady obtruded for a remedy. Not only theſe evils, howſoever at the beginning ſeeming ſmall, hath ſo grown, that, like nettles in a foul ground, they not only bud and bloom, but abundantly bring forth diviſions, diſſenſions, and unkindly contentions among brethren, to the great joy of the enemies, and grief and offence of them that fear God. This ſtrange fire hath entered in the city of God, and horribly burns on; and yet is it ſo, that ſuch as may will not, and ſuch as are willing can not, and they that ſhould be firſt are leaſt zealous and forward to offer their

pains, either to clear and defend the truth, to pacify their brethren, or to plead the cauſe of diſcipline againſt the calumnies and cavillings of ſuch as, by promoting of novelties, ſeek promotion; but uncharitable ſpeeches, and peſtiferous pens of diſſenſion, fretting as a canker, increaſeth unto more ungodlineſs; dangerous diſſolution, the daughter of diviſion, and the undoubted forerunner of deſolation, daily proclaims the defacing, if not the fall of this reformed kirk: as if no care ſhould be taken that the ſpouſe of Jeſus Chriſt, who ſo long, like a chaſte virgin, hath ſhined in purity before her Lord in this land, ſhould now be ſtained with Korah's ambition, Balaam's wages, and Eſau's profaneneſs, altar againſt altar, and brother againſt brother. In this caſe ſo pitiful, and good cauſe ſo univerſally neglected, if not deſerted, it ſhould be our hearts deſire, and prayer to God, to be found faithful, when with grief we may juſtly ſay of the old friends, and new adverſaries of diſcipline, 'It is time for the Lord to work, for they have deſtroyed thy laws;' and of her conſtant friends boldly avow, 'Therefore love they thy commandments above gold, yea, 'above moſt fine gold.' Could this pragmatical courſe of dangerous deſertion from a truth ſo long profeſſed, whereof few or none can be ignorant, work in our hearts, now almoſt lukewarm, a laborious love and holy zeal for that truth whereof we are perſuaded; we might then be fully aſſured, that, as it was ſaid in the book of the wars of the Lord, what he did in the Red Sea, and in the brooks of Arnon, the banners of his power being diſplayed for Iſrael, as well at their entry into Canaan againſt the nations, as at their coming out of Egypt againſt Pharaoh: ſo through the wonderful working of his equivalent power, and unchangeable love, it ſhould be remembered in the records of the reformed kirks of Scotland, that what he did firſt in ſubſtance, that he did laſt in ceremony, making the end of his own work againſt apoſtates from diſcipline, profeſſed by themſelves, and in that reſpect renters of brotherly unity, and dividers of brethren, anſwerable to the happy beginnings thereof againſt cruel perſecutors, and wicked heretics. Is the Lord changed, becauſe he changes the manner of his working? God forbid. For although he declare not in our times who belong to him, by miraculous fire ſent from heaven, as in the days of Elijah; the earth opens not her mouth, as in the days of Korah; he rains not ſhowers of brimſtone upon the Sodomites of this age; he turns not ſuch as look back into pillars of ſalt, to ſeaſon others; neither is his favour manifeſted towards his own ſecret ones, in earthly and viſible bleſſings, ſo wonderfully as of old; yet the God of Iſrael is our God, and the God of the Old Teſtament is the God of the New and better Teſtament, having ſtill a ſecret and equivalent providence, moſt wiſely diſpoſed and framed for the weil of his kirk, according to the diverſity of the ages ſucceeding one after another. So that no wiſe heart, perceiving the courſe thereof, could wiſh another than the preſent, howſoever the folly of infidelity blinds men to affect the miracles, eaſe, and outward proſperity of former generations; and if theſe fail, to caſt themſelves headlong in deſperation, defection, or Atheiſm. Yea, becauſe he works not as before, in their haſte they conclude, that he works not at all. It were our wiſdom, who live in the laſt times, rather to determine with ourſelves, that as in great and extraordinary plagues, ſmall and common diſeaſes are ſwallowed up; ſo will the Lord, leaving all other warnings, have all ears to be lifted up in fear, to the hearing of the loud trumpet of the goſpel, ſummoning all fleſh before the judgment-ſeat of Chriſt, that they may moſt of all tremble at that laſt ſentence, which debars men for ever from the face of God; and in the mean time, will have the life of his own children hid with Chriſt, that in a holy conformity with him, they may by many afflictions enter into his kingdom. As the preſent proſperity of the common ſort doth make their fear the greater, ſo the croſſes of the kirk ſhould make them, with the greater courage, to lift up their heads; and while the day of

their redemption draws near, to walk with the greater fidelity in their vocations, building the houſe of God with the one hand, and fighting with the other, againſt enemies of all ſorts, eſpecially theſe Sanballats and Tobiahs, who labour to make other kirks abroad, and a great number of the paſtors and people at home, to think that a great part of the walls of Chriſt's kirk, built within this nation, ſince our delivery from the Romiſh captivity, are ſo weak, that if a fox ſhall go upon them, he ſhould break them down. And now forſooth the new work riſing in place of the old, to be more firm, and of the old foundation, when the myſtery of iniquity, after long working in ſecret, was ſeen manifeſted, there was a new face brought upon the kirk. The pure fountains of Holy Scripture, troubled with the puddle of trifling traditions, ceremonies brought in, and will-worſhip, and damnable idolatry ſet up, apoſtolical diſcipline aboliſhed, and Popiſh policy exalted. Yet ſuch is the wilfulneſs of men, knowing the weakneſs of error, and force of the truth, that multitudes, in the ſucceeding times, have not bluſhed to bring in theſe novelties under the name of ancient verities; yea, without ſhame or fear, to affirm, That this laſt was the primitive and natural face of their mother. It may be ſeen in theſe days, that after a large time, this ſecond myſtery working under cover, yet always perceived by ſome in this land, is now at laſt brought to light, according to the warnings of the wiſe watchmen of this kirk, and hath changed the comely countenance of Chriſt's ſpouſe, further than the lovers of the truth would have thought, into the Antichriſtian complexion of that whore of Babel, and without God's preventing mercy, and our ſpeedy repentance, the loſs of a great ſubſtance for a foul conformity; and yet, howſoever all men cry, That the ancient way was the beſt, and as they love honeſty, they will be the ſons of conſtancy, and firmly retain the ancient diſcipline of the reformed kirk of Scotland. They have renounced nothing, they have abjured nothing: yea, if any whiſper of a fall from the firſt love, they are quickly marked, as wilfully pleading for ſhadows, and making of ſchiſms: and ſo ſuch as would ſtrive to ſtand, muſt ſuffer for their fault, who hath wrought the change. As that old painter, intending to repreſent the body of Hercules, expreſſed nothing of the lineaments of his face, ſtature, or members, contenting himſelf with the reſemblance of the lion's ſkin, which he was wont to carry, as the badge of his ſtrength, and trophy of his honour: ſo ſome of his apprentices, for the beautiful face of this kirk, and heavenly proportion of her divine diſcipline, do ſet before the eyes of men of this time, who never ſaw the fair face, nor felt the ſtrength of ancient order, that roaring lion's ſkin of Epiſcopacy, the greateſt monſter that this kirk had conflicted with, in the moſt part of her meetings; and whoſe ſkin, within theſe few years, was commonly reputed among the reſt of the ſpoils taken from her enemies. As it was the courage of wiſe Cato, againſt the braggers of arrogant Greeks, perverting all verity and antiquity of hiſtory, and uſurping the honour of the invention of all things, to write a book *de Originibus*, for vindicating the truth from uſurping preſumption; and as in later times many have happily laboured in diſcovering the Roman inventions, and bringing to light the beginnings and progreſs of error and idolatry, creeping in and corrupting that kirk; it were likewiſe to be wiſhed, for the well of this kirk, and her cauſe of controverſies, that the acts of the general aſſemblies, ſo often viſited and prepared for public uſe, were now, according to the intention and care of the kirk, together with the Books of Diſcipline, which ſhould be lights for direction, and laws for deciſion of controverſies ariſing thereabout, faithfully peruſed and printed.

For the preſent neceſſity, ye have here the Firſt and Second Books of Diſcipline, with certain acts of the kirk for clearing your doubts, and confirming the truth againſt ſuch as delight in vails of obſcurity, and circuits of circumvention. As there was never any miracle wrought for confuting of Atheiſts, becauſe every work of God is a miracle againſt them;

ſo there needs no argument, to ſtop the mouths of adverſaries for diſcipline, who would ſeem to ſtand to their own oath and ancient profeſſion, becauſe every line almoſt of theſe books will be an argument againſt them: if truth ſhall obtrude herſelf to the knowledge of men, not ſuffering them to be ſo forgetful and ignorant, as perhaps they would ſeem, God forbid, that any ſhould think that his reſolution to be rich and ſtately, ſhould ſo ſuppreſs his light and ſtay his mind from thinking that true, which we would wiſh were falſe; that were the ſin of a witty malignant: *Hæc eſt ſumma delicti nolle agnoſcere quod ignorare non potes:* it were much better, that as many as through ignorance of the eſtabliſhed order in the kirk have been miſled, would now repent their negligence and dangerous courſe, when they ſhall ſee a good daughter of an evil mother. This truth brought to light to be the fruit of our diviſion, as perſecution in former times hath brought forth purity, and hereſy the truth of doctrine, ſo hath this fit of diſtraction among brethren brought this draught of diſcipline to the view of the world; to ſo many as have ſtood, by the grace of God, to the defence of their profeſſion, a ſtrong confirmation; and to ſuch as are toſſed with doubtings, a clear reſolution. Let it be no derogation to the truth here expreſſed, nor to the labours of theſe faithful fathers, who penned and put in regiſter the ſame, but a great imputation and guiltineſs lying upon the ſucceeding age, who deprived themſelves of ſuch a benefit, and the kirk of ſuch a defence. Though the book of God's covenant lay long hid in the temple, yet Joſiah rejoiced when it came to light. Very Jezebel could not be ſtaid from magnifying of Baal, by all the daſhes he ſuffered from heaven and earth: and ſhould not Chriſtians be aſhamed to be leſs affectionate to verity than ſhe to idolatry; and namely a truth concerning Chriſt's kingly office, and the miniſters of his kingdom, without the truth whereof we can neither have comfort of his prophecy nor prieſthood. It is the Lord's great mercy, that, in the reformation of this kirk, he hath been preached and profeſſed, King, Prieſt, and Prophet: and it ſhall be the glory of this land, thankfully to acknowledge that incomprehenſible benefit, and always carefully to keep whole without rent, and to carry a reverend eſtimation to the great work of the glorious reformation of this kirk. For this effect ye muſt arm yourſelves againſt the lords of tongues, who have ſaid, With our tongues will we prevail. Of that generation ſome will daſh you by the odious name of Puritan; and yet one of that lordly ſort is forced to confeſs, That Scots profeſſors are unto him Puritans, from the form of external government, but not from religion, which both is and may be one and the ſame, where the external form of government is different and contrary, who albeit they be miſerably taken with that their own form, yet in the reſt of the doctrine they are ſufficiently orthodox. Others, like wicked creditors, deſtroying the obligation whereby they are bound for debtful obedience, ſummarily deny, that ever this kirk had any approved diſcipline, except that which is printed and placed in the Pſalm-books. A third ſort, making ſuch paſtors, who at the beginning were called ſuperintendents, to be figures, patterns, forerunners, or lieutenants, of biſhops ſuch as now are, would move the world to believe, that they follow the firſt diſcipline. A fourth kind, wandering in the wilderneſs of unbounded indifference, take upon them to determine all doubts of diſcipline, by honour, eaſe, or gain. And ſome, of Gallio's diſpoſition it may be, hidly eſteeming all religion a matter of ſpeech, ſpare not to proclaim, that ſtriving about ſuch trifles is needleſs. For your encouragement againſt ſuch, and others of the like diſpoſition, it hath pleaſed the Lord to ſet on work our pens; and in his own time, if preſumption be obſtinate, he will inſpire them with greater love of his truth, to whom he hath given knowledge in meaſure above them who hath put to their hand; and increaſe their knowledge, in whoſe hearts he hath wrought ſome love, howſoever their knowledge be far inferior to many of theirs who ſtand for the truth.

It is to be remembered, that the true friends of diſcipline are the miniſters of the bleſſed goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, agreeing in doctrine and adminiſtration of the ſacraments, and the people of this realm that profeſs Chriſt, as he is now offered in his goſpel, and do communicate with the holy ſacraments (as in the reformed kirk of this realm they are publicly adminiſtered), according to the Confeſſion of Faith; and that ſuch as were clothed with the kirk-rents, or greedily gaped after the ſame, as abbots, priors, prioreſſes, biſhops, commendators, and other ſacrilegious uſurpers of kirk-livings, as they had place in policy, and credit in court or council, either profeſſedly or craftily, have reſiſted the courſe of the goſpel, and the diſcipline thereof, as may be ſeen in theſe conflicts, whereby the kirk hath ever ſtriven for deliverance from their uſurpation; till now the zeal of benefices having devoured the zeal of diſcipline, old oppoſites are thought to be her moſt loving familiars, and her old friends her greateſt enemies. A ſtrange caſe, and yet very caſual, for the kirk by ſeeking worldly preferment, to looſe ſpiritual ſervants, as one ſaid, 'Never a miniſter got a great 'benefice, but he ſpilt it, or it ſpilt him.'

Item, That under the name of diſcipline, is to be underſtood, not only the particulars expreſſed in theſe two books, but alſo the acts, conſtitutions, and practices agreed upon, and recorded in the regiſters of the general and provincial aſſemblies, preſbyteries, and kirk-ſeſſions.

Thirdly, To conſider the different conditions of the kirk in her infancy, in her growing, and in her ripe age, and accordingly to accommodate the diſcipline to practice, as the condition of the time permitted or required; and wiſely to diſtinguiſh betwixt the kirk's purpoſe and intention in every particular, and their poſſibility to perform and practiſe, as circumſtances concurred, or were contrary. As for example: They intended reſident miniſters, one or more, as kirks were of largeneſs, with elders and deacons. *Item*, Doctors of divinity for ſchools; aſſemblies general, provincial; weekly meetings for the interpretation of the Scripture, which afterwards, at Edinburgh, the 7th day of July 1579, were judged to be a preſbytery: and they abhorred anarchy, oligarchy, and hierarchy: but with great pains, and frequent meetings, were abuſes condemned, and order eſtabliſhed: ſo that for lack of ordinary miniſters planted, and in that reſpect lack of lawful aſſemblies, they were forced occaſionally to uſe ſuperintendents, and viſitors of countries; who afterwards, in the general aſſembly holden at Edinburgh, the 4th of Auguſt 1590, when preſbyters were well and orderly conſtituted, were declared neither to be neceſſary nor expedient.

Fourthly, The Firſt and Second Books of Diſcipline, penned by the miniſters of the reformed kirk; the Firſt Book, at the charge and commandment of the great council of Scotland, ſubſcribed by the greateſt part thereof, and afterwards by many more, as may be ſeen in the acts of the kirk; the Second Book ſtanding inſerted in public regiſter of the kirk, ordained to be ſubſcribed by divers acts of the aſſembly, and confirmed by practice, are both for one end; *viz.* To direct reformation in doctrine, ſacraments, and exerciſe of diſcipline, and to reſiſt idolatry and corruptions. The Firſt hath more particular purpoſes: the Second ſets down more fully and particularly the juriſdiction of the kirk, as it agrees, or is diſtinguiſhed from the civil policy; the office-bearers of the kirk, with their duty; the aſſemblies of the kirk, and diſtinctions thereof; the patrimony of the kirk, and diſtribution thereof; the office of a Chriſtian magiſtrate in the kirk; certain heads of reformation, with the utility of the ſaid books, *&c.* *Item*, Either of the ſaid books confirm the other; and neither of them aboliſh or innovate the other.

ACTS

OF THE

GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

For Clearing and Confirming the ſaid BOOKS of DISCIPLINE, and againſt the Adverſaries thereof.

FOR THE FIRST BOOK.

Edinburgh, July 30, 1562. BECAUSE the lives of miniſters ought to be ſuch, as thereby others may be provoked to godlineſs, it becomes them firſt to be tried, after the trial of the ſuperintendents, if any man have whereof to accuſe them in life, doctrine, or execution of their office. After the miniſters, muſt the elders of every kirk be tried, *&c.* 'In that whole ordinance 'anent trial, and in the conſtitution following a-'nent the ſubjection of all ſorts of miniſters to the 'diſcipline of the kirk, there is no mention of bi-'ſhops, or any ſorts of prelates, as not acknowledg-'ed to have any place in the miniſtry of the reform-'ed kirk.'

Ibidem. Mr. Alexander Gordon, called biſhop of Galloway, making petition for the ſuperintendency of Galloway, was refuſed, becauſe he had not obſerved the order of calling ſuperintendents; and in the mean time was required to ſubſcribe the Book of Diſcipline. 'Where it is evident, that by 'his Epiſcopacy he might exerciſe no miniſterial 'duty; and although he was preſented by the lords, 'yet they would not admit him to be ſuperintend-'ent, except he ſubſcribed the Book of Diſcipline. 'And let this be remembered for the ſubſcription 'of others, of whom there may be ſeen a great 'number at the end of the ſaid book.'

Ibidem. It is concluded by the whole miniſters aſſembled, that all miniſters ſhall be ſubject to their ſuperintendents, in all lawful admonitions, as is preſcribed as well in the Book of Diſcipline, as in the election of ſuperintendents. 'Here obſerve 'two things; *firſt*, That ſuperintendents might 'not do what pleaſed them: *ſecondly*, That obedi-'ence to be performed to them was injoined by the 'kirk, and ſet down in the Book of Diſcipline, 'and in the election of ſuperintendents.'

Ibidem. A miniſter lawfully admitted, ſhall not be removed, but according to the order of the Book of Diſcipline; ſo that the ſaid book is both the warrant of orderly admiſſion, and orderly removing.

Edinburgh, Decem. 25, 1562. According to the fourth head of the Book of Diſcipline, concerning the lawful election of miniſters, the aſſembly ordains, That inhibition ſhall be made to all and ſundry perſons, now ſerving in the miniſtry, who hath not entered into their charges by the order in this ſame head appointed. And this act to have ſtrength as well againſt them that are called biſhops, as others pretending any miniſtry within the kirk.

Edinburgh, Decem. 25, 1563. It was thought needful, for further confirmation of the Book of Diſcipline, that the earl Marſhal, lord Ruthven, lord ſecretary, the commendator of Kilwinning, the biſhop of Orkney, clerk of regiſter, juſtice-clerk, Mr. Henry Balnaves, David Forreſter, and Mr. George Buchanan, or any three or four of them, ſhould overſee the ſaid book, and diligently conſider the contents thereof, noting their judgment in writ, and report the ſame to the next aſſembly ge-

neral of the kirk: or if any parliament chance to be in the mean time, that they report their judgments to the lords of the articles, that ſhall happen to be choſen before the ſaid parliament. 'By theſe 'it is evident, that our kirk acknowledged the 'Firſt Book to be the Book of Diſcipline, and no 'ways to be aboliſhed, but for the uſe of the kirk 'to be further confirmed.'

FOR THE SECOND BOOK.

Edinburgh, June 25, 1564. ANENT the cauſes of the kirk, and juriſdiction thereof, the aſſembly appointed the laird of Dun, Mr. John Winram, Mr. John Spottiſwood, Mr. John Willock, ſuperintendents, Mr. John Row, George Hay, Robert Pont, Chriſtopher Gudman, Thomas Drummond, John Knox, John Craig, John Rutherfurd, George Buchanan, Robert Hamilton, Clement Little, the lairds of Lundie, Elphinſton, Karnal, Kers, and Thomas Scot of Abbottiſhall, to convene the morrow after the preaching, and to reaſon and confer anent the ſaid cauſes and juriſdiction.

Edinburgh, Dec. 25, 1566. Ordains an humble ſupplication to be made to the lords of ſecret council, anent the commiſſion of juriſdiction, ſuppoſed to be granted to the biſhop of St. Andrews, to the effect that their honours may ſtay the ſame, in reſpect that theſe cauſes, for the moſt part, judged by his uſurped authority, pertain to the kirk: and howbeit, for hope of good things, the kirk did overſee the queen's majeſty's commiſſion given to ſuch men, who for the moſt part were our brethren, yet can the aſſembly no ways be content, that the biſhop of St. Andrews, a conjured enemy to Chriſt, uſe that juriſdiction; as alſo in reſpect of that coloured commiſſion, he might uſurp again his old uſurped authority, and the ſame might be the mean to oppreſs the whole kirk by his corrupt judgment.

Edinburgh, Decem. 25, 1567. The whole aſſembly thought meet, that certain brethren be appointed to concur at all times with ſuch perſons of parliament, or ſecret council, as my lord regent's grace hath nominated, for ſuch affairs as pertain to the kirk and juriſdiction thereof, and alſo for deciſion of queſtions that may occur in the mean time; *viz.* Meſſrs. John Knox and John Craig, miniſters of Edinburgh; the ſuperintendents of Angus and Lothian, David Borthwick, Thomas Mackcalzan, David Lindſay miniſter at Leith, George Hay at Ruthven, and John Row at St. Johnſton.

Edinburgh, June 25, 1567. Letters directed from the aſſembly by their commiſſioners, to the earls, lords, and barons; *viz.* The earls Huntly, Argyle, Caſſils, Rothes, Marſhal, Monteath, and Glencairn, to the lords Boyd, Drummond, Sanchar, Heres, Yeſter, Cathcart, M. of Graham, Fleming, Levingſton, Forbes, Salton, Glammis, Ogilvie, M. of Sinclair, Gray, Oliphant, Methven, Innermeth, M. of Somervel, barons, Lochinvar, Garlies, ſheriff of Ayr, Glenurquher, Sir James Hamilton, Bonington, commendators, Arbroath, Kilwinning, Dunfermling, St. Colms, Newbottle, Holyroodhouſe, ſhewing them that the aſſembly had of long time travelled both in public and private, with all eſtates, continually craving of their honours in ſpecial, that the courſe of the goſpel of ſalvation, now once of the liberal mercy of God reſtored to this realm, might continue to all their comforts, and their poſterities. And that for the furthering and maintaining thereof, a perfect policy and full liberty might be granted to this reformed kirk within Scotland, *&c.*

Edinburgh, July 1. 1568. An article preſented to my lord regent, That his grace would cauſe ſuch as are appointed of the council, convene with them that are appointed of the aſſembly, to confer anent the juriſdiction of the kirk, and to decide therein, that time and place may be condeſcended upon to that effect, and that it be done before the parliament.

Edinburgh, July 1. 1569. My lord regent's grace ordains the perſons nominated in the act of parliament, to convene the time of the next checker, and define and limit the juriſdiction of the kirk, according to the word of God, and act of parliament made thereanent. *Extract. act. ſecretarii conſilii, Alexander Hay.*

Edinburgh, March 5, 1570, Articles pertaining to the juriſdiction of the kirk, to be proponed to the regent's grace and ſecret council, and ſought to be appointed by them: 1. That the kirk have the judgment of true and falſe religion, of doctrine, hereſies, and ſuch-like, annexed to the preach-

ing of the word, and miniſtration of the ſacraments. 2. Election, examination, and admiſſion of them that are admitted to the miniſtry, or other functions of the kirk, charge of ſouls, and eccleſiaſtical benefices; the ſuſpenſion and deprivation of them therefrom for lawful cauſes. 3. All things concerning the diſcipline of the kirk which ſtand in correction of manners, admonitions, excommunications, and receiving to repentance. 4. The judgment of eccleſiaſtical matters betwixt perſons that are in the kirk, and eſpecially among them that are conſtituted in the miniſtry, as well concerning beneficiary cauſes as others. 5. Juriſdiction to proceed by admonitions, to the proceſs of excommunication, if need be, againſt them that rob the patrimony of the kirk, pertaining to the miniſtry, or otherways intromit therewith unjuſtly, whereby the miniſtry is in danger to decay by occaſion of the poverty of the miniſters. 6. And becauſe the conjunction of marriages pertains to the miniſtry, the cauſes of adherence and divorcements ought alſo to pertain to them, as naturally annexed thereto.

Edinburgh, April 24, 1576. *Seſſ.* 6. Brethren appointed to make an overture of the policy and juriſdiction of the kirk, *&c.*: for the weſt country, the biſhop of Glaſgow, Meſſrs. Andrew Melvil, Andrew Hay, James Greig, David Cunningham: for Lothian, Meſſrs. Robert Pont, James Lawſon, David Lindſay, Clement Little, and Alexander Sym: for Fife, the ſuperintendent thereof, with the principal maſters of the univerſity: for Angus and Mearns, the laird of Dun, William Chryſteſon, John Row, William Rind, John Dunkeſon: for Aberdeen, Meſſrs. John Craig, Alexander Arbuthnot, George Hay: and theſe perſons to convene, ilk country and rank, in the places following; *viz.* The weſt, in Glaſgow; Lothian, in Edinburgh; Fife, in St. Andrews; Angus, in Montroſe; the firſt Tueſday of June next to come, to confer and adviſe upon the ſaid matter; and to have general meetings or conventions, two, or one at leaſt, of ilk country, in Stirling, the laſt of July thereafter, to communicate and cognoſce upon their whole travels and labours taken herein, and to confer hereupon, and report what they have found and conceived in the ſaid matter to the next aſſembly.

Edinburgh, October 1, 1577. The brethren deputed to the conceiving and forming of the heads of the policy of the kirk, being called to give account of their diligence, preſented the ſame as they had made partition thereof at the aſſembly in Stirling. The heads penned by maſter John Row and James Lawſon were read, and nothing ſaid againſt, except that one of the ſaid Mr. John's articles was referred to further diſputation. All men being required, that had any good reaſon or argument to propone in the contrary, to alledge the ſame; or if they would not publicly reaſon on the ſaid head, to reſort to the ſaid commiſſioners, where travel ſhould be taken to ſatisfy them; leaving to them liberty alſo, before the heads be recollected and ordered in one body, to make argument, as they think good, againſt the ſame.

The laird of Dun thought the head given to him obſcure. The aſſembly deſired him to confer with the remanent commiſſioners the next morning at ſeven o'clock, that he may be reſolved of the meaning thereof.

The remanent heads being prolix, were thought good to be contracted in ſhort propoſitions, to be preſented to public reading.

Seſſ. 2. The head committed to Mr. Andrew Hay, being read in face of the aſſembly, nothing was proponed againſt the ſame, except the article anent the ſuſpenſion of miniſters, referred to further reaſoning. David Ferguſon's part being read, the eighteenth article was referred, and nothing ſpoken againſt the reſt. The points committed to Meſſrs. Andrew Hay, Robert Pont, David Lindſay, nothing alledged in the contrary. The heads committed to Mr. John Craig read, ſome things were deſired to be contracted, and others referred to further reaſoning.

Seſſ. 3. The whole labours of the brethren taken upon the matter, and argument of the policy being wholly read in public audience of the aſſembly, it was thought expedient, that their whole travels and work in this matter being now diſperſed, ſhould be reviſed and peruſed by ſome brethren, and digeſted and diſpoſed in good and convenient order, to be thereafter preſented to the aſſembly. And for that effect the aſſembly appointed the brethren, Meſſrs. James Lawſon, Andrew Melvil, John Craig, George Hay, to convene together, to appoint the hours and place thereto, and to remain thereat until the matter be brought to an end. And in the mean time, if it pleaſe any to reaſon with them in the matter, to have acceſs thereto.

Seſſ. 6. Commiſſioners directed from this aſſembly to the regent's grace, for informing his grace anent the travels of the kirk in the matter and argument of the policy, returned, and reported, His grace liked well of their travels and labours they

took in that matter, requiring expedition, and haſty out-red thereof.

Seſſ. 9. The brethren appointed to collect the heads of the policy preſented before, reported the ſame, gathered and collected in order, and digeſted in one body; and all men were required, that had good reaſon or argument to propone, to offer them thereto. Three heads were called in doubt, one *de Diaconatu*, another *de Jure Patronatus*, the third *de Divortiis*, wherein they were not reſolved, nor ſatisfied. As to the reſt, nothing was thought in the contrary, nor opponed thereto.

Theſe three heads ſtanding in controverſy, and diſputed *in utramque partem*, yet further diſputation was reſerved to the next day, to any man that liked to take the part of reaſoning upon him againſt the ſaid heads. Becauſe the matter of the policy of the kirk, collected by the brethren, is not yet in ſuch perfect form as is requiſite, and ſundry things are largely intreated, which would be more ſummarily handled, others required further dilatation, for recollecting thereof, and putting the ſame in good order and form, and for avoiding of ſuperfluity and obſcurity, the ſubſtantials being kept, the aſſembly preſently hath willed their beloved brethren, Meſſrs. Robert Pont and James Lawſon, to take travel and labour in the premiſes. And to the effect that the work may be the better complete, and in readineſs againſt the next general aſſembly, which is ordained to begin at Edinburgh, the 25th of October next to come, the aſſembly hath ordained their brethren, the laird of Dun, Meſſrs. Alexander Arbuthnot, Andrew Melvil, John Craig, Andrew Hay, George Hay, John Row, David Lindſay, John Dunkeſon, to aſſemble and convene together, the 19th of October next, in Edinburgh, to reviſe and conſider the travels of the ſaid brethren, that the ſame may be the more adviſedly proponed publicly, as is ſaid. In the mean time ſuch as pleaſe to reaſon in the matter, to have acceſs to the ſaid brethren. And likewiſe ordained the viſitors of countries, to make intimation to the barons, that the ſaid work is in hands, and to be treated in the next general convention, deſiring their preſence and concurrence thereto.

Edinburgh, October 25, 1577. Becauſe the matter of the policy and juriſdiction of the kirk, committed to the recollecting, forming, and diſpoſing of certain brethren, being now preſented by them, was thought expedient to be propounded and intreated the next day, after the reading of the general heads thereof; the whole brethren were required to adviſe with themſelves, if they found any other head neceſſary to be diſputed than thoſe, and to ſignify the ſame to the aſſembly to-morrow. My lord regent's grace deſired the aſſembly to proceed forward earneſtly in the policy, wherein they were labouring, and to put the ſame to an end.

The reſt of this day being conſumed in examination of the travels taken upon the policy, as is noted thereupon to the next ſeſſion, the aſſembly ordains it to be proceeded further in.

Seſſ. 6. This ſeſſion being wholly employed in reaſoning upon the heads of the juriſdiction of the kirk, the ſame argument was ordained to be followed out the next day, ſo far as time may ſerve thereunto.

Edinburgh, October 25, 1577. The heads of the policy and juriſdiction of the kirk being wholly read, and thought good, that the ſame ſhould be preſented to my lord regent's grace, as agreed upon by reaſoning among the brethren, ſaving the head *de Diaconatu*, which is ordained to be given in with a note, that the ſame is agreed upon by the moſt part of the aſſembly, without prejudice of further reaſoning, to the effect that the ſaid heads may be put *in mundo*, diſpoſed and ſet in good order, according to the mind of the aſſembly, the aſſembly hath willed Meſſrs. John Lawſon, Robert Pont, David Lindſay, and the clerk of the aſſembly, to labour with diligence therein; and the ſame being put *in mundo* by them, according to the original to be ſeen and reviſed by John Dunkeſon, David Ferguſon, the laird of Dun, Meſſrs. James Carmichael, and John Brand, and being ſeen by them according to the ſaid original, to be preſented by the ſaid Meſſrs. James Lawſon, Robert Pont, and David Lindſay, together with a ſupplication penned and delivered to them by the aſſembly, unto my lord regent's grace; and in caſe conference and reaſoning be ſought by his grace, upon the ſaid heads preſented to his grace, the aſſembly hath ordained the laird of Dun, Meſſrs. Patrick Adamſon, John Craig, John Row, Alexander Arbuthnot, Andrew Melvil, James Lawſon, Robert Pont, David Lindſay, Andrew Hay, George Hay, and John Dunkeſon, to concur and await upon the ſaid conference, as they ſhall be advertiſed by his grace.

Edinburgh, April 24, 1578. Foraſmuch as the general aſſembly hath thought meet, that the travels taken by them upon the policy, ſhall be preſented to the king's majeſty, and his highneſs's council, it was found meet, that before the copies thereof were delivered, they ſhould be yet reviewed and overſeen by Meſſrs. Robert Pont, James Lawſon, and David Lindſay; and being written

over, according to the original, one copy ſhould be preſented by them to his highneſs, with a ſupplication penned by them to that effect, and another copy to the council: the time to be at the diſcretion of the ſaid brethren, ſo it be before the general faſt. And in caſe conference and reaſoning be craved upon the ſaid heads, the aſſembly hath nominated Meſſrs John Craig, Alexander Arbuthnot, the laird of Dun, William Chryſteſon, John Row, David Ferguſon, Robert Pont, James Lawſon, David Lindſay, John Dunkeſon, Andrew Melvil, Andrew Hay, James Craig, to concur and convene at ſuch times appointed by the king and council, as advertiſement ſhall be made to them by the ſaid three brethren. And that the ſaid commiſſioners, at the ſaid conference, reaſon alſo in the head of the ceremonies, and how far miniſters may meddle with civil affairs, and if they may vote in council or parliament.

Edinburgh, April 24, 1578. It was required, that if any brother had any reaſonable doubt, or argument, to propone anent the head *de Diaconatu*, that he ſhould be ready next day to offer his reaſons, where he ſhall be heard and reſolved.

According to the ordinance made yeſterday, all perſons that have any reaſonable doubt, or argument, to propone againſt the head of the policy, were required to propone the ſame; and none offered any argument to the contrary.

Ibidem. The general aſſembly of the kirk finding univerſal corruption of the whole eſtates of the body of this realm, the great coldneſs and ſlackneſs in religion in the greateſt part of the profeſſors of the ſame, with the daily increaſe of all kind of fearful ſins and enormities, as inceſt, adulteries, murders, and namely recently committed in Edinburgh and Stirling, curſed ſacrilege, ungodly ſedition and diviſion within the bowels of the realm, with all manner of diſordered and ungodly living, which juſtly hath provoked our God, although long-ſuffering and patient, to ſtretch out his arm in his anger, to correct and viſit the iniquity of the land, and namely by the preſent penury, famine, and hunger, joined with the civil and inteſtine ſeditions, whereunto doubtleſs greater judgments muſt ſucceed, if theſe his corrections work no reformation nor amendment in mens hearts: ſeeing alſo the bloody concluſions of the cruel councils of that Roman beaſt, tending to exterminate and raze, from the face of all Europe, the true light of the bleſſed word of ſalvation: for theſe cauſes, and that God of his mercy would bleſs the king's highneſs and his government, and make him to have a happy and proſperous government, as alſo to put in his highneſs's heart, and in the hearts of his noble eſtates of parliament, not only to make and eſtabliſh good politic laws, for the well and good government of the realm; but alſo to ſet and eſtabliſh ſuch a policy and diſcipline in the kirk, as is craved in the word of God, and is contained, and penned already, to be preſented to his highneſs and council, that in the one, and the other, God may have his due praiſe, and the age to come an example of upright and godly dealing. Therefore the aſſembly hath ordained the act preceding hereanent, to be preciſely kept in all points.

Stirling, June 10, 1578. Foraſmuch as in the laſt aſſembly, commiſſion was given to certain brethren, to preſent to the king's highneſs and council the heads of the policy of the kirk, with a ſupplication to his grace: the aſſembly deſired the report of the brethrens proceedings; who expounded and ſhewed, that, according to their commiſſion, they exhibit to the king's majeſty a copy of the heads of the policy, with the ſupplication unto his grace; who gave a very comfortable and good anſwer, That not only would he concur with the kirk in all things that might advance the true religion preſently profeſſed within this realm, but alſo would be a procurator for the kirk: and thereafter his grace preſented to the council the ſaid ſupplication; who nominated perſons to confer in the matter; and, by his majeſty's procurement, obtained of the council, that they might chuſe ſo many miniſters to confer, as was at length agreed upon; which conference is ready to be ſhown.

Edin. Oct. 29, 1578. In reſpect that, at the deſire of the aſſembly, certain of the nobility were convened, *viz.* my lord chancellor, the earl of Montroſe, my lord Seaton, my lord Lindſay, it was expoſed and ſhown to the moderator of this aſſembly, what care and ſtudy the aſſembly had taken to entertain and keep the purity of the ſincere word of God unmixed with the invention of their own heads, which their ſpecial care was to reſerve to the poſterity hereafter. And ſeeing that the true religion is not able to continue, nor endure long, without a good diſcipline and policy, in that part have they alſo employed their wit and ſtudy, and drawn forth, out of the pure fountains of God's word, ſuch a diſcipline as is meet to remain in the kirk, which they preſented to the king's majeſty, with their ſupplication; at whoſe direction certain commiſſioners were appointed to reaſon with ſuch as were deputed by the kirk, where the whole

matter being diſputed, was reſolved and agreed, except a few heads, and thereafter again preſented to the lords of the articles, that the ſaid diſcipline might have place, and be eſtabliſhed by the acts and laws of the realm, wherein nevertheleſs their travels have not ſucceeded, praying therefore the nobility preſent, as well openly to make profeſſion to the aſſembly, if they will allow and maintain the religion preſently eſtabliſhed within this realm, as alſo the policy and diſcipline already ſpoken of, and to labour at the king and council's hands for an anſwer to the heads following; *viz.* That his grace and council will eſtabliſh ſuch heads of the policy as were already reſolved and agreed upon by the ſaid commiſſioners, and cauſe ſuch others as were not finally agreed on to be reaſoned and put to an end, and that his grace and council will reſtore to the kirk the act of parliament concerning the thirds: and that none vote in the parliament, in name of the kirk, except ſuch as ſhall have commiſſion from the kirk to that effect: and that preſentations to benefices be directed to the commiſſioners of countries, where the benefices lie. And to the end that that matter may be the better and ſooner expede, that their lordſhips would appoint ſuch time convenient thereto as they may beſt ſpare, that ſuch of the brethren as ſhall be named thereto may wait upon their honours. Hereunto the ſaid noblemen anſwered, That a part of them had made a public profeſſion of this religion before, always now they declare and profeſs the religion preſently profeſſed within this realm, and that they ſhall maintain the ſame to their power. As to the reſt they think good, the king and his council be ſuited, and they ſhall inſiſt with the king for anſwer thereto. The time to that effect they ſhall notify to the aſſembly the next day.

Edinburgh, July 7, 1579. That becauſe in the laſt conference holden at Stirling, by his grace's command, concerning the policy of the kirk, certain articles thereanent remain yet unreſolved, and referred to further conference, therefore the aſſembly craves of his majeſty, That perſons unſpotted of ſuch corruptions, as are deſired to be reformed, may be nominated by his majeſty, to proceed in the further conference upon the ſaid policy, and time and place to be appointed to that effect.

Ibidem. The queſtion being propoued, by the ſynod of Lothian, to the general aſſembly, anent a general order to be taken for erecting of preſbyteries in places where public exerciſe is uſed, unto the time the policy of the kirk be eſtabliſhed by law; it is anſwered, That the exercise may be judged to be a preſbytery.

Dundee, July 12, 1580. An article propounded by the commiſſioners of the kirk to his majeſty and council, That the Book of Policy may be eſtabliſhed by an act of privy council, till a parliament be had, at which it may be confirmed.

Glaſgow, April 24, 1581. Foraſmuch as travels have been taken in the forming of the policy of the kirk, and divers ſuits made to the magiſtrate for approbation thereof, which albeit hath not yet taken the happy effect which good men would crave, yet that the poſterity ſhould judge well of the preſent age, and of the meaning of the kirk, the aſſembly hath concluded, That the Book of Policy, agreed to in divers aſſemblies before, ſhould be regiſtrated amongſt the acts of the aſſemblies, and remain therein *ad perpetuam rei memoriam.* And the copies thereof to be taken by every preſbytery; of the which book the tenor followeth, *&c.*

Edinburgh, Aug. 4, 1590. P. Galloway moderator. Foraſmuch as it is certain, that the word of God cannot be kept in its own ſincerity, without the holy diſcipline be had in obſervance, it is therefore, by common conſent of the whole brethren, and commiſſioners preſent, concluded, That whoſoever hath borne office in the miniſtry of the kirk within this realm, or that preſently bears, or ſhall hereafter bear office herein, ſhall be charged by every particular preſbytery where their reſidence is, to ſubſcribe the heads of diſcipline of the kirk of this realm, at length ſet down and allowed by act of the whole aſſembly in the Book of Policy, which is regiſtrated in the aſſembly-books, and namely the heads controverted by enemies of the diſcipline of the reformed kirk of this realm, betwixt and the next ſynodal aſſemblies of the provinces, under the pain of excommunication, to be executed againſt the non-ſubſcribers; and the preſbyteries which ſhall be found remiſs or negligent herein, to receive public rebuke of the whole aſſembly. And to the effect the ſaid diſcipline may be known, as it ought to be, to the whole brethren, it is ordained, That the moderator of each preſbytery ſhall receive, from the clerk of the aſſembly, a copy of the ſaid book, under his ſubſcription, upon the expences of the preſbytery, betwixt and the firſt day of September next to come, under the pain to be openly accuſed in face of the whole aſſembly.

Edinburgh, July 2, 1591. The aſſembly ordains, That the diſcipline contained in the acts of the general aſſembly be kept as well in Angus and Mearns, as in all other parts.

Acts concerning the Adverſaries of Diſcipline.

It is to be marked, that ſuch as adhered to Papiſtry, were enemies both to reformation and diſcipline; and ſuch as embraced the true religion, whether kirkmen or other profeſſors, and yet poſſeſſed the kirk-rents, were not only unhearty friends, but under colour, and in policy, as great hinderers as lovers of the benefices and livings belonging to the ſervice of God.

Edinburgh, July 30, 1562. ALEXANDER GORDON, being biſhop of Galloway, is no otherwiſe acknowledged by the aſſembly, in reſpect of ſpiritual function, than as a private man void of juriſdiction: and therefore he, and the reſt of that ſort, are not ſimply ſet down by their title of biſhop, but by a note as it were of degradation, ſo called, *viz.* by cuſtom, but by no right.

Edinburgh, Decem. 25, 1562. The ſaid Mr. Alexander Gordon, without reſpect to his place, or biſhopric, is inrolled after the ſuperintendents; and is thus deſigned, Mr. Alexander Gordon, intitulate biſhop of Galloway; and is there leeted for the ſuperintendency of Dumfries, Liddiſdale, and Galloway; and gets commiſſion to preſent miniſters, exhorters, and readers, for planting of kirks, and to do ſuch other things as hath been heretofore accuſtomed.

St. Johnſton, June 25, 1563. Mr. Alexander Gordon, named biſhop of Galloway, was removed out of the aſſembly, and accuſed by the laird of Garlies: his excuſes were not found altogether relevant; and therefore the aſſembly appointed order to be taken anent the matter complained upon.

Ibidem. The aſſembly ordained commiſſions to be given to the biſhops of Galloway, Orkney, and Caithneſs, for the ſpace of a year after the date hereof, to plant kirks, *&c.* within their own bounds; and that the biſhop of Galloway haunt, as well the ſheriffdom of Wigton, as the ſtewartry of Kirkcudbright, reckoned within his bounds.

Ibidem. It was then ordained, that when any benefice ſhall chance to be vacant, or is now vacant, that a qualified perſon be preſented to the ſuperintendent of that province where the benefice vakes; and that he, being ſufficient, be admitted miniſter to that kirk which is deſtitute of a paſtor, that ignorant idiots be not placed in ſuch rooms, by them that are yet called biſhops, and are not.

Ibidem. Mr. Robert Pont complained upon the biſhop of Dumblain, That the ſaid biſhop lately ſaid, and cauſed ſay maſs in Dumblain, contrary to the tenor of the act made thereanent, *&c.*

Ibidem. Remember to make ſupplication to the queen's majeſty and her council, for remitting the thirds, or any part thereof, to the biſhops, that are elected by the kirk, to be commiſſioners to plant kirks within their bounds.

Ibidem. A ſentence of umquhill James biſhop of Roſs, commiſſioner to umquhill James archbiſhop of St. Andrews, pronounced againſt James Hamilton of Kincavel, was declared wicked, ungodly, and wrongfully led.

Edinburgh, Decem. 25, 1566. Biſhops, abbots, priors, and other perſons beneficed, being of the kirk, who receive tiends, and await not on the flock committed to their cure, neither preſent themſelves to the general aſſembly, are ordained to be ſummoned by the ſuperintendents, to compear at the next general aſſembly, to give their aſſiſtance and counſel in ſuch things as appertain to Chriſtian religion, and preaching of the true word; and further to know the ordinance of the kirk to be made thereanent.

Edinburgh, Decem. 25, 1567. Adam, called biſhop of Orkney, and commiſſioner, was accuſed, That he being biſhop and commiſſioner, occupied the room of a magiſtrate in the ſeſſion, his ſheep wandering without a paſtor; and retains in his company Sir Francis Bothwel, a rank Papiſt, to whom he hath given benefices, and placed him as miniſter in thoſe kirks; as alſo that he ſolemnized the marriage of the queen and earl of Bothwel, *&c.*; and for the ſaid cauſes was deprived.

Ibidem. Alexander, called biſhop of Galloway, commiſſioner, accuſed, That he hath not viſited theſe three years bygone, or thereby, his kirks within his charge; that he hath given himſelf over altogether to haunt the court, and clean left the office of viſiting and planting the kirks, and hath now procured to be one of the ſeſſion and privy council, which cannot agree with the office of a paſtor or biſhop; and alſo hath reſigned Inchſchaffray in favours of a young child, and ſet divers lands in feu. Compearing, granted publicly, that he had offended in all things that were laid to his charge. And for certain conſiderations, the aſſembly continued him ſtill, until the next aſſembly, upon certain conditions of his diligence in his charge.

Edinburgh, July 1, 1568. No man ought to enjoy or poſſeſs the patrimony of the kirk, without doing of their dutiful ſervice. And becauſe it is known that there are many of that number, to whom God hath given ſuch gifts, wherethrough they might profit greatly in the kirk of God, it was thought neceſſary, that admonitions be made

by the whole assembly, to such as brook benefices, that they apply themselves according to the gifts given to them by God, and as the kirk shall judge them able, to enter in the ministry, and continue therein. And because all the said persons are not present to hear the voice of the assembly, it is ordained, That superintendents and commissioners, that shall be appointed for planting and visiting of kirks, give the same admonitions particularly to the said persons within their bounds, requiring them, in name of the assembly, to be at the next general assembly, *&c.*

Ibidem. An article presented to my lord regent's grace, bearing, That it is thought very unreasonable that the Papists, enemies to God's kirk and this commonwealth, and others that labour not in the ministry, shall possess freely, without imposition, the two parts of the benefices, and the kirk, which labours, shall not possess the third.

Ibidem. The bishop of Orkney restored again; and Mr. John Row appointed commissioner of Galloway.

Edinburgh, July 5, 1569. Ordains Alexander Gordon, sometime commissioner of Galloway, to repair to the next general assembly of the kirk, to answer to such things as shall be laid to his charge, *&c.* And in the mean time inhibits him to use any function within the kirk of God, conform to the act made against him, the 8th of July 1568, in the general assembly.

Ibidem. Adam bishop of Orkney was accused, for not fulfilling of the injunctions appointed to him by the assembly in the month of July 1568.

Stirling, February 25, 1569. Adam of Orkney being called to the office of a bishopric, and promoted to the profits thereof, and suffered by the kirk, receives charge to preach the gospel, to be also commissioner of the country of Orkney, which he received and exercised for a certain space, till now of late he made a simoniacal change with the abbacy of Holyrood-house, although yet brooking the name, and styled bishop of the same; contrary to all laws, both of God and man, made against simony. *Secondly*, He dimitted his cure in the hands of an unqualified person, without the consent of the kirk, leaving the flock destitute without a shepherd, whereby not only ignorance is increased, but also most abundantly all vice and horrible crimes there are committed, as the number of six hundred persons convicted of incest, adultery, and fornication, bear witness. *Thirdly*, He hath given himself daily to the execution of the function of a temporal judge, as to be a lord of session, which requires the whole man; and so rightly in neither can he exercise both: and styles himself with Roman titles; as Reverend father in God, which pertains to no minister of Christ Jesus, nor is given to any of them in Scripture. *Fourthly*, In great hurt and defraud of the kirk, he hath bought all the thirds of the abbacy of Holyrood-house; at least, he hath made simoniacal change thereof with the rents of Orkney. *Fifthly*, He hath left the kirks, partly unplanted, and partly planted, but destitute of provision. *Sixthly*, Some of the kirks are sheepfolds, and some of them ruinous. *Seventhly*, He hath traduced, both publicly and privately, the ministers of Edinburgh; absented himself from preaching in that kirk, and from receiving the sacraments.

Edinburgh, July 5, 1570. Excommunication directed against Patrick, called bishop of Murray, to be executed by Mr. Robert Pont commissioner there, with the assistance of the ministers of Edinburgh.

Edinburgh, March 5, 1570. Robert bishop of Caithness, to assist John Gray of Fordel in visiting the kirks there.

Edinburgh, Aug. 6, 1573. John bishop of St. Andrews accused: 1. That he had given a benefice to Mr. George Lauder, suspected of Papistry. 2. That he oversaw adultery in Burntisland. 3. He suffered M. Magnus Hulcio to lie uncontrolled under old adultery. 4. That he visited by others, and not by himself. 5. That in his default the exercise of St. Andrews was likely to decay. 6. That such as had offended in Lothian, he receives in St. Andrews; and admits some to function in the kirk, that are not able, and untried, chiefly such as come out of Lothian and Merse.

Ibidem. [Mr. James Paton bishop of Dunkeld.] The whole assembly hears that he hath received the name of bishop, but hath not used the office of a bishop; within his bounds he hath not proceeded against Papists; he is suspected of simony, betwixt the earl of Argyle and him, anent the profits of the bishopric; he is suspected of perjury in receiving the same bishopric, because he gives acquittances, and the earl receives the silver of the bishopric.

Ibidem. Alexander Gordon bishop of Galloway accused: 1. That he intruded himself in the office of the ministry, within the burgh of Edinburgh. 2. He persuaded and enticed the people to rebel against our sovereign lord. 3. He refused to pray

for our ſovereign lord, approving another authority. 4. Being forbidden by the general aſſembly to have any intromiſſion with the pariſhioners of Holyrood-houſe, he compelled them to receive the ſacrament, then abuſed by him within Edinburgh, cauſing his pretended bailies, and the men of war, to compel the ſaid poor people. 5. Being ſworn by his ſolemn oath, for due obedience to our ſovereign lord, and his grace's regent, and authority, brake his ſaid oath, by ſitting in pretended parliament, for diſpoſſeſſing of our ſaid ſovereign lord of his royal crown and authority. 6. Openly, in pulpit, he gave thanks for the ſlaughter of Matthew earl of Lennox, of good memory, ſaying, That it was God's moſt juſt judgment; and exhorted the people to do the ſame. 7. That he was a perverter of the people, not only before the Reformation, but alſo divers times ſince. It was concluded, That he ſhould make public repentance in ſackcloth three ſeveral Sundays; *firſt*, In the kirk of Edinburgh; *ſecondly*, In Holyrood-houſe; *thirdly*, In the queen's college; under the pain of excommunication.

Ibidem. Alexander Hay, clerk to the ſecret council, preſented certain heads proponed by my lord regent to the preſent aſſembly, whereof one follows: My lord regent's grace minds, that with all convenient diligence qualified perſons ſhall be promoted to the biſhopries now vacant, the delay whereof hath not been in his own grace's default, but by reaſon ſome entry was made to theſe livings, in favours of certain noblemen, before his acceptation of the government; yet his grace is perſuaded, that qualified perſons ſhall ſpeedily be preſented; and in caſe of failzie, will not fail without the others knowledge and conſent to preſent.

Edinburgh, March 6, 1573. The aſſembly hath concluded, That the juriſdiction of biſhops, in their eccleſiaſtical function, ſhall not exceed the juriſdiction of ſuperintendents, which heretofore they have had, and preſently have; and that they ſhall willingly be ſubject to the diſcipline appointed by the general aſſembly, as members thereof, as the ſuperintendents have been heretofore in all ſorts; and that no biſhops give collation of any benefice within the bounds of ſuperintendents, without their conſent, and teſtimonial ſubſcribed with their hands. And that biſhops, in their own dioceſes, viſit by themſelves, where no ſuperintendents are; and give no collation of benefices, without conſent of three well-qualified miniſters, *&c.*

Ibidem. The biſhop of Dunkeld ordained to confeſs his fault publicly in the kirk of Dunkeld, for not executing the ſentence of the kirk againſt the earl of Athol.

Ibidem. George biſhop of Murray ordained to be ſummoned to make his purgation of the fornication alledged committed by him with the lady Ardroſs.

Edinburgh, Auguſt 7, 1574. Biſhops, ſuperintendents, or commiſſioners of countries, that be found negligent in their office, or do not their debtful charge, either in their viſitation, teaching, or life, the aſſembly hath decreed and ordained, That they ſhall be puniſhed and corrected according to the quality of their faults, either by admonition, public repentance, ſuſpenſion or deprivation *ſimpliciter*, at the ſight of the ſaid aſſembly.

Edinburgh, March 7, 1574. Biſhop of Dunkeld, biſhop of Brechin, biſhop of Murray, biſhop of Glaſgow, removed, and particularly complained on.

Edinburgh, Auguſt 6, 1575. The biſhops of Galloway, Dunkeld, Brechin, Dunblane, Iſles, being preſent, John Dury, one of the miniſters of Edinburgh, proteſted, That the trial of biſhops prejudge not the opinions and reaſons which he, and other brethren of his mind, had to oppone againſt the ſaid office, and name of biſhop.

Ibidem. Anent the queſtion propounded by certain brethren, Whether if the biſhops, as they are now in Scotland, have their function of the word of God or not, or the chapiters appointed for creating of them in this reformed kirk: for better reſolution hereof, the general aſſembly of the kirk appoints Mr. John Craig miniſter at Aberdeen, Mr. James Lawſon miniſter at Edinburgh, and Mr. Andrew Melvil principal of the college of Glaſgow, on the one part; Mr. George Hay commiſſioner of Caithneſs, Mr. John Row miniſter of Perth, and Mr. David Lindſay miniſter at Leith, on the other part; to convene, reaſon, and confer upon the ſaid queſtion; and to report their judgments and opinions thereupon, to the aſſembly, before the diſſolving thereof, if they be reſolved betwixt and the ſame.

Ibidem. They think it not expedient preſently to anſwer directly to the firſt queſtion: but if any biſhop ſhall be choſen, who hath no ſuch qualities as the word of God requireth, let him be tried by the general aſſembly *de novo*, and ſo depoſed.

The Points wherein they agree concerning the Office of a Biſhop or Superintendent.

FIRST, the name of biſhop is common to all them that hath any particular flock, over the which he hath a peculiar charge, as well to preach the word, as to miniſter the ſacraments, and to execute the

eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, with conſent of his elders. And this is his chief function by the word of God.

Out of this number may be choſen ſome to have power to viſit ſuch reaſonable bounds, beſides his own flock, as the general aſſembly ſhall appoint; and in theſe bounds to appoint miniſters, with conſent of the miniſters of that province, and the conſent of the flock to whom they be appointed. Alſo to appoint elders and deacons in every particular congregation, where there is none, with conſent of the people thereof; and to ſuſpend miniſters for reaſonable cauſes, with conſent of the miniſters foreſaid.

Edinburgh, April 5, 1576. Biſhops being preſent, their diligence is tried; and they are accuſed for want of particular flocks, dilapidation, and other faults.

Ibidem. Anent the advice and opinion of the brethren, given concerning the queſtion moved anent biſhops, the whole aſſembly, for the greateſt part, after reaſoning, and long diſputation upon every article of the ſaid brethrens opinion and advice, reſolutely affirmed and approved the ſame, and every article thereof, as is alſo above ſet down. And to the effect that the ſaid articles condeſcended upon by the ſaid aſſembly, may be the better followed out, and ready execution may enſue thereupon, as appertains, ordains the biſhops which hath not as yet received the charge of a particular congregation, to condeſcend the next day, what particular flocks they will accept to take the cure of.

Ibidem. For the more commodious viſitation of countries, there is appointed for every ſhire four or five biſhops, ſuperintendents, and miniſters, and articles of viſitation ſet down.

Ibidem. Anent the demand of Mr. Andrew Hay, parſon of Ranthrow, if every viſitor, within his own bounds, hath like power and juriſdiction, to plant miniſters, ſuſpend and depoſe for reaſonable cauſe; the aſſembly reſolved affirmative, That they have alike power and juriſdiction therein, as is contained in the particular articles concerning the juriſdiction of the viſitors.

Edinburgh, April 24, 1578. Foraſmuch as there is great corruption in the eſtate of biſhops, as they are preſently made in this realm, whereunto the kirk would provide ſome ſtay in time coming, ſo far as they may, to the effect that further corruption may be bridled; therefore the aſſembly hath concluded, That no more biſhops ſhall be elected, or made hereafter, before the next general aſſembly of the kirk; diſcharging all miniſters and chapiters to proceed any ways in the election of the ſaid biſhops in the mean time, under the pain of perpetual deprivation of their offices.

Stirling, July 11, 1578. The act above written extended to all times to come: and all biſhops, already elected, required to ſubmit themſelves to the general aſſembly, concerning the reformation of the corruption of that eſtate; which ſubmiſſion the biſhop of Dunblane willingly offered to the aſſembly.

Seſſ. 4. *Dundee, July* 12, 1580. Foraſmuch as the office of a biſhop, as it is now uſed and commonly taken within this realm, hath no ſure warrant, authority, nor good ground out of the Scriptures, but is brought in by the folly and corruption of mens inventions, to the great overthrow of the kirk of God; the whole aſſembly of the kirk, in one voice, after liberty given to all men to reaſon in the matter, none opponing himſelf in defending the ſaid pretended office, finds and declares the ſame pretended office, uſed and termed as is above ſaid, unlawful in itſelf, as having neither foundation, ground, nor warrant within the word of God: and ordains, That all ſuch perſons as bruik, or ſhall bruik hereafter the ſaid office, ſhall be diſcharged ſimply to dimit, quit, and leave the ſame, as an office whereunto they are not called of God; and ſuch-like to deſiſt and ceaſe from all preaching, miniſtration of the ſacraments, or uſing any way the office of paſtors, till they receive *de novo* admiſſion from the general aſſembly, under the pain of excommunication to be uſed againſt them; wherein if they be found diſobedient, or contradict this act in any point, the ſentence of excommunication, after due admonitions, to be executed againſt them. And for better execution of the ſaid act, it is ſtatute, That a ſynodal aſſembly ſhall be holden in every province where any uſurping biſhops are, and begin the 18th of Auguſt next to come, whereto they ſhall be called, and ſummoned by the viſitors of the ſaid countries to compear before their ſynodal aſſemblies: and namely, the biſhop of St. Andrews, to compear in St. Andrews; the biſhop of Aberdeen, in Aberdeen; the biſhop of Glaſgow, in Glaſgow; the biſhop of Murray, in Elgin; to give obedience to the ſaid act: which if they refuſe to do, that the ſaid ſynodal aſſemblies ſhall appoint certain brethren of their miniſtry, to give them public admonitions out of the pulpit; and warn them, in caſe they diſobey, to compear before the next general aſſembly, to be holden at Edinburgh, the 20th of October next to come, to hear the ſentence of excommunication pronounced againſt them for their diſobedience. And to this act the biſhop of Dunblane agreed, ſubmitting himſelf to be ruled thereby.

The Twelfth Parliament, holden at Edinburgh, the 5th of June, the Year of God 1592, by the right Excellent, right High and Mighty Prince JAMES VI. by the Grace of God, King of SCOTS: With Advice of his Three Eſtates.

Ratification of the Liberty of the true Kirk. Of General and Synodal Aſſemblies. Of Preſbyteries. Of Diſcipline. All Laws of Idolatry are abrogate. Of Preſentation to Benefices.

OUR ſovereign lord, and eſtates of this preſent parliament, following the laudable and good example of their predeceſſors, hath ratified and approved, and by the tenor of this preſent act, ratifies and approves all liberties, privileges, immunities, and freedoms whatſoever, given and granted by his highneſs, his regents in his name, or any of his predeceſſors, to the true and holy kirk preſently eſtabliſhed within this realm, and declared in the firſt act of his highneſs's parliament, the 20th day of October, the year of God 1579 years: and all, and whatſoever acts of parliament and ſtatutes made before by his highneſs, and his regents, anent the liberty and freedom of the ſaid kirk; and ſpecially the firſt act of parliament, holden at Edinburgh, the 24th day of October, the year of God 1581, with the whole particular acts there mentioned; which ſhall be as ſufficient as if the ſame were here expreſſed: and all other acts of parliament made ſince, in favour of the true kirk, and ſuch-like: ratifies and approves the general aſſemblies appointed by the ſaid kirk: and declares, that it ſhall be lawful to the kirk and miniſters, every year at the leaſt, and oftener *pro re nata*, as occaſion and neceſſity ſhall require, to hold and keep general aſſemblies: providing that the king's majeſty, or his commiſſioners with them, to be appointed by his highneſs, be preſent at every general aſſembly, before the diſſolving thereof, nominate and appoint time and place, when and where the next general aſſembly ſhall be holden: and in caſe neither his majeſty, nor his ſaid commiſſioners be preſent for the time in that town, where the ſaid general aſſembly is holden, then, and in that caſe, it ſhall be lawful to the ſaid general aſſembly, by themſelves, to nominate and appoint time and place, where the next general aſſembly of the kirk ſhall be kept and holden, as they have been in uſe to do in times bypaſt. And alſo ratifies and approves the provincial and ſynodal aſſemblies to be holden by the ſaid kirk and miniſters twice every year, as they have been, and preſently are in uſe to do, within every province of this realm: and ratifies and approves the preſbyteries and particular ſeſſions appointed by the ſaid kirk, with the whole diſcipline and juriſdiction of the ſame kirk, agreed upon by his majeſty in conference had by his highneſs with certain of the miniſters, convened to that effect. Of the which articles the tenor follows: Matters to be intreated in provincial aſſemblies: Their aſſemblies are conſtitute for weighty matters, neceſſary to be intreated by mutual conſent, and aſſiſtance of brethren, within the province, as need requires. This aſſembly hath power to handle, order, and redreſs all things omitted, or done amiſs, in the particular aſſemblies. It hath power to depoſe the office-bearers of that province, for good and juſt cauſes deſerving deprivation. And generally theſe aſſemblies have the whole power of the particular elderſhips, whereof they are collected. Matters to be intreated in the preſbyteries: The power of the preſbyteries is to uſe diligent labours in the bounds committed to their charge, that the kirks be kept in good order: to inquire diligently of naughty and ungodly perſons; and to travel to bring them in the way again by admonition, or threatening of God's judgments, or by correction. It appertains to the elderſhip to take heed that the word of God be purely preached within their bounds, the ſacraments rightly adminiſtered, the diſcipline entertained, and eccleſiaſtical goods uncorruptly diſtributed. It belongs to this kind of aſſemblies, to cauſe the ordinances made by the aſſemblies provincial, national, and general, to be kept and put

in execution; to make conſtitutions which concern το πρεπον in the kirk, for decent order in the particular kirk where they govern: providing that they alter no rules made by the provincial, or general aſſemblies. And that they make the provincial aſſemblies foreſaid privy to the rules that they ſhall make: and to aboliſh conſtitutions tending to the hurt of the ſame. It hath power to excommunicate the obſtinate, formal proceſs being led, and due interval of times obſerved. Anent particular kirks, if they be lawfully ruled by ſufficient miniſters and ſeſſion, they have power and juriſdiction in their own congregation in matters eccleſiaſtical. And decrees and declares the aſſemblies, preſbyteries, and ſeſſions, juriſdiction and diſcipline foreſaid, to be, in all times coming, moſt juſt, good, and godly in themſelves, notwithſtanding of whatſoever ſtatutes, acts, canons, civil or municipal laws, made to the contrary. To the which, and every one of them, theſe preſents ſhall make expreſs derogation. And becauſe there are divers acts of parliament made in favour of the Papiſtical kirk, tending to the prejudice of the liberty of the true kirk of God preſently profeſſed within this realm, juriſdiction and diſcipline thereof, which ſtand yet in the books of the acts of parliament not abrogated nor annulled; therefore his highneſs, and eſtates foreſaid, hath abrogated, ſet aſide, and annulled, and by the tenor hereof, abrogates, ſets aſide, and annuls, all acts of parliament made by any of his highneſs's predeceſſors, for maintenance of ſuperſtition and idolatry withal; and whatſoever acts, laws, and ſtatutes, made at any time before the day and date hereof, againſt the liberty of the true kirk, juriſdiction and diſcipline thereof, as the ſame is uſed and exerciſed within this realm.

And in ſpecial, that part of the act of parliament, holden at Stirling, the 4th day of November, the year of God 1443 years, commanding obedience to be given to Eugenius, the pope for the time: the act made by king James III. in his parliament, holden at Edinburgh, the 24th of February, the year of God 1480 years; and all other acts whereby the pope's authority is eſtabliſhed: the act of king James III. in his parliament, holden at Edinburgh, the 20th of November, the year of God 1469 years, anent the Saturday, and other vigils, to be holidays from Even-ſong to Even-ſong.

Item. That part of the act made by the queen-regent, in the parliament holden at Edinburgh, the 1ſt day of February, the year of God 1551 years, giving ſpecial licence for holding of Paſch and Yule. *Item.* The king's majeſty, and eſtates foreſaid, declare, That the 129th act of the parliament, holden at Edinburgh, the 22d day of May, the year of God 1584 years, ſhall no ways be prejudicial, nor derogate any thing from the privilege that God hath given to the ſpiritual office-bearers in the kirk, concerning heads of religion, matters of hereſy, excommunication, collation, or deprivation of miniſters, or any ſuch-like eſſential cenſures, ſpecially grounded and having warrant of the word of God. *Item.* Our ſovereign lord, and eſtates of parliament foreſaid, abrogates, ſets aſide, and annihilates the acts of the ſame parliament, holden at Edinburgh, the ſaid year of God 1584 years, granting commiſſion to biſhops and other judges, conſtitute in eccleſiaſtical cauſes, to receive his highneſs's preſentation to benefices, to give collation thereupon, and to put order to all cauſes eccleſiaſtical, which his majeſty, and eſtates aforeſaid, declares to be expired in themſelves, and to be null in time coming, of none avail, force, or effect. And therefore ordains all preſentations to benefices, to be directed to the particular preſbyteries in all time coming; with full power to give collation thereupon, and to put order to all matters and cauſes eccleſiaſtical within their bounds, according to the diſcipline of the kirk; providing the foreſaid preſbyteries be bound and aſtricted, to receive and admit whatſoever qualified miniſter, preſented by his majeſty, or laic patrons.

THE FIRST BOOK OF DISCIPLINE.

To the great Council of SCOTLAND, *now admitted to the Government, by the Providence of God, and by the common Conſent of the Eſtates thereof, your Honours humble Servitors, and Miniſters of Chriſt Jeſus within the ſame, wiſh Grace, Mercy, and Peace, from God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, with the perpetual Increaſe of the Holy Spirit.*

FROM your honours we received a charge, dated at Edinburgh, the 29th of April, in the year of our Lord 1560, requiring and commanding us, in the name of the eternal God, as we will anſwer in his preſence, to commit to writing, and in a book deliver to your wiſdoms our judgments touching the reformation of religion, which heretofore in this realm (as in others) hath been utterly corrupted: upon the receipt whereof (ſo many of us as were in this town) did convene, and in unity of mind do offer unto your wiſdoms theſe ſubſequents, for common order and uniformity to be obſerved in this realm concerning doctrine, adminiſtration of ſacraments, election of miniſters, proviſion for their ſuſtentation, eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, and policy of the church; moſt humbly requiring your honours, that as you look for participation with Chriſt Jeſus, that neither ye admit any thing which God's plain word ſhall not approve; neither yet that ye ſhall reject ſuch ordinances as equity, juſtice, and God's word, do ſpecify: for as we will not bind your wiſdoms to our judgments, further than we are able to prove by God's plain Scriptures; ſo muſt we moſt humbly crave of you, even as ye will anſwer in God's preſence (before whom both ye and we muſt appear, to render accounts of all our facts), that ye repudiate nothing for pleaſure and affection of men, which ye be not able to improve by God's written and revealed word.

The Firſt Head of Doctrine.

SEEING that Chriſt Jeſus is he whom God the Father hath commanded only to be heard and followed of his ſheep, we judge it neceſſary, that his goſpel be truly and openly preached in every church and aſſembly of this realm; and that all doctrine repugnant to the ſame be utterly repreſſed, as damnable to man's ſalvation.

The Explication of the Firſt Head.

LEST that upon this generality ungodly men take occaſion to cavil, this we add for explication: By preaching of the goſpel, we underſtand not only the Scriptures of the New Teſtament, but alſo of the Old, *viz.* the law, prophets, and hiſ-

tories, in which Chriſt Jeſus is no leſs contained in figure, than we have him now expreſſed in verity. And therefore with the apoſtle we affirm, that all Scripture, inſpired of God, is profitable to inſtruct, to reprove, and to exhort. In which books of Old and New Teſtaments, we affirm, that all things neceſſary for the inſtruction of the church, and to make the man of God perfect, is contained and ſufficiently expreſſed.

By the contrary doctrine, we underſtand whatſoever men by laws, councils, or conſtitutions, have impoſed upon the conſciences of men, without the expreſſed commandment of God's word, ſuch as be the vows of chaſtity, forſwearing of marriage, binding of men and women to ſeveral and diſguiſed apparels, to the ſuperſtitious obſervation of faſting days, difference of meat for conſcience ſake, prayer for the dead; and keeping of holidays of certain ſaints commanded by man, ſuch as be all thoſe that the Papiſts have invented, as the feaſts (as they term them) of the apoſtles, martyrs, virgins, of Chriſtmas, Circumciſion, Epiphany, Puriſication, and other fond feaſts of our lady: which things becauſe in God's Scriptures they neither have commandment nor aſſurance, we judge them utterly to be aboliſhed from this realm: affirming farther, that the obſtinate maintainers and teachers of ſuch abominations ought not to eſcape the puniſhment of the civil magiſtrate.

The Second Head of Sacraments.

TO Chriſt Jeſus his holy goſpel truly preached, of neceſſity it is, that his holy ſacraments be annexed, and truly miniſtered, as ſeals and viſible confirmations of the ſpiritual promiſes contained in the word; and they be two, *viz.* baptiſm, and the holy ſupper of the Lord Jeſus; which are then rightly miniſtered, when by a lawful miniſter the people, before the adminiſtration of the ſame, are plainly inſtructed, and put in mind of God's free grace and mercy, offered unto the penitent in Chriſt Jeſus: when God's promiſes are rehearſed, the end and uſe of ſacraments preached and declared, and that in ſuch a tongue as the people do underſtand: when farther to them is nothing added, from them nothing diminiſhed, and in their practice nothing changed beſides the inſtitution of the Lord Jeſus, and practice of his holy apoſtles.

And albeit the order of Geneva, which now is uſed in ſome of our churches, is ſufficient to inſtruct the diligent reader, how that both theſe ſacraments may be rightly miniſtered, yet for an uniformity to be kept, we have thought good to add this as ſuperabundant.

In baptiſm we acknowledge nothing to be uſed except the element of water only (that the word and declaration of the promiſes ought to precede, we have ſaid before); wherefore whoſoever preſumeth in baptiſm to uſe oil, ſalt, wax, ſpittle, conjuration, and croſſing, accuſeth the perfect inſtitution of Chriſt Jeſus of imperfection; for it was void of all ſuch inventions deviſed by men: and ſuch as would perſume to alter Chriſt's perfect ordinance you ought ſeverely to puniſh.

The table of the Lord is then moſt rightly miniſtered, when it approacheth moſt near to Chriſt's own action. But plain it is, that at ſupper Chriſt Jeſus ſat with his diſciples; and therefore do we judge that ſitting at a table is moſt convenient to that holy action, that bread and wine ought to be there, that thanks ought to be given, diſtribution of the ſame made, and commandment given that the bread ſhould be taken and eaten, and that all ſhould likewiſe drink of the cup of wine, with declaration what both the one and the other is: we ſuppoſe no godly man will doubt. For as touching the damnable error of the Papiſts, who dare defraud the common people of the one part of that holy ſacrament, *viz.* of the cup of the Lord's blood, we ſuppoſe their error to be ſo manifeſt, that it needeth no confutation: neither yet intend we to confute any thing in this our ſimple confeſſion; but to offer public diſputation to all that liſt to oppugn any thing affirmed by us.

That the miniſter break the bread, and diſtribute the ſame to thoſe that be next unto him, commanding the reſt, every one with reverence and ſobriety to break with other, we think it neareſt to Chriſt's action, and to the perfect practice, as we read in St. Paul: during the which action we think it neceſſary, that ſome comfortable places of the Scripture be read, which may bring in mind the death of Chriſt Jeſus, and the benefit of the ſame. For ſeeing that in that action we ought chiefly to remember the Lord's death, we judge the Scriptures making mention of the ſame, moſt apt to ſtir up our dull minds then, and at all times. Let the diſcretion of the miniſters appoint the places to be read, as they think good. What times we think moſt convenient for the adminiſtration of the one and of the other of theſe ſacraments, ſhall be declared in the policy of the church.

The Third Head touching the aboliſhing of Idolatry.

AS we require Chriſt Jeſus to be truly preached, and his holy ſacraments rightly miniſtered, ſo cannot ceaſe to require idolatry, with all monuments and places of the ſame, as abbeys, monkeries, friaries, nunneries, chapels, chantries, cathedral churches, canonries, colleges, others than preſently are pariſh churches or ſchools, to be utterly ſuppreſſed in all bounds and places of this realm (except only palaces, manſions, and dwelling-places adjacent thereto, with orchards and yards of the ſame); as alſo, that idolatry may be removed from the preſence of all perſons, of what eſtate or condition that ever they be within this realm.

For let your honours aſſuredly be perſuaded, that where idolatry is maintained or permitted, where it may be ſuppreſſed, that there ſhall God's wrath reign, not only upon the blind and obſtinate idolater, but alſo the negligent ſufferers, eſpecially if God hath armed their hands with power to ſuppreſs ſuch abomination.

By idolatry, we underſtand the maſs, invocation of ſaints, adoration of images, and the keeping and retaining of the ſame. And finally, all honouring of God, not contained in his holy word.

The Fourth Head concerning Miniſters, and their lawful Election.

IN a church reformed, or tending to reformation, none ought to preſume either to preach, either yet to miniſter the ſacraments, till that orderly they be called to the ſame. Ordinary vocation conſiſteth in election, examination, and admiſſion. And becauſe that election of miniſters in this curſed Papiſtry hath altogether been abuſed, we think expedient to intreat it more largely. It appertaineth to the people, and to every ſeveral congregation, to elect their miniſter. And in caſe that they be found negligent therein the ſpace of forty days, the beſt reformed church, *viz.* the church of the ſuperintendent, with his council, may preſent unto them a man whom they judge apt to feed the flock of Chriſt Jeſus, who muſt be examined as well in life and manners, as in doctrine and knowledge. And that this may be done with more exact diligence, the perſons that are to be examined, muſt be commanded to appear before men of ſoundeſt judgment, remaining in ſome principal town next adjacent unto them; as they that be in Fife, Angus, Mearns, or Strathearn, to preſent themſelves in St. Andrews; theſe that be in Lothian, Merſe, or Tiviotdale, to Edinburgh; and likewiſe thoſe that be in other countries, muſt reſort to the beſt reformed city and town, that is, to the town of the ſuperintendent; where firſt, in the ſchools, or failing thereof, in open aſſembly, and before the congregation, they muſt give declaration of their gifts, utterance, and knowledge, by interpreting ſome place of Scripture, to be appointed by the miniſtry; which being ended, the perſon that is preſented, or that offereth himſelf to the adminiſtration of the church, muſt be examined by the miniſters and elders of the church, and that openly, and before all that liſt to hear, in all the chief points that now be in controverſy betwixt us and the Papiſts, Anabaptiſts, Arians, or other ſuch enemies to the Chriſtian religion. In which if he be found ſound, able to perſuade by wholeſome doctrine, and to convince the gainſayer, then muſt he be directed to the church and congregation where he ſhould ſerve, that there, in open audience of his flock, in divers public ſermons, he may give confeſſion of his faith, in the article of juſtification, in the office of Chriſt Jeſus, of the number, effect, and uſe of the ſacraments, and finally of the whole religion, which heretofore hath been corrupted by the Papiſts. If his doctrine be found wholeſome and able to inſtruct the ſimple, and if the church juſtly can reprehend nothing in his life, doctrine, nor utterance, then we judge the church, which before was deſtitute, unreaſonable, if they refuſe him whom the church did offer; and they ſhould be compelled, by the cenſure of the council and church, to receive the perſon appointed, and approved by the judgment of the godly and learned; unleſs that the ſame church hath preſented a man better, or as well qualified to the examination, before that this foreſaid trial was taken of the perſon preſented by the council of the whole church. As for example: The council of the church preſents to any church a man to be their miniſter, not knowing that they are otherwiſe provided; in the mean time, the church is provided of another, ſufficient in their judgment for that charge, whom they preſent to the learned miniſters, and next reformed church, to be examined. In this caſe the preſentation of the people, to whom he ſhould be appointed paſtor, muſt be preferred to the preſentation of the council, or greater church, unleſs the perſon preſented by the inferior church be judged unable for the government by the learned. For altogether this is to be avoided, that any man be vio-

lently intruded or thruſt in upon any congregation. But this liberty with all care muſt be reſerved to every ſeveral church, to have their votes and ſuffrages in election of their miniſters. But violent intruſion we call not, when the council of the church, in the fear of God, and for the ſalvation of the people, offereth unto them a ſufficient man to inſtruct them, whom they ſhall not be forced to admit before juſt examination, as before is ſaid.

What may unable any Perſon that he may not be admitted to the Miniſtry of the Church.

IT is to be obſerved, that no perſon, noted with public infamy, or being unable to edify the church by wholeſome doctrine, or being known of corrupt judgment, be either promoted to the government of the church, or yet retained in eccleſiaſtical adminiſtration.

Explication.

BY public infamy, we underſtand not the common ſins and offences which any hath committed in time of blindneſs, by fragility (if of the ſame by a better and more ſober converſation he hath declared himſelf verily penitent), but ſuch capital crimes as the civil ſword ought and may puniſh with death by the word of God. For beſides that the apoſtle requireth the life of miniſters to be ſo irreprehenſible, that they have a good teſtimony from thoſe that be without, we judge it a thing unſeemly and dangerous, that he ſhall have public authority to preach to others life everlaſting, from whom the civil magiſtrate may take the life temporal for a crime publicly committed. And if any object, that the prince hath pardoned his offence, and that he hath publicly repented, and ſo not only his life is in aſſurance, but alſo that he may be received to the miniſtry of the church; we anſwer, That repentance doth not take away the temporal puniſhment of the law, neither doth the pardon of the prince remove his infamy before man.

That the life and converſation of the perſon preſented, or to be elected, may be the more clearly known, public edicts ſhould be directed to all parts of this realm, or at the leaſt to thoſe parts where the perſon had been moſt converſant; as where he was nouriſhed in letters, or where he continued ſince the years of infancy and childhood were paſſed. Straight commandment would be given, that if any capital crimes were committed by him, that they ſhould be notified; as if he had committed wilful murder, adultery, if he were a common fornicator, a thief, a drunkard, a fighter, brawler, or contentious perſon. Theſe edicts ought to be notified in the chief cities, with the like charge and commandment; with declaration, that ſuch as concealed his ſins known did deceive and betray (ſo far as in them lay) the church, which is the ſpouſe of Chriſt Jeſus, and did communicate with the ſins of that wicked man.

Admiſſion.

THE admiſſion of miniſters to their offices muſt conſiſt in conſent of the people, and church whereto they ſhall be appointed, and approbation of the learned miniſters appointed for their examination.

We judge it expedient, that the admiſſion of miniſters be in open audience: that ſome ſpecial miniſter make a ſermon touching the duty and office of miniſters, touching their manners, converſation, and life; as alſo touching the obedience which the church oweth to their miniſters. Commandment ſhould be given as well to the miniſter as to the people, both being preſent, *viz.* That he, with all careful diligence, attend upon the flock of Chriſt Jeſus, over the which he is appointed preacher: that he will walk in the preſence of God ſo ſincerely, that the graces of the Holy Spirit may be multiplied into him; and in the preſence of men ſo ſoberly and uprightly, that his life may confirm, in the eyes of men, that which by tongue and word he perſuaded unto others. The people would be exhorted to reverence and honour their miniſters, choſen as the ſervants and ambaſſadors of the Lord Jeſus, obeying the commandments, which they pronounce from God's mouth and book, even as they would obey God himſelf: for whoſoever heareth Chriſt's miniſters, heareth himſelf; and whoſoever rejecteth and deſpiſeth their miniſtry and exhortation, rejecteth and deſpiſeth Chriſt Jeſus. Other ceremony than the public approbation of the people, and declaration of the chief miniſter, that the perſon there preſented is appointed to ſerve the church, we cannot approve; for albeit the apoſtles uſed impoſition of hands, yet ſeeing the miracle is ceaſed, the uſing of the ceremony we judge not neceſſary.

The miniſter elected, or preſented, examined, and, as ſaid is, publicly admitted, may neither leave the flock at his pleaſure, to which he had promiſed his fidelity and labours; neither yet may the flock reject nor change him at their appetite,

unleſs they be able to convict him of ſuch crimes as deſerve depoſition, whereof we ſhall after ſpeak. We mean not but that the whole church, or the moſt part thereof, for juſt conſiderations, may transfer a miniſter from one church to another; neither yet mean we, that men who now ſerve as it were of benevolence, may not be appointed and elected to ſerve in other places; but once being ſolemnly elected, and admitted, we cannot approve that they ſhould change at their own pleaſure.

We are not ignorant, that the rarity of godly and learned men ſhall ſeem to ſome a juſt reaſon why that ſo ſtrait and ſharp examination ſhould not be taken univerſally; for ſo it ſhall appear, that the moſt part of the kirks ſhall have no miniſter at all. But let theſe men underſtand, that the lack of able men ſhall not excuſe us before God, if by our conſent unable men be placed over the flock of Chriſt Jeſus: as alſo that amongſt the Gentiles godly and learned men were alſo rare, as they be now amongſt us, when the apoſtle gave the ſame rule to try and examine miniſters, which we now follow. And laſt, let them underſtand that it is alike to have no miniſter at all, and to have an idol in the place of a true miniſter; yea, and in ſome caſe it is worſe: for thoſe that be utterly deſtitute of miniſters, will be diligent to ſearch for them; but thoſe that have a vain ſhadow, do commonly, without further care, content themſelves with the ſame, and ſo remain they continually deceived, thinking that they have a miniſter, when in very deed they have none: for we cannot judge him a diſpenſator of God's myſteries, that in no wiſe can break the bread of life to the fainting and hungry ſouls: neither judge we that the ſacraments can be rightly miniſtered by him, in whoſe mouth God hath put no ſermon of exhortation. The chiefeſt remedy left to your honours, and to us, in all this rarity of true miniſters, is fervent prayer unto God, that it will pleaſe his mercy to thruſt out faithful workmen in this his harveſt. And next, that your honours, with conſent of the church, are bound, by your authority, to compel ſuch men as have gifts and graces able to edify the church of God, that they beſtow them where greateſt neceſſity ſhall be known: for no man may be permitted to live idle, or as themſelves liſt; but muſt be appointed to travel where your wiſdoms, and the church, ſhall think expedient. We cannot preſcribe unto your honours certain rules, how that ye ſhall diſtribute the miniſters and learned men, whom God hath already ſent unto you: but hereof we are aſſured, that it greatly hindereth the progreſs of Chriſt's goſpel within this poor realm, that ſome altogether abſtract their labours from the church, and others remain altogether in one place, the moſt part of them being idle. And therefore of your honours we require, in God's name, that, by your authority, which ye have of God, ye compel all men to whom God hath given any talent to perſuade by wholeſome doctrine, to beſtow the ſame, if they be called by the church to the advancement of Chriſt's glory, and the comfort of his troubled flock. And that ye, with the conſent of the church, aſſign unto your chiefeſt workmen, not only towns to remain in, but alſo provinces, that, by their faithful labours, churches may be erected, and order eſtabliſhed, where none is now. And if on this manner ye ſhall uſe your power and authority, chiefly ſeeking God's glory, and the comfort of your brethren, we doubt not but God ſhall bleſs you and your enterpriſes.

For Readers.

TO the churches where no miniſters can be had preſently, muſt be appointed the moſt apt men that diſtinctly can read the common prayers and the Scriptures, to exerciſe both themſelves and the church, till they grow to greater perfection; and, in proceſs of time, he that is but a reader, may attain to a farther degree, and by conſent of the church, and diſcreet miniſters, may be permitted to miniſter the ſacraments; but not before that he be able ſomewhat to perſuade by wholeſome doctrine, beſide his reading, and be admitted to the miniſtry, as before is ſaid. Some we know that of long time have profeſſed Chriſt Jeſus, whoſe honeſt converſation deſerveth praiſe of all godly men, and whoſe knowledge alſo might greatly help the ſimple, and yet they only content themſelves with reading; theſe muſt be animated, and by gentle admonition encouraged by ſome exhortation to comfort their brethren, and ſo they may be admitted to adminiſtration of the ſacraments: but ſuch readers as neither have had exerciſe nor continuance in Chriſt's true religion, muſt abſtain from miniſtration of the ſacraments, till they give declaration and witneſſing of their honeſty and further knowledge, that none be admitted to preach, but they that are qualified therefore, but rather be retained readers; and ſuch as are preachers already, not found qualified therefore by the ſuperintendent, be placed to be readers.

The Fifth Head concerning the Proviſion for the Miniſters, and for the Diſtribution of the Rents and Poſſeſſions juſtly appertaining to the Church.

SEEING that of our Maſter Chriſt Jeſus, and his apoſtle Paul, we have, that the workman is worthy of his reward, and that the mouth of the labouring ox ought not to be muzzled, of neceſſity it is, that honeſt proviſion be made for the miniſters, which we require to be ſuch, that they have neither occaſion of ſolicitude, neither yet of inſolence and wantonneſs. And this proviſion muſt be made not only for their own ſuſtentation, during their lives, but alſo for their wives and children after them: for we judge it a thing moſt contrary to reaſon, godlineſs, and equity, that the widow and the children of him who in his life did faithfully ſerve in the kirk of God, and for that cauſe did not carefully make proviſion for his family, ſhould, after his death, be left comfortleſs of all proviſion: which proviſion for the wives of the miniſters, after their deceaſe, is to be remitted to the diſcretion of the kirk. Difficult it is to appoint a ſeveral ſtipend to every miniſter, by reaſon that the charge and neceſſity of all will not be alike: for ſome will be continuers in one place, ſome will be compelled to travel, and oft to change their dwelling-place (if they ſhall have charge of divers kirks); among theſe ſome will be burdened with wife and children, and one with more than others, and ſome perhaps will be ſingle men. If equal ſtipends ſhould be appointed to theſe that in charge ſhould be ſo unequal, either ſhould the one ſuffer penury, or elſe ſhould the other have ſuperfluity, and too much. We judge therefore that every miniſter have ſufficient whereupon to keep a houſe, and be ſuſtained honeſtly in all things neceſſary, as well for keeping of his houſe and clothes, fleſh, fiſh, books, fewel, and other things neceſſary, off the rents and treaſury of the kirk, at the diſcretion of the congregation, conform to the quality of the perſon, and neceſſity of the time: wherein it is thought good, that every miniſter ſhall have at leaſt forty bolls of meal, twenty-ſix bolls of malt, to find his houſe bread and drink, and more ſo much as the diſcretion of the church finds neceſſary; beſides money, for buying of other proviſion to his houſe, and other neceſſaries: the modification whereof is referred to the judgment of the kirk, to be made every year at the chuſing of the elders and deacons of the kirk. Providing always that there be advanced to every miniſter ſufficient proviſion for a quarter of a year beforehand of all things. But to him that travels from place to place, whom we call ſuperintendent, who remains as it were a month or leſs in one place, for eſtabliſhing of the kirk, and for the ſame purpoſe changing to another, muſt conſideration be had. And therefore to ſuch we think ſix chalders bear, nine chalders meal, three chalders oats, ſix hundred merks money, to be eiked and paired at the diſcretion of the prince and council of the realm, to be paid to him in manner foreſaid. The children of the miniſters muſt have the liberties of the cities next adjacent, where their fathers laboured, freely granted. They muſt have the privileges in ſchools, and burſaries in colleges; that is, that they ſhall be ſuſtained at learning, if they be found apt thereto: and failing thereof, that they be put to ſome handy-craft, or exerciſed in ſome virtuous induſtry, whereby they may be profitable members of the commonwealth: and the ſame we require of their daughters; *viz.* that they be virtuouſly brought up, and honeſtly doted when they come to maturity of years, at the diſcretion of the kirk. And this in God's preſence we witneſs, we require not ſo much for ourſelves, or for any that appertain to us, as that we do it for the increaſe of virtue and learning, and for the profit of the poſterity to come. It is not to be ſuppoſed that any man will dedicate himſelf and his children ſo to God and to his kirk, that they look for no worldly commodity; but this cankered nature which we bear, is provoked to follow virtue when it ſeeth profit and honour thereto annexed; and contrarily, then is virtue in many deſpiſed, when virtuous and godly men are without honour: and ſorry would we be that poverty ſhould diſcourage men from ſtudy, and following of the way of virtue, by which they might edify the kirk and flock of Chriſt Jeſus. Nothing have we ſpoken of the ſtipend of readers, becauſe if they can do nothing but read, they neither can be called nor judged true miniſters, and yet regard muſt be had to their labours; but ſo that they may be ſpurred forward to virtue, and not by any ſtipend appointed for their reading to be retained in that eſtate. To a reader therefore that is newly entered, forty merks, or more or leſs, as pariſhioners and readers can agree, is ſufficient: provided that he teach the children of the pariſh, which he muſt do, beſide the reading of the common prayers, and books of the Old and New Teſtament. If from reading he begin to exhort, and explain the Scriptures, then ought his ſtipend to be augmented, till finally he

come to the honour of a miniſter. But if he be found unable after two years, then muſt he be removed from that office, and diſcharged of all ſtipend, that another may be proved as long. For this always is to be avoided, that none who is judged unable to come at any time to ſome reaſonable knowledge, whereby he may edify the kirk, ſhall be perpetually ſuſtained upon the charge of the kirk. Farther it muſt be avoided, that no child, nor perſon within age, that is, within twenty-one years of age, be admitted to the office of a reader. But readers ought to be endued with gravity and diſcretion, leſt, by their lightneſs, the prayers or Scriptures read be of leſs price or eſtimation. It is to be noted, that the reader be put in the kirk at the admiſſion of the ſuperintendent. The other ſort of readers, who have long continued in godlineſs, and have ſome gift of exhortation, who are of hope to attain to the degree of a miniſter, and teach the children, we think an hundred merks, or more or leſs, at the diſcretion of the kirk, may be appointed; ſo that difference be made, as ſaid is, betwixt them and the miniſters, that openly preach the word, and miniſter the ſacraments.

Reſts yet two ſorts of people to be provided for, upon that which is called the patrimony of the kirk; *viz.* the poor, and teachers of the youth. Every ſeveral kirk muſt provide for the poor within itſelf: for fearful and horrible it is, that the poor, whom not only God the Father in his law, but Chriſt Jeſus in his goſpel, and the Holy Spirit ſpeaking by St. Paul, have ſo earneſtly commended to our care, are univerſally ſo contemned and deſpiſed. We are not patrons for ſtubborn and idle beggars, who, running from place to place, make a craft of their begging, whom the civil magiſtrate ought to puniſh; but for the widow and fatherleſs, the aged, impotent, or lame, who neither can nor may travel for their ſuſtentation, we ſay that God commands his people to be careful; and therefore for ſuch, as alſo for perſons of honeſty fallen into decay and poverty, ought ſuch proviſion to be made, that of our abundance their indigence might be relieved. How this moſt conveniently, and moſt eaſily may be done in every city, and other parts of this realm, God will ſhew you wiſdom, and the means, ſo that your minds be godly inclined thereto. All muſt not be ſuffered to beg that gladly would ſo do; neither yet muſt beggars remain where they would: but the ſtout and ſtrong beggars muſt be compelled to work; and every perſon that may not work, muſt be compelled to repair to the place where he or ſhe was born, unleſs of long continuance they have remained in one place, and there reaſonable proviſion muſt be made for ſuſtentation, as the kirk ſhall appoint. The order nor ſums, in our judgments, can not particularly be appointed, until ſuch times as the poor of every city, town, and pariſh, be compelled to repair to the places where they were born, or of their reſidence, where their names and number muſt be taken and put in roll; and then may the wiſdom of the kirk appoint ſtipends accordingly.

The Head of the Superintendents.

BECAUSE we have appointed a larger ſtipend to them that ſhall be ſuperintendents than to the reſt of the miniſters, we have thought good to ſignify to your honours ſuch reaſons as moved us to make difference betwixt preachers at this time; as alſo how many ſuperintendents we think neceſſary, with their bounds, office, election, and cauſes that may deſerve depoſition from that charge.

We conſider that if the miniſters whom God hath endued with his ſingular graces amongſt us, ſhould be appointed to ſeveral places, there to make their continual reſidence, that then the greateſt part of the realm ſhould be deſtitute of all doctrine; which ſhould not only be the occaſion of great murmur, but alſo be dangerous to the ſalvation of many. And therefore we have thought it a thing moſt expedient at this time, that from the whole number of godly and learned men, now preſently in this realm, be ſelected ten or twelve (for in ſo many provinces we have divided the whole), to whom charge and commandment ſhould be given, to plant and erect kirks, to ſet, order, and appoint miniſters, as the former order preſcribes, to the countries that ſhall be appointed to their care, where none are now. And, by their means, your love and common care over all inhabitants of this realm, to whom you are equally debtors, ſhall evidently appear: as alſo the ſimple and ignorant, who perchance have never heard Jeſus Chriſt truly preached, ſhall come to ſome knowledge; by the which many that are dead in ſuperſtition and ignorance, ſhall attain to ſome feeling of godlineſs, by the which they may be provoked to ſearch and ſeek farther knowledge of God, and his true religion and worſhipping: where by the contrary, if they ſhall be neglected, then ſhall they not only grudge, but alſo ſeek the means whereby they may continue in their blindneſs, or return to their accuſtomed idolatry; and therefore nothing we deſire more earneſtly, than that Chriſt

Jeſus be univerſally once preached throughout this realm; which ſhall not ſuddenly be, unleſs that by you men be appointed, and compelled, faithfully to travel in ſuch provinces as to them ſhall be aſſigned.

The Names of the Places of Reſidence and ſeveral Dioceſes of the Superintendents.

Imprimis, THE ſuperintendent of Orkney, whoſe dioceſe ſhall comprehend the Iſles, Orkney, Zetland, and Caithneſs, and Strathnaver: his reſidence to be in Kirkwal.

The ſuperintendent of Roſs, whoſe dioceſe ſhall comprehend Roſs, Sutherland, Murray, with the North Iſles of the Sky and Lewis, with the adjacents: his reſidence to be in the chanonry of Roſs.

The ſuperintendent of Argyle, whoſe dioceſe ſhall comprehend Argyle, Kintyre, Lorn, the South Iſles Arran and Bute, with their adjacents, with Lochhaber: his reſidence to be in Argyle.

The ſuperintendent of Aberdeen, whoſe dioceſe is betwixt Dee and Spey, containing the ſheriffdom of Aberdeen and Banff: whoſe reſidence ſhall be in Old Aberdeen.

The ſuperintendent of Brechine, whoſe dioceſe ſhall be the whole ſheriffdoms of the Mearns, Angus, and the Brae of Marr to Dee: his reſidence to be in Brechine.

The ſuperintendent of Fife and Fotheringham to Stirling, and the whole ſheriffdom of Perth: his reſidence to be in St. Andrews.

The ſuperintendent of Edinburgh, whoſe dioceſe ſhall comprehend the whole ſheriffdom of Lothian and Stirling, and the ſouth ſide of the Water of Forth: his reſidence to be in Edinburgh.

The ſuperintendent of Jedburgh, whoſe dioceſe ſhall comprehend the whole Tiviotdale, Tweedale, Liddiſdale; and thereto is added, by conſent of the whole kirk, the Merſe, Lauderdale, and Weddale, with the Foreſt of Etterick: his reſidence to be in Jedburgh.

The ſuperintendent of Glaſgow, whoſe dioceſe ſhall comprehend Clydeſdale, Renfrew, Monteith, Lennox, Kyle, and Cunningham: his reſidence to be in Glaſgow.

The ſuperintendent of Dumfries, whoſe dioceſe ſhall comprehend Galloway, Carrick, Nithſdale, Annandale, with the reſt of the dales in the weſt: his reſidence to be in Dumfries.

Thoſe men muſt not be ſuffered to live as your idle biſhops have done heretofore, neither muſt they remain where gladly they would; but they muſt be preachers themſelves, and ſuch as may not make long reſidence in any place, till their kirks be planted and provided of miniſters, or at the leaſt of readers. Charge muſt be given to them, that they remain in no place above twenty days in their viſitation, till they have paſſed through their whole bounds. They muſt thrice every week preach at the leaſt; and when they return to their principal town and reſidence, they muſt be likewiſe exerciſed in preaching and edification of the kirk: and yet they muſt not be ſuffered to continue there ſo long, that they may ſeem to neglect their other kirks: but after they have remained in their chief town three or four months at moſt, they ſhall be compelled (unleſs by ſickneſs they be retained) to re-enter in viſitation. In which they ſhall not only preach, but alſo examine the life, diligence, and behaviour of the miniſters, as alſo the order of the kirks, the manners of the people. They muſt farther conſider how the poor be provided, how the youth be inſtructed: they muſt admoniſh where admonition needeth, and dreſs ſuch things as by good counſel they be able to appeaſe. And finally, they muſt note ſuch crimes as be heinous, that by the cenſure of the kirk the ſame may be corrected. If the ſuperintendent be found negligent in any of the chief points of his office; and ſpecially if he be noted negligent in preaching of the word, and viſitation of the kirks; or if he be convicted of ſuch crimes which in common miniſters are condemned; he muſt be depoſed, without reſpect of his perſon or office.

The Election of Superintendents.

IN this preſent neceſſity, the nomination, examination, and admiſſion of the ſuperintendent, cannot be ſo ſtraight as we require, and as afterward it muſt be. For this preſent therefore we think it expedient, that either your honours by yourſelves nominate ſo many as may ſerve the forewritten provinces; or that ye give commiſſion to ſuch men as ye ſuppoſe the fear of God to be in, to do the ſame. And the ſame men being called in your preſence, ſhall be by you, and ſuch as your honours pleaſe to call unto you for conſultation in that caſe, appointed to their provinces. We think it expedient and neceſſary, that as well the gentlemen, as burgeſſes of every dioceſe, be made privy at the ſame time to the election of the ſuperintendent; as well to bring the kirk in ſome practice of her liberty, as that the paſtor may be the better favoured of the flock whom themſelves have cho-

ſen. If your honours cannot find, for this preſent, ſo many able as neceſſity requireth, then, in our judgments, more profitable it is thoſe provinces vake till God provide better for them, than that men unable to edify and govern the kirk ſo ſuddenly be placed in that charge; for experience hath taught us, what peſtilence hath been engendered in the kirk, by men unable to diſcharge their offices. When therefore, after three years, any ſuperintendent ſhall depart, or chance to be depoſed, the chief town within the province, *viz.* the miniſters, elders, and deacons, with the magiſtrate and council of the ſame town, ſhall nominate, and by public edicts proclaim, as well to the ſuperintendent, as to two or three provinces next adjacent, two or three of the moſt learned and godly miniſters within the whole realm, that from amongſt them, one, with public conſent, may be elected and appointed to the office then vacant: and this the chief town ſhall be bound to do within the ſpace of twenty days; which being expired, and no man preſented, then ſhall three of the next adjacent provinces, with conſent of their ſuperintendents, miniſters, and elders, enter in the right and privilege of the town, and ſhall preſent every one of them one or two, if they liſt, to the chief town to be examined, as the order requires. As alſo, it ſhall be lawful for all the kirks of the dioceſe, to nominate, within the ſame time, ſuch perſons as they think worthy to ſtand in election; who all muſt be put in an edict.

After nomination to be made, public edicts muſt be ſent forth, warning all men that have any exception againſt the perſons nominate, or againſt any of them, to be preſent in the chief town, at the day affixed, and place, to object what they can againſt the election of any of them. Thirty days we think ſufficient to be aſſigned thereto. Thirty days, we mean, after the nomination be made: which day of the election being come, the whole miniſters of the province, with three or four ſuperintendents next adjacent, or that ſhall be thereto nominated, ſhall examine not only the learning, but alſo the manners, prudence, and hability, to govern the kirk, of all theſe that be nominated: that he who ſhall be found moſt worthy may be burdened with the charge. If the miniſters of the whole provinces ſhould bring with them the votes of them that were committed to their care, the election ſhould be the more free: but always the votes of them that convene, ſhould be required. The examinations muſt be publicly made. They that ſtand in election muſt publicly preach. And men muſt be charged, in the name of God, to vote according to conſcience, and not after affection.

If any thing be objected againſt him that ſtandeth in election, the ſuperintendents and miniſters muſt conſider, whether the objection be made of conſcience or malice; and they muſt anſwer accordingly. Other ceremonies than ſharp examination, approbation of the miniſters and ſuperintendents, with the public conſent of the elders and people, we cannot allow.

The ſuperintendent being elected, and appointed to his charge, muſt be ſubject to the cenſure and correction of miniſters and elders, not of his chief town only, but alſo of the whole province, over the which he is appointed overſeer.

If his offence be known, and the miniſters and elders of the town and province be negligent in correcting of him, then the next one or two ſuperintendents, with their miniſters and elders, may convene him, and the miniſters and elders of his chief town (provided that it be within his own province or chief town) may accuſe, or correct, as well the ſuperintendent in theſe things that are worthy of correction, as the miniſters and elders of their negligence and ungodly tolerance of his offence.

Whatſoever crime deſerves depoſition or correction of any other miniſter, deſerveth the ſame in the ſuperintendent, without exception of perſons.

After that the kirk is eſtabliſhed, and three years be paſſed, we require that no man be called to the office of a ſuperintendent, who hath not at the leaſt two years given declaration of his faithful labours in the miniſtry of the ſame kirk.

No ſuperintendent may be transferred at the pleaſure or requeſt of any one province; no, not without the conſent of the whole council of the kirk, and that for grave cauſes and conſiderations.

Of one thing in the end we muſt admoniſh your honours, *viz.* that in the appointing of the ſuperintendents for this preſent, ye diſappoint not your chief towns, and where learning is exerciſed, of ſuch miniſters as more may profit by reſidence in one place, than by continual travel from place to place. For if ye ſo do, the youth in theſe places ſhall lack the profound interpretation of Scripture; and ſo ſhall it be long before your garden ſend forth many plants: where by the contrary, if one or two towns be continually exerciſed as they may, the commonwealth ſhall ſhortly feaſt of their fruit, to the comfort of the godly.

For the Schools.

SEEING that the office and duty of the godly magiſtrate, is not only to purge the church of God from all ſuperſtition, and to ſet it at liberty from tyranny and bondage, but alſo to provide, at the utmoſt of his power, how it may abide in ſome purity in the poſterity following, we can but freely communicate our judgments with your honours in this behalf.

The Neceſſity of Schools.

SEEING that God hath determined that his kirk here in earth ſhall be taught not by angels, but by men; and ſeeing that men are born ignorant of God, and of all godlineſs; and ſeeing alſo he ceaſes to illuminate men miraculouſly, ſuddenly changing them as he did the apoſtles, and others in the primitive kirk; of neceſſity it is that your honours be moſt careful for the virtuous education, and godly up-bringing, of the youth of this realm, if either ye now thirſt unfeignedly for the advancement of Chriſt's glory, or yet deſire the continuance of his benefits to the generation following. For as the youth muſt ſucceed to us, ſo we ought to be careful that they have knowledge and erudition, to profit and comfort that which ought to be moſt dear to us, *viz.* the kirk and ſpouſe of our Lord Jeſus. Of neceſſity therefore we judge it, that every ſeveral kirk have one ſchoolmaſter appointed; ſuch a one at leaſt as is able to teach grammar, and the Latin tongue, if the town be of any reputation. If it be in a place where the people convene to the doctrine but once in the week, then muſt either the reader, or the miniſter there appointed, take care over the children and youth of the pariſh, to inſtruct them in the firſt rudiments; and eſpecially in the catechiſm, as we have it now tranſlated in the book of the common order, called the Order of Geneva. And further we think it expedient, that in every notable town, and ſpecially in the town of the ſuperintendent, there be erected a college, in which the arts, at leaſt logic and rhetoric, together with the tongues, be read by ſufficient maſters, for whom honeſt ſtipends muſt be appointed: as alſo proviſion for thoſe that be poor, and not able by themſelves, nor by their friends, to be ſuſtained at letters; and in ſpecial theſe that come from landwart. The fruit and commodity hereof ſhall ſuddenly appear. For, firſt, the youth and tender children ſhall be nouriſhed and brought up in virtue, in preſence of their friends, by whoſe good attendance many inconveniences may be avoided, in which the youth commonly fall, either by over much liberty, which they have in ſtrange and unknown places, while they cannot rule themſelves, or elſe for lack of good attendance, and ſuch neceſſity as their tender age requires. Secondly, The exerciſe of children in every kirk ſhall be great inſtruction to the aged. Laſtly, The great ſchools, called the univerſities, ſhall be repleniſhed with theſe that ſhall be apt to learning. For this muſt be carefully provided, that no father, of what eſtate or condition that ever he be, uſe his children at his own fancy, eſpecially in their youth; but all muſt be compelled to bring up their children in learning and virtue.

The rich and potent may not be permitted to ſuffer their children to ſpend their youth in vain idleneſs, as heretofore they have done: but they muſt be exhorted, and by the cenſure of the kirk compelled, to dedicate their ſons, by good exerciſes, to the profit of the kirk and commonwealth; and that they muſt do, of their own expences, becauſe they are able. The children of the poor muſt be ſupported and ſuſtained at the charge of the kirk, trial being taken, whether the ſpirit of docility be in them found, or not: if they be found apt to learning and letters, then may they not (we mean, neither the ſons of the rich, nor yet of the poor) be permitted to reject learning; but muſt be charged to continue their ſtudy, ſo that the commonwealth may have ſome comfort by them. And for this purpoſe muſt diſcreet, grave, and learned men, be appointed to viſit ſchools, for the trial of their exerciſe, profit, and continuance; *viz.* the miniſter and elders, and the reſt of the learned men, in every town, ſhall, in every quarter, make examination how the youth have profited.

And certain times muſt be appointed to reading and learning of the catechiſm, and certain to the grammar and to the Latin tongues, and a certain to the arts of philoſophy, and the tongues; and certain to that ſtudy in the which they intend chiefly to travel for the profit of the commonwealth. Which time being expired, we mean in every courſe, the children ſhould either proceed to farther knowledge, or elſe they muſt be ſet to ſome handy-craft, or to ſome other profitable exerciſe: providing always that firſt they have further knowledge of Chriſtian religion; *viz.* the knowledge of God's law and commandments; the uſe and office

of the ſame; the chief articles of the belief; the right form to pray unto God; the number, uſe, and effect, of the ſacraments; the true knowledge of Chriſt Jeſus, of his office and natures, and ſuch others; without the knowledge whereof neither any man deſerves to be called a Chriſtian, neither ought any to be admitted to the participation of the Lord's table: and therefore theſe principles ought, and muſt be learned in the youth.

The Times appointed to every Courſe.

TWO years we think more than ſufficient to learn to read perfectly, to anſwer to the catechiſm, and to have ſome entry in the firſt rudiments of grammar; to the full accompliſhment whereof (we mean of the grammar) we think other three years, or four at moſt, ſufficient; to the arts, *viz.* logic and rhetoric, and to the Greek tongue, four years; and the reſt till the age of twenty-four years, to be ſpent in that ſtudy wherein the learner would profit the church or commonwealth, be it in the laws, phyſic, or divinity: which time of twenty-four years being ſpent in the ſchools, the learner muſt be removed, to ſerve the church or commonwealth, unleſs he be found a neceſſary reader in this ſame college or univerſity. If God ſhall move your hearts to eſtabliſh and execute this order, and put theſe things in practice, your whole realm, we doubt not, within few years, will ſerve itſelf of true preachers, and of other officers neceſſary for the commonwealth.

Of the Erection of Univerſities.

THE grammar-ſchool being erected, and of the tongues (as we have ſaid); next we think it neceſſary there be three univerſities in this whole realm, eſtabliſhed in three towns accuſtomed: the firſt in St. Andrews, the ſecond in Glaſgow, and the third in Aberdeen. And in the firſt univerſity and principal, *viz.* St. Andrews, that there be three colleges: and in the firſt college, which is the entry, of the univerſity, there be four claſſes or ſeages; the firſt to the new ſuppoſts ſhall be only *dialectica*, next only *mathemetica*, the third of phyſic only, the fourth of medicine: and in the ſecond college, two claſſes or ſeages; the firſt of moral philoſophy, the ſecond of the laws: and in the third college, two claſſes or ſeages; the firſt of the tongues, *viz.* Greek and Hebrew, the ſecond of divinity.

Of Readers, and of the Degrees and Time of Study.

Item, IN the firſt college, and firſt claſs, ſhall be a reader of *dialectica*, who ſhall accompliſh his courſe thereof in a year. In *mathematica*, which is the ſecond claſs, ſhall be a reader, which ſhall complete his courſe of arithmetic, geometry, coſmography, and aſtrology, in one year. In the third claſs ſhall be a reader of natural philoſophy, who ſhall complete his courſe in one year. And who, after theſe three years, by trial and examination, ſhall be found ſufficiently inſtructed in the foreſaid ſciences, ſhall be laureat, and graduate in philoſophy. In the fourth claſs ſhall be a reader of medicine, who ſhall complete his courſe in five years; after the ſtudy of the which time, being by examination found ſufficient, they ſhall be graduate in medicine.

Item, In the ſecond college, in the firſt claſs, one reader only in the ethics, œconomics, and politics, who ſhall complete his courſe in the ſpace of one year. In the ſecond claſs ſhall be two readers in the municipal and Roman laws, who ſhall complete his courſe in four years; after which time, being by examination found ſufficient, they ſhall be graduate in the laws.

Item, In the third college, in the firſt claſs, one reader of the Hebrew, and another of the Greek tongue, who ſhall complete the grammar thereof in three months; and the remanent of the year, the reader of the Hebrew ſhall interpret one book of Moſes, the prophets, or the pſalms; ſo that this courſe and claſs ſhall continue one year. The reader of the Greek ſhall interpret ſome book of Plato, together with ſome place of the New Teſtament. In the ſecond claſs ſhall be two readers in divinity, the one in the New Teſtament, the other in the Old, who ſhall complete their courſe in five years: after which time, who ſhall be found by examination ſufficient, they ſhall be graduate in divinity.

Item, We think expedient, that none be admitted to the firſt college, and to be ſuppoſts of the univerſity, unleſs he have, from the maſter of the ſchool, and miniſter of the town where he was inſtructed in the tongues, a teſtimony of his learning, docility, age, and parentage; and likewiſe trial be taken by certain examinators, depute by the rector and principals of the ſame. And if he be found ſufficiently inſtructed in the *dialectica*, he ſhall incontinent the ſame year be promoted to the claſs of *mathematica*.

Item, That none be admitted to the claſs of medicine, but he that ſhall have his teſtimonial of his time well ſpent in *dialectica*, *mathematica*, and phyſic; and of his docility in the laſt.

Item, That none be admitted unto the claſs of the laws, but he that ſhall have ſufficient teſtimonials of his time well ſpent in *dialectica*, *mathematica*, *phyſica*, ethics, œconomics, and politics; and of his docility in the laſt.

Item, That none be admitted unto the claſs and ſeage of divinity, but he that ſhall have ſufficient teſtimonials of his time well ſpent in *dialectica*, *mathematica*, *phyſica*, *ethica*, *œconomica*, and *politica*, and the Hebrew tongue; and of his docility in the moral philoſophy, and the Hebrew tongue. But neither ſhall ſuch as apply them to hear the laws, be compelled to hear medicine; neither ſuch as apply them to hear divinity, be compelled to hear either medicine, or yet the laws.

Item, In the ſecond univerſity, which is Glaſgow, ſhall be two colleges only. In the firſt ſhall be a claſs of *dialectica*, another of *mathematica*, the third of *phyſica*; ordered in all ſorts as St. Andrews.

Item, In the ſecond, four claſſes: the firſt, of moral philoſophy, ethics, œconomics, and phyſic; the ſecond, of the municipal and Roman laws; the third, of the Hebrew tongue; the fourth, of divinity; which ſhall be ordered in all ſorts to that we have written in the order of the univerſity of St. Andrews.

The third univerſity of Aberdeen ſhall be conform to this univerſity of Glaſgow in all ſorts.

Item, We think needful that there be choſen, of the body of the univerſity, to every college, a principal man of learning, diſcretion, and diligence, who ſhall receive the whole rents of the college, and diſtribute the ſame according to the erection of the college, and ſhall daily hearken the diet counts, adjoining to him weekly one of the readers or regents, above whom he ſhall take attendance upon their diligence, as well in their reading, as exerciſing of the youth in the matter taught upon the policy and uphold of the place; and for puniſhment of crimes, ſhall hold a weekly convention with the whole members of the college. He ſhall be countable yearly to the ſuperintendent, rector, and the principals convened, about the firſt of November. His election ſhall be in this ſort: There ſhall be three of the moſt ſufficient men of the univerſity (not principals already nominate by the members of the college, ſworn to follow their conſciences) whoſe principal is departed, and publicly proponed through the whoſe univerſity; after the which time eight days, by the ſuperintendent himſelf, or his ſpecial procurator, with the rector, and the reſt of the principals, as a chapter, convened, ſhall confirm one of the three they think moſt ſufficient, being before ſworn to do the ſame with a ſingle eye, without reſpect to feud or favour.

Item, In every college we think needful at leaſt, a ſteward, a cook, a gardiner, and porter, who ſhall be ſubject to diſcipline of the principal, as the reſt.

Item, That every univerſity have a beadle, ſubject to ſerve at all times throughout the whole univerſity, as the rector and principal ſhall command.

Item, That every univerſity have a rector, choſen from year to year, as ſhall follow: The principals being convened with the whole regents chapterly, ſhall be ſworn, that every man in his room ſhall nominate ſuch a one as his conſcience ſhall teſtify to be moſt ſufficient to bear ſuch charge and dignity: and three of them that ſhall be oftener nominated, ſhall be put in edict publicly fifteen days before Michaelmas; and then ſhall on Michaelmas-even convene the whole principals, regents, and ſuppoſts, that are graduate, or at the leaſt ſtudied their time in ethics, œconomics, and politics, and no others younger, and every one firſt proteſt in God's preſence to follow the ſincere dictates of their conſcience, ſhall nominate one of the three; and he that hath moſt votes ſhall be confirmed by the ſuperintendent and principals, and his duty with an exhortation proponed unto him; and this to be the twenty-eight day of September; and thereafter trial to be taken *hinc inde* of his juſt and godly government, and of the reſts lawful ſubmiſſion and obedience: he ſhall be propyned by the univerſity at his entry with a new garment, bearing *inſignia magiſtratus*; and he holden monthly to viſit every college, and with his preſence decore and examine the lections and exerciſe thereof. His aſſeſſors ſhall be a lawyer and a theologe, with whoſe advice he ſhall decide all queſtions civil betwixt the members of the univerſity. If any without the univerſity purſue a member thereof, or he be purſued by a member of the ſame, he ſhall aſſiſt the provoſt and bailies in theſe caſes, or other judges competent, to ſee juſtice be miniſtered: likewiſe, if any of the univerſity be criminally purſued, he ſhall aſſiſt the judges competent, and ſee that juſtice be miniſtered.

Item, We think expedient, that in every college, in every univerſity, there be twenty-four burſars,

divided equally in all the claſſes and ſeages, as is above mentioned; that is, in St. Andrews, ſeventy-two burſars; in Glaſgow, forty-eight burſars; in Aberdeen, forty-eight; to be ſuſtained only in meat upon the charges of the college; and to be admitted at the examination of the miniſtry and chapter of principals in the univerſity, as well in the docility of the perſons offered, as of the ability of their parents to ſuſtain them themſelves, and not to burden the commonwealth with them.

Of the Stipends and Expences neceſſary.

Item, WE think expedient, that the univerſities be doted with temporal lands, with rents and revenues of the biſhoprics temporality, and of the kirks collegiate, ſo far as their ordinary charges ſhall require; and therefore that it would pleaſe your honours, by advice of your honourable council, and vote of parliament, to do the ſame. And to the effect the ſame may be ſhortly expede, we have recollected the ſums we think neceſſary for the ſame.

Imprimis, For the ordinary ſtipend of the dialectician reader, the mathematician, phyſician, and moral philoſopher, we think ſufficient 100 pounds for every one of them.

Item, For the ſtipend of every reader in medicine and laws, 133 pounds 6 ſhillings and 8 pence.

Item, To every reader in Hebrew, Greek, and divinity, 200 pounds.

Item, To every principal of a college, 200 pounds.

Item, To every ſteward, 16 pounds.

Item, To every gardiner, to every cook and porter, to every one of them, 10 merks.

Item, To the board of every burſar without the claſs of theology, 20 pounds.

Item, In the claſs of theology, which will be only 12 perſons in St. Andrews, 24 pounds.

Sum of yearly and ordinary expences in the univerſity of St. Andrews, 3976 pounds.

Sum of yearly and ordinary expences of Glaſgow, 2922 pounds.

Aberdeen as much.

Sum of the ordinary charges of the whole, 9820 pounds.

Item, The beadle's ſtipend ſhall be, of every entrant and ſuppoſt of the univerſity, 2 ſhillings; of every one graduate in philoſophy, 3 ſhillings; of every one graduate in medicine or laws, 4 ſhillings; in theology, 5 ſhillings; all burſars being excepted.

Item, We have thought good, for building and upholding of the places, a general collect be made. And that every earl's ſon, at his entry to the univerſity, ſhall give 40 ſhillings; and likewiſe, at every graduation, 40 ſhillings. *Item*, Each lord's ſon likewiſe, at ſuch time, 30 ſhillings; each free-holding baron's ſon, 20 ſhillings; every feuer and ſubſtantious gentleman's ſon, 1 merk. *Item*, Every ſubſtantious huſband and burgeſs's ſon, at each time, 10 ſhillings. *Item*, Every one of the reſt, not excepting the burſars, 5 ſhillings, at each time. And that this be gathered in a common box, put in keeping to the principal of the theologians, every principal having a key thereof; to be counted each year once, with the reſt of principals, to be laid in the ſame, about the 15th day of November, in preſence of the ſuperintendent, rector, and whole principals, and with their whole conſent, or at leaſt the moſt part of them referred, and employed only upon the building and upholding of the places, and repairing of the ſame, ever as neceſſity ſhall require. And therefore the rector, with his aſſiſtants, ſhall be holden to viſit the places each year once, incontinent after he be promoted upon the laſt of October, or thereby.

Of the Privileges of the Univerſity.

SEEING we deſire that innocence ſhould defend us rather than privilege, we think that each perſon of the univerſity ſhould anſwer before the provoſt and bailiffs of each town where the univerſities are, of all crimes whereof they are accuſed; only that the rector be aſſeſſor to them in the ſaid actions. In civil matters, if the queſtion be betwixt members of the univerſity, on each ſide making their reſidence and exerciſe therein for the time, in that caſe the party called ſhall not be holden to anſwer, but only before the rector and his aſſeſſors heretofore mentioned. In all other caſes of civil purſuit, the general rule of the law to be obſerved, *actor ſequatur forum rei*, &c.

Item, That the rector, and all inferior members of the univerſity, be exempted from all taxations, impoſts, charges of war, or any other charge that may onerate or abſtract him or them from the care of his office, ſuch as tutory, curatory, or any ſuch like that are eſtabliſhed, or hereafter ſhall be eſtabliſhed in our common-weal; to the effect that (without trouble) they may wait on the up-bringing of the youth in learning, and beſtow their time only in that moſt neceſſary exerciſe.

All other things touching the books to be read in every claſs, and all ſuch particular affairs we refer to the diſcretion of the maſters, principals, and regents, with their well-adviſed counſel; not doubting but if God ſhall grant quietneſs, and give your wiſdoms grace to ſet forward letters in the ſort preſcribed, ye ſhall leave wiſdom and learning to your poſterity, a treaſure more to be eſteemed than any earthly treaſure ye are able to amaſs for them, which without wiſdom, are more able to be their ruin and confuſion, than help and comfort. And as this is moſt true, ſo we leave it, with the reſt of the commodities, to be wieghed by your honours wiſdom, and ſet forward by your authority, to the moſt high advancement of this commonwealth committed to your charge.

The Sixth Head of the Rents and Patrimony of the Church.

THESE two ſorts of men, that is to ſay, miniſters, and the poor, together with the ſchools, when order ſhall be taken thereanent, muſt be ſuſtained upon the charges of the kirk; and therefore proviſion muſt be made, how, and by whom ſuch ſums muſt be lifted. But before we enter in this head, we muſt crave of your honours, in the name of the eternal God, and of his Son Chriſt Jeſus, that ye have reſpect to your poor brethren, the labourers and manurers of the ground; who, by theſe cruel beaſts the Papiſts, have before been oppreſſed, that their life to them hath been dolorous and bitter. If ye will have God author and approver of this reformation, ye muſt not follow their foot-ſteps; but ye muſt have compaſſion of your brethren, appointing them to pay reaſonable teinds, that they may find ſome benefit of Chriſt Jeſus now preached unto them.

With the grief of our hearts we hear, that ſome gentlemen are now as cruel over their tenants as ever were the Papiſts, requiring of them whatſoever they afore paid to the kirk; ſo that the Papiſtical tyranny ſhall only be changed into the tyranny of the lord and laird. We dare not flatter your honours, neither yet is it profitable for you that we ſo do. If we permit cruelty to be uſed, neither ſhall ye, who by your authority ought to gainſtand ſuch oppreſſion, nor yet they that uſe the ſame, eſcape God's heavy and fearful judgments. The gentlemen, barons, earls, lords, and others, muſt be content to live upon their juſt rents, and ſuffer the kirk to be reſtored to her liberty; that, in her reſtitution, the poor, who heretofore, by the cruel Papiſts, have been ſpoiled and oppreſſed, may now receive ſome comfort and relaxation; that their teinds and other exactions be clean diſcharged, and no more taken in times coming. The uppermoſt cloth, corps-preſent, clerk-mail, the Paſch-offering, teind-ale, and all handlings upaland, can neither be required nor received of good conſcience. Neither do we judge it to proceed of juſtice, that any man ſhould poſſeſs the teinds of another: but we think it a moſt reaſonable thing, that every man have the uſe of his own teinds; provided that he anſwer to the deacons and treaſurers of the kirk, of that which by juſtice ſhall be appointed to him. We require the deacons and treaſurers rather to receive the rents than the miniſters themſelves, becauſe that of the teinds muſt not only the miniſter be ſuſtained, but alſo the poor and ſchools. And therefore we think it expedient, that common treaſurers, *viz.* the deacons, be appointed, from year to year, to receive the whole rents appertaining to the kirk; and that commandment be given, that none be permitted either to receive, or yet to intromit with any thing appertaining to the ſuſtentation of the perſons foreſaid, but ſuch as by common conſent of the kirk are thereto appointed.

If any think this prejudicial to the tacks and aſſedations of them that now poſſeſs the teinds; let them underſtand, that their unjuſt poſſeſſion is no poſſeſſion before God; for they of whom they received their title, and pre-ſuppoſed right or warrant, were thieves and murderers, and had no power ſo to alienate the patrimony and common good of the kirk. And yet we are not ſo extreme, but that we wiſh juſt recompence to be made to ſuch as have diſburſed ſums of money to the unjuſt poſſeſſors, ſo that it hath not been done of late days in prejudice of the kirk. But ſuch as are found and known to be done of plain colluſion, in no ways ought to be maintained by you: and for that purpoſe we think it moſt expedient, that whoſoever have aſſedation of teinds and kirks, be openly warned to produce their aſſedation and aſſurance, that cognition being taken, the juſt tackſmen may have the juſt and reaſonable recompence for the years that are to run, the profit of the years paſt being conſidered and deduced, and the unjuſt and ſurmiſed may be ſerved accordingly; ſo that the kirk in the end may receive her liberty and freedom, and that only for the relief of the poor. Your honours may eaſily

underſtand that we ſpeak not now for ourſelves, but in favour of the labourers defrauded and oppreſſed by the prieſts, and by their confederate penſioners: for while that the prieſts penſioner's idle belly is delicately fed, the poor, to whom the portion of that appertains, was pined with hunger; and moreover the true labourer was compelled to pay that which he ought not. For the labourer is neither debtor to the dumb dog, called the biſhop, neither yet to his hired penſioner, but is debtor only to the kirk. And the kirk is bound to ſuſtain and nouriſh of her charges the perſons before mentioned, *viz.* the miniſters of the word, the poor, and the teachers of the youth. But now to return to the former head. The ſums able to ſuſtain the forenamed perſons, and to furniſh all things appertaining to the preſervation of good order and policy within the kirk, muſt be lifted off the tenths; *viz.* the tenth ſheaf, hay, hemp, lint, fiſhes, tenth calf, tenth lamb, tenth wool, tenth foal, tenth cheeſe. And becauſe that we know that the tenth reaſonably taken, as is before expreſſed, will not ſuffice to diſcharge the former neceſſity; we think that all things doted to hoſpitality, and annualrents, both in burgh and land, pertaining to the prieſts, chantry colleges, chaplainries, and the friaries of all orders, to the ſiſters of the ſcenes, and ſuch others, be retained ſtill in the uſe of the kirk or kirks, within the towns and pariſhes where they were doted. Furthermore, to the upholding of the univerſities, and ſuſtentation of the ſuperintendents, the whole revenue of the temporality of the biſhops, deans, and arch-deans lands, and of all rents of lands pertaining to the cathedral-kirks whatſoever. And further, merchants and rich craftſmen in free burghs, having nothing to do with the manuring of the ground, muſt take ſome proviſion of their cities, towns, and dwelling-places, for to ſupport the need of the kirk.

To the miniſters, and failing thereof, the readers, muſt be reſtored their manſes and glebes; for elſe they cannot ſerve the flock at all times, as their duty is. If any glebe exceed ſix acres of ground, the reſt to remain in the hands of the poſſeſſors, till order be taken therein.

The receivers and collectors of theſe rents and duties muſt be deacons or treaſurers, appointed from year to year in every kirk, and by the common conſent, and free election of the kirk. The deacons muſt diſtribute no part of that which is collected, but by command of the miniſters and elders. And that they may command nothing to be delivered, but as the kirk hath before determined; *viz.* the deacons ſhall off the firſt part pay the ſums, either quarterly, or from half-year to half-year, to the miniſters, which the kirk hath appointed. The ſame they ſhall do to the ſchool-maſters, readers, and hoſpital, if any be, receiving always an acquittance for their diſcharge. If any extraordinary ſums be to be delivered, then muſt the miniſters, elders, and deacons, conſult, whether the deliverance of ſuch ſums doth ſtand with the common utility of the kirk, or not. And if they do univerſally condeſcend and agree upon the affirmative or negative, then, becauſe they are in credit and office for the year, they may do as beſt ſeems; but if there be any controverſy among themſelves, the whole kirk muſt be made privy, and after that the matter be proponed, and the reaſons; the judgment of the kirk, with the miniſters conſent, ſhall prevail. The deacons ſhall be compelled and bound to make accounts to the miniſter and elders of that which they received, as oft as the policy ſhall appoint: and the elders, when they are changed (which muſt be every year) muſt clear their accounts before ſuch auditors as the kirk ſhall appoint: and both the deacons and elders being changed, ſhall deliver to them that ſhall be new elected, all ſums of money, corns, and other profits, reſting in their hands: the tickets whereof muſt be delivered to the ſuperintendents in their viſitation, and by them to the great council of the kirk; that as well the abundance as the indigence of every kirk may be evidently known, that a reaſonable equality may be had throughout this whole realm. If this order be perfectly kept, corruption cannot ſuddenly enter. For the free and yearly election of deacons and elders, ſhall ſuffer none to uſurp a perpetual dominion over the kirk: the knowledge of the rental ſhall ſuffer them to receive no more, than whereof they ſhall be bound to make accounts: the deliverance of money to the new officers ſhall not ſuffer private men uſe, in their private buſineſs, that which appertains to the public affairs of the kirk.

The Seventh Head of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline.

AS that no commonwealth can flouriſh, or long endure, without good laws and ſharp execution of the ſame; ſo neither can the kirk of God be brought to purity, neither yet be retained in the ſame, without the order of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, which ſtands in reproving and correcting of

the faults, which the civil ſword either doth neglect, or not puniſh: blaſphemy, adultery, murder, perjury, and other crimes capital, worthy of death, ought not properly to fall under cenſure of the kirk; becauſe all ſuch open tranſgreſſors of God's laws ought to be taken away by the civil ſword. But drunkenneſs, exceſs, be it in apparel, or be it in eating and drinking, fornication, oppreſſing of the poor by exactions, deceiving of them in buying and ſelling, by wrong met and meaſure, wanton words and licentious living tending to ſlander, do openly appertain to the kirk of God to puniſh them, as God's word commands. But becauſe this accurſed Papiſtry hath brought in ſuch confuſion into the world, that neither was virtue rightly praiſed, neither yet vice ſeverely puniſhed, the kirk of God is compelled to draw the ſword, which of God ſhe hath received, againſt ſuch open and manifeſt contemners, curſing and excommunicating all ſuch, as well thoſe whom the civil ſword ought to puniſh, as the other, from all participation with her in prayers and ſacraments, till open repentance appear manifeſtly in them. As the order and proceeding to excommunication ought to be ſlow and grave, ſo being once pronounced againſt any perſon, of what eſtate or condition that ever they be, it muſt be kept with all ſeverity. For laws made and not kept, engender contempt of virtue, and bring in confuſion and liberty to ſin. And therefore this order we think expedient to be obſerved afore, and after excommunication: Firſt, if the offence be ſecret, or known to few men, and rather ſtands in ſuſpicion than in manifeſt probation, the offender ought to be privately admoniſhed, to abſtain from all appearance of evil; which if he promiſe to do, and declare himſelf ſober, honeſt, and one that fears God, and fears to offend his brethren, then may the ſecret admonition ſuffice for his correction. But if he either contemn the admonition, or, after promiſe made, do ſhew himſelf no more circumſpect than he was before, then muſt the miniſter admoniſh him, to whom, if he be found diſobedient, they muſt proceed according to the rule of Chriſt, as after ſhall be declared. If the crime be public, and ſuch as is heinous, as fornication, drunkenneſs, fighting, common ſwearing, or execration, then ought the offender to be called in preſence of the miniſter, elders, and deacons, where his ſin and treſpaſs ought to be declared and aggreged, ſo that his conſcience may feel how far he hath offended God, and what ſlander he hath raiſed in the kirk. If ſigns of unfeigned repentance appear in him, and if he require to be admitted to public repentance, the miniſter may appoint unto him a day, when the whole kirk convenes together, that, in preſence of all, he may teſtify his repentance, which before he profeſſed. Which if he accept, and with reverence confeſs his ſin, doing the ſame, and earneſtly deſiring the congregation to pray to God with him for mercy, and to accept him in their ſociety notwithſtanding the former offence; then the kirk may, and ought to receive him as a penitent. For the kirk ought to be nò more ſevere, than God declares himſelf to be, who witneſſes that in whatſoever hour a ſinner unfeignedly repents, and turns from his wicked way, that he will not remember one of his iniquities. And therefore ought the kirk diligently to advert, that it excommunicate not thoſe whom God abſolves. If the offender, called before the miniſtry, be found ſtubborn, hard-hearted, or in whom no ſign of repentance appears, then muſt he be dimitted, with an exhortation, to conſider the dangerous eſtate in which he ſtands; aſſuring him, that if they find in him no other tokens of amendment of life, that they will be compelled to ſeek a further remedy. If he, within a certain ſpace, ſhew his repentance to the miniſtry, they may preſent him to the kirk, as before is ſaid: if he continue not in his repentance, then muſt the kirk be advertiſed, that ſuch crimes are committed amongſt them, which by the miniſtry hath been reprehended, and the perſons provoked to repent, whereof becauſe no ſigns appear unto them, they could not but ſignify unto the kirk the crimes, but not the perſon: requiring them earneſtly to call to God, to move and touch the heart of the offender, ſo that ſuddenly and earneſtly he may repent. If the perſon malign, the next day of public aſſembly, the crime and the perſon muſt be both notified unto the kirk, and their judgments muſt be required, if that ſuch crimes ought to be ſuffered unpuniſhed among them: requeſt alſo ſhould be made to the moſt diſcreet and neareſt friend of the offender, to travel with him to bring him to knowledge of himſelf, and of his dangerous eſtate, with a commandment given to all men to call to God for the converſion of the impenitent. If a ſolemn and ſpecial prayer were drawn for that purpoſe, the thing ſhould be more gravely done. The third Sunday the miniſter ought to require, if the impenitent hath declared any ſigns of repentance to one of the miniſtry; and if he hath, then may the miniſter appoint him to be

examined by the whole miniſtry, either then inſtantly, or another day affixed to the conſiſtory: and if repentance appear, as well for his crime as for his long contempt, then he may be preſented to the kirk, and make his confeſſion, to be accepted as before is ſaid: but if no man ſignify his repentance, then ought he to be excommunicated; and by the mouth of the miniſter, and conſent of the miniſtry, and commandment of the kirk, muſt ſuch a contemner be pronounced excommunicate from God, and from all ſociety of the kirk. After which ſentence may no perſon (his wife and family only excepted) have any kind of converſation with him, be it in eating and drinking, buying and ſelling, yea, in ſaluting or talking with him, except that it be at commandment or licence of the miniſtry for his converſion, that he, by ſuch means confounded, ſeeing himſelf abhorred of the godly and faithful, may have occaſion to repent, and ſo be ſaved. The ſentence of excommunication muſt be publiſhed univerſally throughout the realm, leſt that any man ſhould pretend ignorance. His children begotten and born after that ſentence, and before his repentance, may not be admitted to baptiſm, till either they be of age to require the ſame, or elſe that the mother, or ſome of his ſpecial friends, members of the kirk, offer and preſent the child, abhorring and condemning the iniquity, and obſtinate contempt of the impenitent.

If any man ſhould think it ſevere, that the child ſhould be puniſhed for the iniquity of the father, let him underſtand, that the ſacraments appertain to the faithful and their ſeed; but ſuch as ſtubbornly contemn all godly admonition, and obſtinately remain in their iniquity, cannot be accounted amongſt the faithful.

The Order for Public Offenders.

WE have ſpoken nothing of them that commit horrible crimes, as murderers, manſlayers, adulterers; for ſuch, as we have ſaid, the civil ſword ought to puniſh to death: but in caſe they be permitted to live, then muſt the kirk, as is before ſaid, draw the ſword, which of God the hath received, holding them as accurſed even in their very fact: the offender being firſt called, and order of the kirk uſed againſt him, in the ſame manner as the perſons for their obſtinate impetinence are publicly excommunicate: ſo that the obſtinate impenitent, after the ſentence of excommunication, and the murderer or adulterer, ſtand in one caſe, as concerning the judgment of the kirk; that is, neither of both may be received in the fellowſhip of the kirk to prayers or ſacraments (but to hearing the word they may), till firſt they offer themſelves to the miniſtry, humbly requiring the miniſters and elders to pray to God for them; and alſo to be interceſſors to the kirk, that they may be admitted to public repentance, and to the fruition of the benefits of Chriſt Jeſus, diſtributed to the members of his body. If this requeſt be humbly made, then may not the miniſters refuſe to ſignify the ſame unto the kirk, the next day of public preaching, the miniſter giving exhortation to the kirk, to pray to God to perform the work which he appears to have begun, working in the heart of the offender unfeigned repentance of his grievous crime and offence, and feeling of his great mercy by the operation of the Holy Spirit. Thereafter one day ought publicly to be aſſigned unto him, to give open confeſſion of his offence and contempt, and ſo to make public ſatisfaction to the kirk of God: which day the offender muſt appear in preſence of the whole kirk, with his own mouth condemning his own impiety, publicly confeſſing the ſame: deſiring God of his mercy and grace, and his congregation, that it would pleaſe them to receive him in their ſociety, as before is ſaid. The miniſter muſt examine him diligently, whether he finds a hatred or diſpleaſure of his ſin, as well of his contempt as of his crime: which if he confeſs, he muſt travel with him, to ſee what hope he hath of God's mercies; and if he find him reaſonably inſtructed in the knowledge of Chriſt Jeſus, in the virtue of his death, then may the miniſter comfort him with God's infallible promiſes, and demand of the kirk, if they be content to receive that creature of God, whom Satan before had drawn in his nets, into the ſociety of their body, ſeeing that he declared himſelf penitent. Which if the kirk grant, as they cannot juſtly deny the ſame, then ought the miniſter, in public prayer, to commend him to God, to confeſs the ſin of that offender before the whole kirk, deſiring mercy and grace for Chriſt Jeſus' ſake. Which prayer being ended, the miniſter ought to exhort the kirk to receive that penitent brother into their favours, as they require God to receive themſelves when they offend. And, in ſign of their conſent, the elders, and chief men of the kirk, ſhall take the penitent by the hand, and one or two, in the name of the reſt, ſhall kiſs and embrace him with reverence and

gravity, as a member of Chriſt Jeſus. Which being done, the miniſter ſhall exhort the received, that he take diligent heed, in times coming, that Satan trap him not in ſuch crimes; admoniſhing him, that he will not ceaſe to tempt and try, by all means poſſible, to bring him from that obedience which he hath given to God, and to the ordinance of Jeſus Chriſt. The exhortation being ended, the miniſter ought to give public thanks unto God for the converſion of their brother, and for all benefits which we receive of Chriſt Jeſus, praying for the increaſe and continuance of the ſame. If the penitent, after he hath offered himſelf unto the miniſtry, or to the kirk, be found ignorant of the principal points of our religion, and chiefly in the articles of juſtification, and of the office of Chriſt Jeſus, then ought he to be exactly inſtructed before he be received; for a mocking of God it is to receive them to repentance, who know not wherein ſtandeth their remedy, when they repent their ſin.

Perſons ſubject to Diſcipline.

TO diſcipline muſt all the eſtates within this realm be ſubject, as well the rulers as they that are ruled; yea, and the preachers themſelves, as well as the poor within the kirk: and becauſe the eye and mouth of the kirk ought to be moſt ſingle, and irreprehenſible, the life and converſation of the miniſter ought to be diligently tried: whereof we ſhall ſpeak, after that we have ſpoken of the election of elders and deacons, who muſt aſſiſt the miniſter in all public affairs of the kirk.

The Eighth Head touching the Election of Elders and Deacons.

MEN of beſt knowledge in God's word, and cleaneſt life, men faithful, and of moſt honeſt converſation that can be found in the kirk, muſt be nominate to be in election, and their names muſt be publicly read to the whole kirk by the miniſter; giving them advertiſement, that from amongſt them muſt be choſen elders and deacons. If any of theſe nominate be noted with public infamy, he ought to be repelled: for it is not ſeemly, that the ſervant of corruption ſhall have authority to judge in the kirk of God.

If any man know others of better qualities within the kirk, than theſe that be nominate, let them be put in election, that the kirk may have the choice.

If the kirk be of ſmaller number than that ſeniors and deacons can be choſen from amongſt them, then may they well be joined to the next adjacent kirks: for the plurality of kirks, without miniſters and order, ſhall rather hurt than edify.

The election of elders and deacons ought to be uſed every year once; which we judge to be moſt convenient at the firſt day of Auguſt, leſt of long continuance of ſuch officers, men preſume upon the liberty of the kirk. It hurteth not that one be received in office more years than one, ſo that he be appointed yearly by common and free election; provided always, that the deacons and treaſurers be not compelled to receive the office again for the ſpace of three years.

How the votes and ſuffrages may be beſt received, ſo that every man may give his vote freely, every ſeveral kirk may take ſuch order as beſt ſeems them.

The elders being elected, muſt be admoniſhed of their office, which is to aſſiſt the miniſters in all public affairs of the kirk; *viz.* in determining and judging cauſes, in giving admonition to the licentious liver, in having reſpect to the manners and converſation of all men within their charge: for by the gravity of the ſeniors, the light and unbridled life of the licentious muſt be corrected and bridled: yea, the ſeniors ought to take heed to the like manners, diligence, and ſtudy of their miniſters. If he be worthy of admonition, they muſt admoniſh him; of correction, they muſt correct him: and if he be worthy of depoſition, they, with conſent of the kirk and ſuperintendent, may depoſe him, ſo that his crime deſerve ſo. If a miniſter be light of converſation, by his elders and deacons he ought to be admoniſhed. If he be negligent in ſtudy, or one that waits not upon his charge or flock, or one that propones not faithful doctrine, he deſerves ſharper admonition and correction. To the which if he be found ſtubborn and diſobedient, then may the ſeniors of the kirk complain to the miniſtry of the two next adjacent kirks, where men of greater gravity are; to whoſe admonition, if he be found diſobedient, he ought to be diſcharged of his miniſtry, till his repentance appear, and a place be vacant for him. If any miniſter be deprehended in any notable crime, as whoredom, adultery, man-ſlaughter, perjury, teaching of hereſy, or any other deſerving death, or that may be a note of perpetual infamy, he

ought to be depoſed for ever. By hereſy we mean pernicious doctrine plainly taught, and openly defended, againſt the foundations and principles of our faith: and ſuch a crime we judge to deſerve perpetual depoſition from the miniſtry: for moſt dangerous we know it to be, to commit the flock to a man infected with the peſtilence of hereſy. Some crimes deſerve depoſition for a time, and till the perſon give declaration of greater gravity and honeſty. And if a miniſter be deprehended drinking, brawling, or fighting, an open ſlanderer, or infamer of his neighbours, factious, and a ſower of diſcord, he muſt be commanded to ceaſe from his miniſtry, till he declare ſome ſign of repentance; upon the which the kirk ſhall abide him the ſpace of twenty days, or further, as the kirk ſhall think expedient, before they proceed to a new election. Every inferior kirk ſhall, by one of their ſeniors, and one of their deacons, once in the year, notify unto the miniſters of the ſuperintendent's kirk, the life, manners, ſtudy, and diligence of their miniſters, to the end the diſcretion of ſome may correct the levity of others. Not only muſt the life and manners of miniſters come under cenſure and judgment of the kirk, but alſo of their wives, children, and family, judgment muſt be taken, that he neither live riotouſly, neither yet avariciouſly; yea, reſpect muſt be had, how they ſpend the ſtipend appointed to their living. If a reaſonable ſtipend be appointed, and they live avariciouſly, they muſt be admoniſhed to live as they receive; for as exceſs and ſuperfluity is not tolerable in a miniſter, ſo is avarice, and the careful ſolicitude of money, utterly to be condemned in Chriſt's ſervants, and eſpecially in them that are fed upon the charge of the kirk. We judge it unſeemly and intolerable, that miniſters ſhall be boarded in common ale-houſes, or in taverns; neither yet muſt a miniſter be permitted to frequent and commonly haunt the court, unleſs it be for a time, when he is either ſent by the kirk, or called for by the authority, for his counſel and judgment in civil affairs; neither yet muſt he be one of the council, be he judged never ſo apt for the purpoſe. But either muſt he ceaſe from the miniſtry (which at his own pleaſure he may not do), or elſe from bearing charge in civil affairs, unleſs it be to aſſiſt the parliament, if he be called.

The office of deacons, as before is ſaid, is to receive the rents, and gather the alms of the kirk; to keep and diſtribute the ſame, as by the miniſters and kirk ſhall be appointed: they may alſo aſſiſt in judgment with the miniſter and elders; and may be admitted to read in aſſembly, if they be required, and be able thereto.

The elders and deacons, with their wives and houſehold, ſhould be under the ſame cenſure that is preſcribed for the miniſters: for they muſt be careful over their office; and ſeeing they are judges over others manners, their own converſation ought to be irreprehenſible. They muſt be ſober, lovers and maintainers of concord and peace: and finally, they ought to be examples of godlineſs to others. And if the contrary thereof appear, they muſt be admoniſhed thereof by the miniſters, or ſome of their brethren of the miniſtry, if the fault be ſecret: and if the fault be open and known, they muſt be rebuked before the miniſtry, and the ſame order kept againſt the ſenior and deacon, that before is deſcribed againſt the miniſter. We think it not neceſſary, that any public ſtipend ſhall be appointed, either to the elders, or yet to the deacons, becauſe their travel continues but for a year; and alſo becauſe that they are not ſo occupied with the affairs of the kirk, but that reaſonably they may attend upon their domeſtic buſineſs.

The Ninth Head concerning the Policy of the Kirk.

POLICY we call an exerciſe of the kirk in ſuch things as may bring the rude and ignorant to knowledge, or elſe inflame the learned to greater fervency, or to retain the kirk in good order: and thereof there be two ſorts; the one utterly neceſſary, as that the word be truly preached, the ſacraments rightly miniſtered, common prayers publicly made, that the children and rude perſons be inſtructed in the chief points of religion, and that offences be corrected and puniſhed. Theſe things be ſo neceſſary, that without the ſame there is no face of a viſible kirk. The other is profitable, but not merely neceſſary: that pſalms ſhould be ſung; that certain places of the Scripture be read, when there is no ſermon; that this day or that, few or many in the week, the kirk ſhould aſſemble. Of theſe, and ſuch others, we cannot ſee how a certain order can be eſtabliſhed: for in ſome kirks the pſalms may conveniently be ſung, in others perchance they cannot: ſome kirks convene every day, ſome twice, ſome thrice in the week, ſome perchance but once: in this, and ſuch like, muſt every particular kirk, by their conſent, appoint their own policy. In great towns we think expedient, that every day there be either ſermon, or

common prayers, with ſome exerciſe of reading of Scriptures. What day the public ſermon is, we can neither require, nor greatly approve, that the common prayers be publicly uſed, leſt that we ſhall either foſter the people in ſuperſtition, who come to the prayers, as they come to the maſs, or elſe give them occaſion, that they think them no prayers but which be made before and after ſermons.

In every notable town we require, that one day, beſide the Sunday, be appointed to the ſermon and prayers, which, during the time of ſermon, muſt be kept free from all exerciſe of labour, as well of the maſter as of the ſervant. In ſmaller towns, as we have ſaid, the common conſent of the kirk muſt put order; but the Sunday muſt ſtraitly be kept, both before and after noon, in all towns. Before noon muſt the word be preached, and ſacraments miniſtered, as alſo marriage ſolemnized, if occaſion offer: after noon muſt the young children be publicly examined in their catechiſm, in the audience of the people; whereof the miniſter muſt take great diligence, as well to cauſe the people underſtand the queſtions proponed, as anſwers, and that doctrine that may be collected thereof.

The order, and how much is appointed for every Sunday, is already diſtinguiſhed in the book of our common order; which catechiſm is the moſt perfect that ever yet was uſed in the kirk: and after noon may baptiſm be miniſtered, when occaſion is offered of great travel before noon. It is alſo to be obſerved, that prayers be after noon upon Sunday, where there is neither preaching nor catechiſm. It appertains to the policy of the kirk, to appoint the times when the ſacraments ſhall be miniſtered. Baptiſm may be miniſtered whenſoever the word is preached: but we think it more expedient, that it be miniſtered upon Sunday, or upon the day of prayers only after the ſermon; partly to remove this groſs error, by the which many are deceived, thinking that children be damned if they die without baptiſm; and partly to make the people have greater reverence to the adminiſtration of the ſacraments than they have: for we ſee the people begin already to wax weary, by reaſon of the frequent repetition of thoſe promiſes.

Four times in the year we think ſufficient to the adminiſtration of the Lord's table, which we deſire to be diſtincted, that the ſuperſtition of times may be avoided ſo far as may be: for your honours are not ignorant, how ſuperſtitiouſly the people run to that action at Paſch, even as if the time gave virtue to the ſacrament; and how the reſt of the whole year they are careleſs and negligent, as if it appertained not unto them, but at that time only. We think therefore moſt expedient, that the firſt Sunday of March be appointed for one time, the firſt Sunday of June for another, the firſt Sunday of September for the third, the firſt Sunday of December for the fourth. We do not deny but any ſeveral kirk, for reaſonable cauſes, may change the time, and may miniſter oftener; but we ſtudy to repreſs ſuperſtition. All miniſters muſt be admoniſhed, to be more careful to inſtruct the ignorant than ready to ſerve their appetite, and to uſe more ſharp examination than indulgence, in admitting to theſe great myſteries ſuch as be ignorant of the uſe and virtue of the ſame. And therefore we think that the adminiſtration of the table ought never to be without examination paſſing before, and ſpecially of them whoſe knowledge is ſuſpected. We think that none are to be admitted to this myſtery, who cannot formally ſay the Lord's prayer, the articles of the belief, and declare the ſum of the law. Further, we think it a thing moſt expedient and neceſſary, that every kirk have the Bible in Engliſh; and that the people be commanded to convene, and hear the plain reading and interpretation of the Scripture, as the kirk ſhall appoint. By frequent reading, this groſs ignorance, which, in this curſed Papiſtry, hath overflowed all, may partly be removed. We think it moſt expedient, that the Scripture be read in order; that is, that ſome one book of the Old or New Teſtament be begun, and orderly read to the end: and the ſame we judge of preaching, where the miniſter, for the moſt part, remains in one place: for this ſkipping and divagation, from place to place of Scripture, be it in reading, or be it in preaching, we judge not ſo profitable to edify the kirk, as the continual following of one text. Every maſter of houſehold muſt be commanded, either to inſtruct, or cauſe to be inſtructed, his children, ſervants, and family, in the principles of the Chriſtian religion, without the knowledge whereof ought none to be admitted to the table of the Lord Jeſus: for ſuch as be ſo dull, and ſo ignorant, that they can neither try themſelves, nor yet know the dignity and myſtery of that action, cannot eat and drink of that table worthily. And therefore of neceſſity we judge, that every year at the leaſt, public examination be had by the miniſters and elders, of the knowledge

of every perſon within the kirk; *viz.* that every maſter and miſtreſs of houſehold come themſelves, and their family, ſo many as be come to maturity, before the miniſter and the elders, and give confeſſion of their faith. If they underſtand not, nor cannot rehearſe the commandments of God's law, know not how to pray, neither wherein their righteouſneſs ſtands or conſiſts, they ought not to be admitted to the Lord's table: and if they ſtubbornly contemn, and ſuffer their children and ſervants to continue in wilful ignorance, the diſcipline of the kirk muſt proceed againſt them to excommunication: and then muſt that matter be referred to the civil magiſtrate. For ſeeing that the juſt lives by his own faith, and Chriſt Jeſus juſtifies by knowledge of himſelf, inſufferable we judge it, that men be permitted to live and continue in ignorance, as members of the kirk.

Moreover, men, women, children, would be exhorted to exerciſe themſelves in pſalms, that when the kirk doth convene and ſing, they may be the more able together, with common hearts and voices, to praiſe God. In private houſes we think expedient, that the moſt grave and diſcreet perſon uſe the common prayers, at morning and at night, for the comfort and inſtruction of others. For ſeeing that we behold and ſee the hand of God now preſently ſtriking us with divers plagues, we think it a contempt of his judgments, or provocation of his anger more to be kindled againſt us, if we be not moved to repentance of our former unthankfulneſs, and to earneſt invocation of his name, whoſe only power may, and great mercy will, if we unfeignedly turn unto him, remove from us theſe terrible plagues, which now, for our iniquities, hang over our heads. 'Convert us, O 'Lord! and we ſhall be converted.'

For Propheſying, or Interpreting of the Scriptures.

TO the end that the kirk of God may have a trial of mens knowledge, judgments, graces, and utterances; as alſo ſuch that have ſomewhat profited in God's word, may, from time to time, grow in more full perfection to ſerve the kirk, as neceſſity ſhall require; it is moſt expedient, that in every town, where ſchools and repair of learned men are, there be one certain day, every week, appointed to that exerciſe which St. Paul calls propheſying; the order whereof is expreſſed by him in theſe words: 'Let two or three prophets 'ſpeak, and let the reſt judge; but if any thing be 'revealed to him that ſits by, let the former keep 'ſilence: ye may one by one all propheſy, that all 'may learn, and all may receive conſolation. And 'the ſpirit, that is, the judgments of the prophets, 'are ſubject to the prophets.' By which words of the apoſtle, it is evident, that in the kirk of Corinth, when they did aſſemble for that purpoſe, ſome place of Scripture was read, upon the which one firſt gave his judgment, to the inſtruction and conſolation of the auditors: after whom did another either confirm what the former had ſaid, or added what he had omitted, or did gently correct, or explain more properly, where the whole verity was not revealed to the former. And in caſe things were hid from the one, and from the other, liberty was given for a third to ſpeak his judgment, to the edification of the kirk. Above which number of three (as appears) they paſſed not, for avoiding of confuſion. This exerciſe is a thing moſt neceſſary for the kirk of God this day in Scotland: for thereby, as is ſaid, ſhall the kirk have judgment and knowledge of the graces, gifts, and utterances, of every man within their body: the ſimple, and ſuch as have ſomewhat profited, ſhall be encouraged daily to ſtudy, and to proceed in knowledge: the kirk ſhall be edified. For this exerciſe muſt be patent to ſuch as liſt to hear and learn; and every man ſhall have liberty to utter and declare his mind and knowledge, to the comfort and conſolation of the kirk. But leſt, of this profitable exerciſe, there ariſe debate and ſtrife, curious, peregrine, and unprofitable queſtions are to be avoided. All interpretation diſagreeing from the principles of our faith, repugning to charity, or that ſtands in plain contradiction with any other manifeſt place of Scripture, is to be rejected. The interpreter, in this exerciſe, may not take to himſelf the liberty of a public preacher (yea, although he be a miniſter appointed); but he muſt bind himſelf to his text, that he enter not in digreſſion, or in explaining common places: he may uſe no invective in that exerciſe, unleſs it be of ſobriety in confuting hereſies: in exhortations or admonitions he muſt be ſhort, that the time may be ſpent in opening the mind of the Holy Ghoſt in that place; following the ſequel and dependence of the text, and obſerving ſuch notes as may inſtruct and edify the auditor, for avoiding of contention: neither may the interpreter, nor any in the aſſembly, move any queſtion, in open audience, whereto himſelf is not able to give reſolution, without reaſoning with another; but every man ought to ſpeak his own judgment, to the edification of the kirk.

If any be noted with curioſity of bringing in of ſtrange doctrine, he muſt be admoniſhed by the moderator, miniſters, and elders, immediately after the interpretation is ended.

The whole miniſters, a number of them that are of the aſſembly, ought to convene together, where examination ſhould be had, how the perſons that did interpret did handle and convey the matter (they themſelves being removed): to every man muſt be given his cenſure. After the which the perſon being called, the faults (if any notable be found) are noted, and the perſon gently admoniſhed.

In that aſſembly are all queſtions and doubts, if any ariſe, reſolved without contention: the miniſters of the pariſh-kirks in landwart, adjacent to every chief town, and the readers, if they have any gift of interpretation, within ſix miles, muſt concur and aſſiſt theſe that propheſy within the towns, to the end that they themſelves may either learn, or others may learn by them. And moreover men, in whom is ſuppoſed to be any gift which might edify the church, if they were well employed, muſt be charged by the miniſter and elders, to join themſelves with the ſeſſion, and company of interpreters, to the end that the kirk may judge, whether they be able to ſerve to God's glory, and to the profit of the kirk, in the vocation of miniſters, or not: and if any be found diſobedient, and not willing to communicate the gifts and ſpecial graces of God with their brethren, after ſufficient admonition, diſcipline muſt proceed againſt them; provided that the civil magiſtrate concur with the judgment and election of the kirk: for no man may be permitted, as beſt pleaſeth him, to live within the kirk of God; but every man muſt be conſtrained, by fraternal admonition and correction, to beſtow his labours, when of the kirk he is required, to the edification of others. What day of the week is moſt convenient for that exerciſe, what books of Scripture ſhall be moſt profitable to read, we refer to the judgment of every particular kirk, we mean, to the wiſdom of the miniſter and elders.

Of Marriage.

BECAUSE that marriage, the bleſſed ordinance of God, in this curſed Papiſtry, hath partly been contemned, and partly hath been ſo weakened, that the parties conjoined could never be aſſured in conſcience, if the biſhops and prelates liſt to diſſolve the ſame, we have thought good to ſhew our judgments how ſuch confuſion in times coming may be avoided.

And firſt, public inhibition muſt be made, that no perſon under the power or obedience of others, ſuch as ſons and daughters, and thoſe that be under curators, neither men nor women, contract marriage privately, and without knowledge of their parents, tutors, or curators, under whoſe power they are for the time: which if they do, the cenſure and diſcipline of the kirk to proceed againſt them. If the ſon or daughter, or other, have their heart touched with the deſire of marriage, they are bound to give honour to their parents, that they open unto them their affection, aſking their counſel and aſſiſtance, how that motion, which they judge to be of God, may be performed. If the father, friend, or maſter, gainſtand their requeſt, and have no other cauſe than the common ſort of men have, *viz.* lack of goods, and becauſe they are not ſo high born as they require, yet moſt not the parties, whoſe hearts are touched, make any covenant, till further declaration be made unto the kirk of God; and therefore, after that they have opened their minds to their parents, or ſuch others as have charge over them, they muſt declare it to the miniſter alſo, or to the civil magiſtrate, requiring them to travel with their parents for their conſent, which to do they are bound. And if they, *viz.* the miniſter or magiſtrate, find no cauſe, that is juſt, why the marriage required may not be fulfilled, then, after ſufficient admonition to the father, friend, maſter, or ſuperior, that none of them reſiſt the work of God, the miniſter or magiſtrate may enter in the place of parents, and be conſenting to their juſt requeſts, may admit them to marriage; for the work of God ought not to be hindered, by the corrupt affections of worldly men. The work of God we call, when two hearts, without filthineſs before committed, are ſo joined, and both require, and are content, to live together in that holy band of matrimony. If any commit fornication with that woman he requires in marriage, they do both loſe this foreſaid benefit, as well of the kirk as of the magiſtrate; for neither of both ought to be interceſſors or advocates for filthy fornicators. But the father, or neareſt friend, whoſe daughter, being a virgin, is deflowered, hath power, by the law of God, to compel the man that did that injury to marry his daughter: and if the father will not accept him by reaſon of his offence, then may he require the dowry of his daughter; which if the of-

fender be not able to pay, then ought the civil magiſtrate to puniſh his body by ſome other puniſhment. And becauſe whoredom, fornication, adultery, are ſins moſt common in this realm, we require of your honours, in the name of the eternal God, that fevere puniſhment, according as God hath commanded, be executed againſt ſuch wicked contemners: for we doubt not but ſuch enormities and crimes, openly committed, provoke the wrath of God, as the apoſtle ſpeaketh, not only upon the offenders, but upon ſuch places, where without puniſhment they are committed. But to return to our former purpoſe. Marriage ought not to be contracted amongſt perſons that have no election for lack of underſtanding. And therefore we affirm, that bairns and infants cannot lawfully be married in their minor age; *viz.* the man within fourteen years, and the woman twelve years at leaſt: which if it hath been, and they have kept themſelves always ſeparate, we cannot judge them to adhere as men and wives, by reaſon of that promiſe, which in God's preſence was no promiſe at all; but if in years of judgment they have embraced the one the other, then, by reaſon of that laſt conſent, they have ratified that which others have promitted for them in their youth.

In a reformed kirk, marriage ought not to be ſecretly uſed, but in open face, and public audience of the kirk; and, for avoiding of dangers, expedient it is, that the banns be publicly proclaimed three Sundays, unleſs the perſons be ſo known that no ſuſpicion of danger may ariſe: and then may the time be ſhortened, at the diſcretion of the miniſtry. But no ways can we admit marriage to be uſed ſecretly, how honourable ſoever the perſons be. The Sunday before noon we think moſt expedient for marriage, and it be uſed no day elſe, without the conſent of the whole miniſtry. Marriage once lawfully contracted, may not be diſſolved at man's pleaſure, as our Maſter Chriſt Jeſus doth witneſs, unleſs adultery be committed; which being ſufficiently proved, in preſence of the civil magiſtrate, the innocent (if they ſo require) ought to be pronounced free, and the offender ought to ſuffer death, as God hath commanded. If the civil ſword fooliſhly ſpare the life of the offender, yet may not the kirk be negligent in their office, which is to excommunicate the wicked, and to repute them as dead members, and to pronounce the innocent party to be at freedom, be they never ſo honourable before the world. If the life be ſpared, as it ought not to be to the offenders, and if fruits of repentance of long time appear in them, and if they earneſtly deſire to be reconciled with the kirk, we judge they may be received to the participation of the ſacraments, and other benefits of the kirk: for we would not that the kirk ſhould hold them excommunicate whom God abſolved, that is, the penitent. If any demand, Whether that the offender, after reconciliation with the kirk, may not marry again? We anſwer, That if they cannot live continently, and if the neceſſity be ſuch, as that they fear further offence of God, we cannot forbid them to uſe the remedy ordained of God. If the party offended may be reconciled to the offender, then we judge, that on no ways it ſhall be lawful to the offender to marry any other, except the party that before hath been offended; and the ſolemnization of the latter marriage muſt be in the open face of the kirk, like as the former, but without proclamation of banns.

This we do offer as the beſt counſel that God giveth unto us in ſo doubtful a caſe; but the moſt perfect reformation were, if your honours would give to God his honour and glory, that ye would prefer his expreſs commandment to your own corrupt judgments, eſpecially in puniſhing of theſe crimes, which he commandeth to be puniſhed with death: for ſo ſhould ye declare yourſelves God's true obedient officers, and your commonwealth ſhould be rid of innumerable troubles.

We mean not that ſins committed in our former blindneſs (which be almoſt buried in oblivion), ſhall be called again to examination and judgment: but we require, that the law may be now, and hereafter, ſo eſtabliſhed and execute, that this ungodly impunity of ſin have no place within this realm: for in the fear of God we ſignify unto your honours, that whoſoever perſuades you, that ye may pardon where God commandeth death, deceives your ſouls, and provokes you to offend God's Majeſty.

Of Burial.

BURIAL, in all ages, hath been holden in eſtimation to ſignify, that the ſame body which was committed to the earth ſhould not utterly periſh, but ſhould riſe again; and the ſame we would have kept within this realm: provided that ſuperſtition, idolatry, and whatſoever hath proceeded of a falſe opinion, and for advantage ſake, may be avoided; and ſinging of maſs, *placebo* and *dirige*, and all other prayers over or for the dead, which are not only ſuperſtitious and vain, but alſo

are idolatry, and do repugn to the plain Scriptures of God: for plain it is, that every one that dieth, departeth either in the faith of Chriſt Jeſus, or departeth in incredulity: plain it is, that they that depart in the true faith of Chriſt Jeſus reſt from their labours, and from death do go to life everlaſting; as by our Maſter, and his apoſtles, we are taught: but whoſoever departeth in unbelief or incredulity, ſhall never ſee life, but the wrath of God abides upon him: and ſo we ſay, That prayers for the dead are not only ſuperſtitious and vain, but do expreſsly repugn to the manifeſt Scriptures, and verity thereof. For avoiding of all inconveniences we judge it beſt, that neither ſinging nor reading be at burial: for albeit things ſung and read may admoniſh ſome of the living to prepare themſelves for death, yet ſhall ſome ſuperſtitious think, that ſinging and reading of the living may profit the dead: and therefore we think it moſt expedient, that the dead be conveyed to the place of burial with ſome honeſt company of the kirk, without either ſinging or reading; yea, without all kind of ceremony heretofore uſed, other than that the dead be committed to the grave, with ſuch gravity and ſobriety, as thoſe that be preſent may ſeem to fear the judgments of God, and to hate ſin, which is the cauſe of death.

We are not ignorant, that ſome require a ſermon at the burial, or elſe ſome place of Scripture to be read, to put the living in mind that they are mortal, and that likewiſe they muſt die. But let theſe men underſtand, that the ſermons which be daily made ſerve for that uſe, which if men deſpiſe, the funeral ſermons ſhall rather nouriſh ſuperſtition, and a falſe opinion, as before is ſaid, than that they ſhall bring ſuch perſons to a godly conſideration of their own eſtate. Beſides, either ſhall the miniſters for the moſt part be occupied in funeral ſermons, or elſe they ſhall have reſpect of perſons, preaching at the burials of the rich and honourable, but keeping ſilence when the poor and deſpiſed departeth, and this with ſafe conſcience cannot the miniſter do: for ſeeing that before God there is no reſpect of perſons, and that their miniſtry appertaineth to all alike, whatſoever they do to the rich in reſpect of their miniſtry, the ſame they are bound to do to the pooreſt under their charge. In reſpect of divers inconveniences, we think it neither ſeemly that the kirk, appointed to preaching and miniſtration of the ſacraments, ſhall be made a place of burial, but that ſome other ſecret and convenient place, lying in the moſt free air, be appointed for that uſe; which place ought to be walled and fenced about, and kept for that uſe only.

For Reparation of the Kirks.

LEST that the word of God, and miniſtration of the ſacraments, by unſeemlineſs of the place, come in contempt, of neceſſity it is, that the kirk and place where the people ought publicly to convene, be with expedition repaired, with doors, windows, thatch, and with ſuch preparation within, as appertaineth as well to the Majeſty of God, as unto the eaſe and commodity of the people. And becauſe we know the ſlothfulneſs of men in this behalf, and in all other which may not redound to their private commodity, ſtrait charge and commandment muſt be given, that within a certain day the reparation muſt be begun, and within another day, to be affixed by your honours, that it may be finiſhed. Penalties and ſums of money muſt be enjoined, and without pardon taken from the contemners.

The reparation would be according to the ability and number of kirks. Every kirk muſt have doors, cloſe windows of glaſs, thatch able to withhold rain, a bell to convocate the people together, a pulpit, a baſon for baptizing, and tables for miniſtration of the Lord's ſupper. In greater kirks, and where the congregation is great in number, muſt reparation be made within the kirk, for the quiet and commodious receiving of the people. The expences are to be lifted partly of the people, and partly of the teinds, at the conſideration of the miniſtry.

For Puniſhment of thoſe that profane the Sacraments, and contemn the Word of God, and dare preſume to miniſter them, not being thereto lawfully called.

AS Satan hath never ceaſed, from the beginning, to draw mankind in one of two extremities, *viz.* that men ſhould either be ſo raviſhed with gazing upon the viſible creatures, that, forgetting the cauſe wherefore they are ordained, they attributed unto them a virtue and power which God hath not granted unto them; or elſe that men ſhould ſo contemn and deſpiſe God's bleſſed ordinance, and holy inſtitutions, as if that neither in the right uſe of them there were any profit, neither yet in their profanations there were any

danger. As this way, we ſay, Satan hath blinded the moſt part of mankind from the beginning, ſo doubt we not but that he will ſtrive to continue in his malice even to the end. Our eyes have ſeen, and preſently do ſee, the experience of the one, and of the other. What was the opinion of the moſt part of men, of the ſacrament of Chriſt's body and blood, during the darkneſs of ſuperſtition, is not unknown. How it was gazed upon, kneeled unto, borne in proceſſion, and finally worſhipped and honoured as Chriſt Jeſus himſelf! And ſo long as Satan might then retain men in that damnable idolatry, he was quiet, as one that poſſeſſed his kingdom of darkneſs peaceably. But ſince that it hath pleaſed the mercies of God, to reveal unto the unthankful world the light of his word, the right uſe and adminiſtration of his ſacraments, he aſſays man upon the contrary part: for where not long ago men ſtood in ſuch admiration of that idol the maſs, that none durſt have preſumed to have ſaid the maſs but the ſhaven ſort, the beaſt's marked men; ſome dare now be ſo bold, as, without all vocation, to miniſter, as they ſuppoſe, the true ſacraments in open aſſemblies: and ſome idiots (yet more wickedly and impudently) dare counterfeit in their houſe, that which the true miniſters do in the open congregations. They preſume, we ſay, to do it in houſes, without reverence, without word preached, and without miniſter. This contempt proceeds no doubt from the malice and craft of that ſerpent, who firſt deceived man, of purpoſe to deface the glory of Chriſt's goſpel, and to bring his bleſſed ſacraments in a perpetual contempt. And further, your honours may clearly ſee, how ſtubbornly and proudly the moſt part deſpiſe the goſpel of Chriſt Jeſus offered unto you, whom unleſs that ſharply and ſtoutly ye reſiſt, we mean as well the manifeſt deſpiſer as the profaner of the ſacraments, ye ſhall find them pernicious enemies ere it be long. And therefore, in the name of the eternal God, and of his Son Chriſt Jeſus, we require of your honours, that, without delay, ſtrait laws be made againſt the one and the other.

We dare not preſcribe unto you, what penalties ſhall be required of ſuch; but this we fear not to affirm, that the one and the other deſerve death: for if he who doth falſify the ſeal, ſubſcription, or coin of a king, is judged worthy of death, what ſhall we think of him who plainly doth falſify the ſeals of Chriſt Jeſus, Prince of the kings of the earth? If Darius pronounced that a balk ſhould be taken from the houſe of that man, and he himſelf hanged upon it, that durſt attempt to hinder the re-edifying of the material temple, what ſhall we ſay of thoſe that contemptuouſly blaſpheme God, and manifeſtly hinder the temple of God, which is the ſouls and bodies of the elect, to be purged, by the true preaching of Chriſt Jeſus, from the ſuperſtition and damnable idolatry in which they have been long plunged, and holden captive? If ye, as God forbid, declare yourſelves careleſs over the true religion, God will not ſuffer your negligence unpuniſhed: and therefore more earneſtly we require, that ſtrait laws may be made againſt the ſtubborn contemners of Chriſt Jeſus, and againſt ſuch as dare preſume to miniſter his ſacraments, not orderly called to that office, leſt while that there be none found to gainſtand impiety, the wrath of God be kindled againſt the whole.

The Papiſtical prieſts have neither power nor authority to miniſter the ſacraments of Chriſt Jeſus, becauſe that in their mouth is not the ſermon of exhortation: and therefore to them muſt ſtrait inhibition be made, notwithſtanding any uſurpation they have had in the time of blindneſs. It is neither the clipping of their crowns, the greaſing of their fingers, nor the blowing of the dumb dogs called the biſhops, neither the laying on of their hands, that maketh miniſters of Chriſt Jeſus; but the Spirit of God inwardly firſt moving the hearts to ſeek Chriſt's glory, and the profit of his kirk, and thereafter the nomination of the people, the examination of the learned, and public admiſſion (as before is ſaid), make men lawful miniſters of the word and ſacraments. We ſpeak of an ordinary vocation, and not of that which is extraordinary, when God by himſelf, and by his only power, raiſeth up to the miniſtry ſuch as beſt pleaſeth his wiſdom.

The Concluſion.

THUS have we, in theſe few heads, offered unto your honours our judgments, according as we were commanded, touching the reformation of things, which heretofore have altogether been abuſed in this curſed Papiſtry. We doubt not but ſome of our petitions ſhall appear ſtrange unto you at the firſt ſight. But if your wiſdoms deeply conſider, that we muſt anſwer not only unto man, but alſo before the throne of the eternal God, and of his Son Chriſt Jeſus, for the counſel which we give in this ſo grave a matter,

your honours ſhall eaſily conſider, that more ſafe it is to us to fall into the diſpleaſure of all men in the earth, than to offend the Majeſty of God, whoſe juſtice cannot ſuffer flatterers and deceitful counſellors unpuniſhed. That we require the kirk to be ſet at ſuch liberty, that ſhe neither be compelled to feed idle bellies, neither yet to ſuſtain the tyranny which heretofore hath been by violence maintained, we know we ſhall offend many; but if we ſhould keep ſilence hereof, we are moſt aſſured to offend the juſt and righteous God, who, by the mouth of his apoſtle, hath pronounced this ſentence, 'He that laboureth 'not, let him not eat.' If we, in this behalf, or in any other, require or aſk any other thing than by God's expreſs commandment, by equity and good conſcience, ye are bound to grant, let it be noted, and after repudiate: but if we require nothing which God requireth not alſo, let your honours take heed, how ye gainſtand the charge of him whoſe hand and puniſhment ye cannot eſcape. If blind affection rather lead you to have reſpect to the ſuſtentation of theſe your carnal friends, who tyrannouſly have empired above the flock of Chriſt Jeſus, than that the zeal of Chriſt Jeſus' glory provoke and move you to ſet his oppreſſed kirk at freedom and liberty, we fear your ſharp and ſudden puniſhments, and that the glory and honour of this enterpriſe be reſerved unto others. And yet ſhall this our judgment abide to the generations following, for a monument and witneſs how lovingly God called you and this nation to repentance; what counſellors God ſent unto you, and how ye have uſed the ſame. If obediently ye hear God now calling, we doubt not but he ſhall hear you in your greateſt neceſſity: but if, following your own corrupt judgments, ye contemn his voice and vocation, we are aſſured, that your former iniquity, and preſent ingratitude, ſhall together crave great puniſhment from God, who cannot long delay to execute his moſt juſt judgments, when, after many offences and long blindneſs, grace and mercy offered is contemptuouſly refuſed.

God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by the power of his Holy Spirit, ſo illuminate your hearts, that ye may clearly ſee what is pleaſing and acceptable in his preſence; and ſo bow the ſame to his obedience, that ye may prefer his revealed will to your own affections; and ſo ſtrengthen you by the ſpirit of fortitude, that boldly ye may puniſh vice and maintain virtue within this realm, to the praiſe and glory of his holy name, to the comfort and aſſurance of your own conſciences, and to the conſolation and the good example of the poſterity following. Amen.

From Edinburgh, 20th of
May 1560.

By your honours moſt humble ſervants.

Act of Secret Council, 17th of January, Anno 1560.

WE who have ſubſcribed theſe preſents, having adviſed with the articles herein ſpecified, as is above mentioned from the beginning of this Book, think the ſame good, and conform to God's word in all points; conform to the notes and additions hereto added: and promiſe to ſet the ſame forward to the uttermoſt of our powers; providing that the biſhops, abbots, priors, and other prelates and beneficed men, who already have adjoined themſelves to us, bruik the revenues of their benefices during their lifetimes; they ſuſtaining and upholding the miniſtry and miniſters, as herein is ſpecified, for the preaching of the word, and miniſtering of the ſacraments.

Sic ſubſcribitur,

James Hamilton.
Arch. Argyle.
James Stewart.
Rothes.
Boyd.
William lord Hay.
Alexander Campbell.
Mr. Alexander Gordon.
Glencairn.
Ochiltrie.
Sanquhar.
S. Jones.
William of Culroſs.
Drumlanrig.
Barganny, younger.
Lochinvar.
Cunninghamhead.
James Haliburton.
John Lockart of Bar.
John Shaw of Haly.
Scot of Hanning.
James Maxwell.
George Fenton of that Ilk.
Andrew Ker of Fadon-ſide.
Andrew Hamilton of Lethan.
Dean of Murray.



THE SECOND BOOK OF DISCIPLINE;

OR,

HEADS and CONCLUSIONS of the Policy of the KIRK.

CHAP. I.

Of the Kirk and Policy thereof in general, and wherein it is different from the Civil Policy.

THE kirk of God ſometimes is largely taken, for all them that profeſs the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt; and ſo it is a company and fellowſhip not only of the godly, but alſo of hypocrites, profeſſing always outwardly the true religion.

Other times it is taken for the godly and elect only, and ſometimes for them that exerciſe ſpiritual function in the congregation of them that profeſs the truth.

The kirk in this laſt ſenſe hath a certain power granted by God, according to the which it uſes a proper juriſdiction and government, exerciſed to the comfort of the whole kirk.

This power eccleſiaſtical is an authority granted by God the Father, through the Mediator Jeſus Chriſt, unto his kirk gathered, and hath ground in the word of God, to be put in execution by them unto whom the ſpiritual government of the kirk, by lawful calling, is committed.

The policy of the kirk, flowing from this power, is an order or form of ſpiritual government, which is exerciſed by the members appointed thereto by the word of God; and therefore is given immediately to the office-bearers, by whom it is exerciſed to the good of the whole body.

This power is diverſely uſed: for ſometimes it is ſeverally exerciſed, chiefly by the teachers; ſometimes conjunctly, by mutual conſent of them that bear the office and charge, after the form of judgment. The former is only called *poteſtas ordinis*, and the other *poteſtas juriſdictionis*.

Theſe two kinds of power have both one authority, one ground, one final cauſe; but are different in the manner and form of execution, as is evident by the ſpeaking of our Maſter, in the 16th and 18th of Matthew.

This power and policy eccleſiaſtical is different and diſtinct, in its own nature, from that power and policy which is called civil power, and appertaineth to the civil government of the commonwealth: albeit they be both of God, and tend to one end, if they be rightly uſed; *viz.* to advance the glory of God, and to have godly and good ſubjects.

For this power eccleſiaſtical floweth immediately from God, and the Mediator Jeſus Chriſt, and is ſpiritual, not having a temporal head in the earth but only Chriſt, the only ſpiritual King and Governor of his kirk.

It is a title falſely uſurped by Antichriſt, to call himſelf head of the kirk, and ought not to be attributed to angel nor man, of what eſtate that ever he be, ſaving to Chriſt the only Head and Monarch in the kirk.

Therefore this power and policy of the kirk ſhould lean upon the word immediately, as the only ground thereof, and ſhould be taken from the pure fountains of the Scriptures, the kirk hearing the voice of Chriſt the only ſpiritual King, and being ruled by his laws.

It is proper to kings, princes, and magiſtrates, to be called lords and dominators over their ſubjects, whom they govern civilly; but it is proper to Chriſt only, to be called Lord and Maſter in the ſpiritual government of the kirk: and all others that bear office therein, ought not to uſurp dominion therein, nor be called lords, but only miniſters, diſciples, and ſervants: for it is Chriſt's proper office to command and rule his kirk univerſally; and every particular kirk, through his Spirit and word, by the miniſtry of men.

Notwithſtanding, as the miniſters, and others of the eccleſiaſtical eſtate, are ſubject to the magiſtrate civil, ſo ought the perſon of the magiſtrate be ſubject to the kirk ſpiritually, and in eccleſiaſtical government. And the exerciſe of both theſe juriſdictions cannot ſtand in one perſon ordinary.

The civil power is called the power of the ſword, and the other the power of the keys.

The civil power ſhould command the ſpiritual to exerciſe, and to do their office according to the word of God: the ſpiritual rulers ſhould require the Chriſtian magiſtrate to miniſter juſtice, and puniſh vice, and to maintain the liberty and quietneſs of the kirk within their bounds.

The magiſtrate commandeth external things, for external peace and quietneſs amongſt the ſubjects: the miniſter handleth external things only for conſcience cauſe.

The magiſtrate handleth external things only, and actions done before men: but the ſpiritual ruler judgeth both inward affections, and external actions, in reſpect of conſcience, by the word of God.

The civil magiſtrate craves and gets obedience by the ſword, and other external means; but the miniſtry, by the ſpiritual ſword, and ſpiritual means.

The magiſtrate neither ought to preach, miniſter the ſacraments, nor execute the cenſures of the kirk, nor yet preſcribe any rule how it ſhould be done; but command the miniſters to obſerve the rule commanded in the word, and puniſh the tranſgreſſors by civil means: the miniſters exerciſe not the civil juriſdiction, but teach the magiſtrate how it ſhould be exerciſed according to the word.

The magiſtrate ought to aſſiſt, maintain, and fortify the juriſdiction of the kirk: the miniſters ſhould aſſiſt their princes in all things agreeable to the word, providing they neglect not their own charge, by involving themſelves in civil affairs.

Finally, As miniſters are ſubject to the judgment and puniſhment of the magiſtrate in external things, if they offend; ſo ought the magiſtrates to ſubmit themſelves to the diſcipline of the kirk, if they tranſgreſs in matters of conſcience and religion.

CHAP. II.

Of the Policy of the Kirk, and Perſons and Office-bearers to whom the Adminiſtration is committed.

AS in the civil policy the whole commonwealth conſiſteth in them that are governors, or magiſtrates, and them that are governed, or ſubjects; ſo in the policy of the kirk, ſome are appointed to be rulers, and the reſt of the members thereof to be ruled, and obey according to the word of God, and inſpiration of his Spirit, always under one Head and chief Governor, Jeſus Chriſt.

Again, The whole policy of the kirk conſiſteth in three things, *viz.* in doctrine, diſcipline, and diſtribution. With doctrine is annexed the adminiſtration of ſacraments: and, according to the parts of this diviſion, ariſeth a ſort of threefold officers in the kirk, *viz.* of miniſters or preachers, elders or governors, and deacons or diſtributers: and all theſe may be called by a general word, miniſters of the kirk: for albeit the kirk of God be ruled and governed by Jeſus Chriſt, who is the only King, High-prieſt, and Head thereof, yet he uſeth the miniſtry of men as the moſt neceſſary mids for this purpoſe.

For ſo he hath from time to time, before the law, under the law, and in the time of the goſpel, for our great comfort, raiſed up men endued with the gifts of the Spirit, for the ſpiritual government of his kirk, exerciſing by them his own power, through his Spirit and word, to the building up of the ſame.

And to take away all occaſion of tyranny, he willeth that they ſhould rule with mutual conſent as brethren, with equality of power, every one according to their functions.

In the New Teſtament, and time of the goſpel, he hath uſed the miniſtry of the apoſtles, prophets, evangeliſts, paſtors, and doctors, in adminiſtration of the word; the elderſhip for good order, and adminiſtration of the diſcipline; the deaconſhip to have the care of the eccleſiaſtical goods.

Some of theſe eccleſiaſtical functions are ordinary, and ſome extraordinary or temporary. There be three extraordinary functions, the office of the apoſtle, the evangeliſt, and of the prophet, which are not perpetual, and now have ceaſed in the kirk of God; except when it pleaſed God extraordinarily, for a time, to ſtir ſome of them up again.

There are four ordinary functions or offices in the kirk of God, the office of the paſtor, miniſter, or biſhop; the doctor, preſbyter or elder, and the deacon.

Theſe offices are ordinary, and ought to continue perpetually in the kirk, as neceſſary for the government and policy thereof; and no more offices ought to be received or ſuffered in the kirk of God, eſtabliſhed according to his word.

Therefore all the ambitious titles invented in the kingdom of Antichriſt, and in his uſurped hierarchy, which are not of one of theſe four ſorts, together with the offices depending thereupon, in one word, ought to be rejected.

CHAP. III.

How the Perſons that bear Eccleſiaſtical Functions are to be admitted to their Office.

VOCATION or calling is common to all that ſhould bear office within the kirk, which is a lawful way, by the which qualified perſons are promoted to any ſpiritual office within the kirk of God.

Without this lawful calling, it was never lawful for any perſon to meddle with any function eccleſiaſtical

There are two ſorts of calling, one extraordinary, by God immediately; as was that of the prophets and apoſtles, which, in kirks eſtabliſhed, and already well-reformed, hath no place.

The other calling is ordinary, which, beſides the calling of God, and inward teſtimony of a good conſcience, is the lawful approbation and outward judgment of men, according to God's word, and order eſtabliſhed in his kirk.

None ought to preſume to enter in any office eccleſiaſtical, without this good teſtimony before God, who only knows the hearts of men.

This ordinary and outward calling hath two parts, election and ordination. Election is the chuſing out of a perſon or perſons, moſt able, to the office that vakes, by the judgment of the elderſhip, and conſent of the congregation, to which the perſon or perſons ſhall be appointed.

The qualifications in general requiſite in all them who ſhould bear charge in the kirk, conſiſt in ſoundneſs of religion, and godlineſs of life, according as they are ſufficiently ſet forth in the word.

In the order of election is to be eſchewed, that any perſon be intruded in any offices of the kirk, contrary to the will of the congregation to which they are appointed, or without the voice of the elderſhip.

None ought to be intruded, or placed in the places already planted, or in any room that vakes not, for any worldly reſpect: and that which is called the benefice, ought to be nothing elſe but the ſtipend of the miniſters that are lawfully called.

Ordination is the ſeparation and ſanctifying of the perſon appointed to God and his kirk, after he is well tried, and found qualified.

The ceremonies of ordination are, faſting, earneſt prayer, and impoſition of hands of the elderſhip.

All theſe, as they muſt be raiſed up by God, and by him made able for the work whereto they are called; ſo ought they to know their meſſage to be limited within God's word, without the bounds of the which they ought not to paſs.

All theſe ſhould take thoſe titles and names only (leſt they be exalted and puffed up in themſelves) which the Scriptures give unto them, as theſe which import labour, travel, and work, and are names of offices and ſervice, and not of idleneſs, dignity, worldly honour, or pre-eminence, which by Chriſt our Maſter is expreſsly reproved and forbidden.

All theſe office-bearers ſhould have their own particular flocks, amongſt whom they exerciſe their charge.

All ſhould make reſidence with them, and take the inſpection and overſight of them, every one in his vocation.

And generally theſe two things ought they all to reſpect; The glory of God, and edifying of his kirk, in diſcharging their duties in their calling.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Office-bearers in particular, and firſt of the Paſtors or Miniſters.

PASTORS, biſhops, or miniſters, are they who are appointed to particular congregations, which they rule by the word of God, and over the which they watch: in reſpect whereof, ſometimes they are called paſtors, becauſe they feed their congregation; ſometimes *epiſcopi*, or biſhops, becauſe they watch over their flock; ſometimes miniſters, by reaſon of their ſervice and office; and ſometimes alſo preſbyters or ſeniors, for the gravity in manners which they ought to have in taking care of the ſpiritual government, which ought to be moſt dear unto them.

They that are called unto the miniſtry, or that offer themſelves thereunto, ought not to be elected, without ſome certain flock be aſſigned unto them.

No man ought to ingyre himſelf, or uſurp this office, without a lawful calling.

They who are once called by God, and duly elected by man, after that they have once accepted the charge of the miniſtry, may not leave their functions.

The deſerters ſhould be admoniſhed; and, in caſe of obſtinacy, finally excommunicated.

No paſtor may leave his flock without licence of the provincial or national aſſembly; which if he do, after admonitions not obeyed, let the cenſures of the kirk ſtrike upon him.

Unto the paſtors appertains teaching of the word of God, in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon, publicly and privately, always travelling to edify, and to diſcharge his conſcience, as God's word preſcribes to him.

Unto the paſtors only appertains the adminiſtration of the ſacraments, in like manner as the adminiſtration of the word: for both are appointed by God as means to teach us, the one by the ear, and the other by the eyes and other ſenſes; that, by both, knowledge may be transferred to the mind.

It appertains, by the ſame reaſon, to the paſtor to pray for the people, and namely for the flock committed to his charge; and to bleſs them in the name of the Lord, who will not ſuffer the bleſſings of his faithful ſervants to be fruſtrate.

He ought alſo to watch over the manners of his flock, that he may the better apply the doctrine to them, in reprehending the diſſolute perſons, and exhorting the godly to continue in the fear of the Lord.

It appertains to the miniſter, after lawful proceeding by the elderſhip, to pronounce the ſentence of binding and looſing upon any perſon, according unto the power of the keys granted unto the kirk.

It belongs to him likewiſe, after lawful proceeding in the matter by the elderſhip, to ſolemnize marriage betwixt them that are to be joined therein; and to pronounce the bleſſing of the Lord upon them that enter into that holy band in the fear of God.

And generally all public denunciations, that are to be made in the kirk before the congregation, concerning the eccleſiaſtical affairs belonging to the office of a miniſter: for he is as a meſſenger and herald betwixt God and the people in all theſe affairs.

CHAP. V.

Of Doctors, and their Office; and of the Schools.

ONE of the two ordinary and perpetual functions that travel in the word, is the office of the doctor, who may be alſo called a prophet, biſhop, elder, catechizer; that is, teacher of the catechiſm, and rudiments of religion.

His office is, to open up the mind of the Spirit of God in the Scriptures ſimply, without ſuch applications as the miniſters uſe, to the end that the faithful may be inſtructed, and ſound doctrine taught; and that the purity of the goſpel be not corrupted through ignorance, or evil opinions.

He is different from the paſtor, not only in name, but in diverſity of gifts: for to the doctor is given the word of knowledge, to open up, by ſimple teaching, the myſteries of faith; to the paſtor the gift of wiſdom, to apply the ſame, by exhortation, to the manners of the flock, as occaſion craveth.

Under the name and office of a doctor, we comprehend alſo the order in ſchools, colleges, and univerſities, which hath been from time to time carefully maintained, as well among the Jews and Chriſtians, as among the profane nations.

The doctor being an elder, as ſaid is, ſhould aſſiſt the paſtor in the government of the kirk, and concur with the elders, his brethren, in all aſſemblies, by reaſon the interpretation of the word, which is only judge in eccleſiaſtical matters, is committed to his charge.

But to preach unto the people, to miniſter the ſacraments, and to celebrate marriages, pertain not to the doctor, unleſs he be otherwiſe called ordinarily: howbeit the paſtor may teach in the

ſchools, as he who hath the gift of knowledge is oftentimes meet for that end, as the examples of Polycarpus and others teſtify, &c.

CHAP VI.

Of Elders, and their Office.

THE word elder, in the Scripture, ſometimes is the name of age, ſometimes of office. When it is the name of any office, ſometimes it is taken largely, comprehending as well the paſtors and doctors, as them who are called ſeniors or elders.

In this our diviſion, we call theſe elders whom the apoſtles call preſidents or governors. Their office as it is ordinary, ſo is it perpetual, and always neceſſary in the kirk of God. The elderſhip is a ſpiritual function, as is the miniſtry.

Elders once lawfully called to the office, and having gifts from God meet to exerciſe the ſame, may not leave it again. Albeit ſuch a number of elders may be choſen in certain congregations, that one part of them may relieve another for a reaſonable time, as was among the Levites under the law, in ſerving of the temple.

The number of the elders, in every congregation, cannot well be limited, but ſhould be according to the bounds and neceſſity of the people.

It is not neceſſary that all elders be alſo teachers of the word, albeit the chief ought to be ſuch; and ſo are worthy of double honour.

What manner of perſons they ought to be, we refer it to the expreſs word, and namely, to the canons written by the apoſtle Paul.

Their office is, as well ſeverally as conjunctly, to watch diligently over the flock committed to their charge, both publicly and privately, that no corruption of religion or manners enter therein.

As the paſtors and doctors ſhould be diligent in teaching and ſowing the ſeed of the word, ſo the elders ſhould be careful in ſeeking after the fruit of the ſame in the people.

It appertains to them to aſſiſt the paſtor in examination of them that come to the Lord's table. *Item*, in viſiting the ſick.

They ſhould cauſe the acts of the aſſemblies, as well particular as general, to be put in execution carefully.

They ſhould be diligent in admoniſhing all men of their duty, according to the rule of the goſpel.

Things that they cannot correct by private admonitions, they ſhould bring to the elderſhip.

Their principal office is, to hold aſſemblies with the paſtors and doctors, who are alſo of their number, for eſtabliſhing of good order, and execution of diſcipline; unto the which aſſemblies all perſons are ſubject that remain within their bounds.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Elderſhips, Aſſemblies, and Diſcipline.

ELDERSHIPS and aſſemblies are commonly conſtitute of paſtors, doctors, and ſuch as we commonly call elders, that labour not in the word and doctrine; of whom, and of whoſe ſeveral power, hath been ſpoken.

Aſſemblies are of four ſorts. For either they are of particular kirks and congregations one or more, or of a province, or of a whole nation, or of all and divers nations profeſſing one Jeſus Chriſt.

All the eccleſiaſtical aſſemblies have power to convene lawfully together, for treating of things concerning the kirk, and pertaining to their charge.

They have power to appoint times and places to that effect; and, at one meeting, to appoint the diet, time, and place for another.

In all aſſemblies a moderator ſhould be choſen, by common conſent of the whole brethren convened, who ſhould propone matters, gather the votes, and cauſe good order to be kept in the aſſemblies.

Diligence ſhould be taken, chiefly by the moderator, that only eccleſiaſtical things be handled in the aſſemblies; and that there be no meddling with any thing pertaining to the civil juriſdiction.

Every aſſembly hath power to ſend forth from them, of their own number, one or more viſitors, to ſee how all things be ruled in the bounds of their juriſdiction.

Viſitation of more kirks is no ordinary office eccleſiaſtic, in the perſon of one man; neither may the name of a biſhop be attributed to the viſitor only; neither is it neceſſary to abide always in one man's perſon; but it is the part of the elderſhip to ſend out qualified perſons to viſit *pro re nata*.

The final end of aſſemblies is, firſt, To keep religion and doctrine in purity, without error and corruption; next, To keep comelineſs and good order in the kirk.

For this order's cauſe, they may make certain rules and conſtitutions, appertaining to the good behaviour of all the members of the kirk, in their vocation.

They have power alſo to abrogate and aboliſh all ſtatutes and ordinances concerning eccleſiaſtical matters, that are found noiſome and unprofitable, and agree not with the time, or are abuſed by the people.

They have power to execute eccleſiaſtical diſcipline and puniſhment upon all tranſgreſſors, and proud contemners of the good order and policy of the kirk; and ſo the whole diſcipline is in their hands.

The firſt kind and ſort of aſſemblies, although they be within particular congregations, yet they exerce the power, authority, and juriſdiction of the kirk with mutual conſent, and therefore bear ſometimes the name of the kirk.

When we ſpeak of the elders of the particular congregations, we mean not, that every particular pariſh-kirk can or may have their own particular elderſhips, eſpecially in landward; but we think three, four, more or fewer particular kirks, may have one elderſhip, common to them all, to judge their eccleſiaſtical cauſes.

Yet this is meet, that ſome of the elders be choſen out of every particular congregation, to concur with the reſt of their brethren in the common aſſembly, and to take up the delations of offences within their own kirks, and bring them to the aſſembly.

This we gather out of the practice of the primitive kirk, where elders or colleges of ſeniors were conſtitute in cities and famous places.

The power of their particular elderſhips is, to uſe diligent labours in the bounds committed to their charge, that the kirks be kept in good order; to inquire diligently in naughty and unruly perſons, and travel to bring them in the way again, either by admonition or threatening of God's judgments, or by correction.

It pertains to the elderſhip, to take heed that the word of God be purely preached within their bounds, the ſacraments rightly miniſtered, the diſcipline rightly maintained, and the eccleſiaſtical goods uncorruptly diſtributed.

It belongs to this kind of aſſembly, to cauſe the ordinances made by the aſſemblies provincial, national, and general, to be kept, and put in execution.

To make conſtitutions which concern το πρεπον in the kirk, for the decent order of theſe particular kirks where they govern: providing they alter no rules made by the general or provincial aſſemblies; and that they make the provincial aſſemblies foreſeen of theſe rules that they ſhall make, and aboliſh them that tend to the hurt of the ſame.

It hath power to excommunicate the obſtinate.

The power of election of them who bear eccleſiaſtical charges, pertains to this kind of aſſembly, within their own bounds, being well erected, and conſtitute of many paſtors, and elders of ſufficient ability.

By the like reaſon, their depoſition alſo pertains to this kind of aſſembly, as of them that teach erroneous and corrupt doctrine; that be of ſlanderous life, and after admonition deſiſt not; that be given to ſchiſm or rebellion againſt the kirk, manifeſt blaſphemy, ſimony, corruption of bribes, falſehood, perjury, whoredom, theft, drunkenneſs, fighting worthy of puniſhment by the law, uſury, dancing, infamy, and all others that deſerve ſeparation from the kirk.

Theſe alſo who are altogether found inſufficient to execute that charge ſhould be depoſed; whereof other kirks ſhould be advertiſed, that they receive not the perſons depoſed.

Yet they ought not to be depoſed, who, through age, ſickneſs, or other accidents, become unmeet to do their office; in which caſe, their honour ſhould remain to them, their kirk ſhould maintain them, and others ought to be provided to do their office.

Provincial aſſemblies we call lawful conventions of the paſtors, doctors, and other elders of a province, gathered for the common affairs of the kirks thereof, which alſo may be called the conference of the kirk and brethren.

Theſe aſſemblies are inſtitute for weighty matters, to be handled by mutual conſent and aſſiſtance of the brethren within that province, as need requires.

This aſſembly hath power to handle, order, and redreſs all things committed or done amiſs in the particular aſſemblies.

It hath power to depoſe the office-bearers of that province, for good and juſt cauſes deſerving deprivation.

And generally, theſe aſſemblies have the whole power of the particular elderſhips whereof they are collected.

The national aſſembly, which is general to us, is a lawful convention of the whole kirks of the realm or nation, where it is uſed and gathered, for the common affairs of the kirk, and may be called the general elderſhip of the whole kirks in the realm. None are ſubject to repair to this aſſembly to vote but eccleſiaſtical perſons, to ſuch a number as ſhall be thought good by the ſame aſſembly, not excluding other perſons that will

repair to the ſaid aſſembly, to propone, hear, and reaſon.

This aſſembly is inſtituted, that all things either committed or done amiſs in the provincial aſſemblies may be redreſſed and handled; and things generally ſerving for the good of the whole body of the kirk within the realm may be foreſeen, treated, and ſet forth to God's glory.

It ſhould take care, that kirks be planted in places where they are not planted.

It ſhould preſcribe the rule, how the other two kinds of aſſemblies ſhould proceed in all things.

This aſſembly ſhould take heed, that the ſpiritual juriſdiction, and civil, be not confounded, to the hurt of the kirk; that the patrimony of the kirk be not conſumed, nor abuſed: and generally concerning all weighty affairs, that concern the weal and good order of the whole kirks of the realm, it ought to interpone authority thereto.

There is, beſides theſe, another more general kind of aſſembly, which is of all nations and all eſtates of perſons within the kirk, repreſenting the univerſal kirk of Chriſt, which may be called properly the general aſſembly, or general council of the kirk of God.

Theſe aſſemblies were appointed and called together ſpecially, when any great ſchiſm or controverſy in doctrine did ariſe in the kirk; and were convocate at command of godly emperors, being for the time, for avoiding of ſchiſms within the univerſal kirk of God; which becauſe they pertain not to the particular eſtate of any realm, we ceaſe further to ſpeak of them.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Deacons and their Office, the laſt ordinary Function in the Kirk.

THE word διακονος ſometimes is largely taken, comprehending all them that bear office in the miniſtry, and ſpiritual function in the kirk.

But now, as we ſpeak, it is taken only for them, unto whom the collection and diſtribution of the alms of the faithful, and eccleſiaſtical goods, doth belong.

The office of the deacons, ſo taken, is an ordinary and perpetual eccleſiaſtical function in the kirk of Chriſt.

Of what properties and duties he ought to be, that is called to this function, we remit it to the manifeſt Scriptures.

The deacon ought to be called and elected, as the reſt of the ſpiritual officers, of the which election was ſpoken before.

Their office and power is to receive, and to diſtribute the whole eccleſiaſtical goods unto them to whom they are appointed.

This they ought to do according to the judgment and appointment of the preſbyteries, or elderſhips (of the which the deacons are not members), that the patrimony of the kirk and poor be not converted to private mens uſes, nor wrongfully diſtributed.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Patrimony of the Kirk, and Diſtribution thereof.

BY the patrimony of the kirk we mean whatſoever thing hath been at any time before, or ſhall be in times coming given, or by conſent or univerſal cuſtom of countries, profeſſing the Chriſtian religion, applied to the public uſe and utility of the kirk.

So that under the patrimony we comprehend all things given, or to be given, to the kirk and ſervice of God, as lands, buildings, poſſeſſions, annualrents, and all ſuch-like, wherewith the kirk is doted, either by donations, foundations, mortifications, or any other lawful titles, of kings, princes, or any perſons inferior to them, together with the continual oblations of the faithful.

We comprehend alſo all ſuch things as, by laws or cuſtom, or uſe of countries, have been applied to the uſe and utility of the kirk; of the which ſort are tiends, manſes, glebes, and ſuch-like, which, by common and municipal laws, and univerſal cuſtom, are poſſeſſed by the kirk.

To take any of this patrimony by unlawful means, and convert it to the particular and profane uſe of any perſon, we hold it a deteſtable ſacrilege before God.

The goods eccleſiaſtical ought to be collected and diſtributed by the deacons, as the word of God appoints, that they who bear office in the kirk be provided for, without care or ſolicitude.

In the apoſtolical kirk, the deacons were appointed to collect and diſtribute what ſum ſoever was collected of the faithful, to diſtribute unto the neceſſity of the ſaints; ſo that none lacked amongſt the faithful.

Theſe collections were not only of that which was collected in manner of alms, as ſome ſuppoſe, but of other goods moveable and immoveable, of

lands and poſſeſſions, the price whereof was brought to the feet of the apoſtles.

This office continued in the deacons hands, who intromitted with the whole goods of the kirk, and ay until the eſtate thereof was corrupted by Antichriſt, as the ancient canons bear witneſs.

The ſame canons make mention of a fourfold diſtribution of the patrimony of the kirk, whereof one part was applied to the paſtor or biſhop, for his ſuſtentation and hoſpitality; another to the elders and deacons, and all the clergy; the third to the poor, ſick perſons, and ſtrangers; the fourth to the upholding other affairs of the kirk, eſpecially extraordinary.

We add hereunto the ſchools and ſchoolmaſters alſo, which ought and may be well ſuſtained of the ſame goods, and are comprehended under the clergy: to whom we join alſo clerks of aſſemblies, as well particular as general, ſyndics or procurators of the kirk-affairs, takers-up of pſalms, and ſuch-like other ordinary officers of the kirk, ſo far as they are neceſſary

CHAP. X.

Of the Office of a Chriſtian Magiſtrate in the Kirk.

ALTHOUGH all the members of the kirk be holden, every one in their vocation, and according thereto, to advance the kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt, ſo far as lieth in their power, yet chiefly Chriſtian princes, and other magiſtrates, are holden to do the ſame.

For they are called in the Scripture, Nouriſhers of the kirk; for ſo much as by them it is, or at leaſt ought to be maintained, foſtered, upholden, and defended, againſt all that would procure the hurt thereof.

So it pertains to the office of a Chriſtian magiſtrate, to aſſiſt and fortify the godly proceedings of the kirk in all behalfs; and namely, to ſee that the public eſtate and miniſtry thereof be maintained and ſuſtained, as it appertains, according to God's word.

To ſee that the kirk be not invaded, nor hurt by falſe teachers and hirelings, nor the rooms thereof occupied by dumb dogs, or idle bellies.

To aſſiſt and maintain the diſcipline of the kirk, and puniſh them civilly that will not obey the cenſure of the ſame, without confounding always the one juriſdiction with the other.

To ſee that ſufficient proviſion be made for the miniſtry, the ſchools, and the poor; and if they have not ſufficient to await upon their charges, to ſupply their indigence even with their own rents, if need require.

To hold hand as well to the ſaving of their perſons from injury and open violence, as to their rents and poſſeſſions, that they be not defrauded, robbed, nor ſpoiled thereof.

Not to ſuffer the patrimony of the kirk to be applied to profane and unlawful uſes, or to be devoured by idle bellies, and ſuch as have no lawful function in the kirk, to the hurt of the miniſtry, ſchools, poor, and other godly uſes, whereupon the ſame ought to be beſtowed.

To make laws and conſtitutions agreeable to God's word, for advancement of the kirk, and policy thereof, without uſurping any thing that pertains not to the civil ſword, but belongs to the offices that are merely eccleſiaſtical, as is the miniſtry of the word and ſacraments, uſing eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, and the ſpiritual execution thereof, or any part of the power of the ſpiritual keys, which our Maſter gave to the apoſtles, and to their true ſucceſſors.

And although kings and princes that be godly, ſometimes by their own authority, when the kirk is corrupted, and all things out of order, place miniſters, and reſtore the true ſervice of the Lord, after the example of ſome godly kings of Judah, and divers godly emperors, and kings alſo, in the light of the New Teſtament; yet, where the miniſtry of the kirk is once lawfully conſtitute, and they that are placed do their office faithfully, all godly princes and magiſtrates ought to hear and obey their voice, and reverence the Majeſty of the Son of God ſpeaking in them.

CHAP. XI.

Of the preſent Abuſes remaining in the Kirk, which we deſire to be reformed.

AS it is the duty of the godly magiſtrate to maintain the preſent liberty, which God hath granted by the preaching of his word, and the true adminiſtration of the ſacraments within this realm; ſo it is to provide, that all abuſes, which yet remain in the kirk, be removed, and utterly taken away.

Therefore, firſt, the admiſſion of men to Papiſtical titles of benefices, ſuch as ſerve not, nor have no function in the reformed kirk of Chriſt, as abbots, commendators, priors, prioreſſes, and other titles of abbacies, whoſe places are now for the moſt

part, by the juſt judgment of God, demoliſhed, and purged of idolatry, is a plain abuſe, and is not to receive the kingdom of Chriſt amongſt us, but rather to refuſe it.

Such-like, that they that of old were called the chapters and convents of abbeys, cathedral-kirks, and like places, ſerve for nothing now but to ſet feus and tacks, if any thing be left of the kirk-lands and tiends, in hurt and prejudice thereof, as daily experience teacheth; and therefore ought to be utterly abrogate and aboliſhed.

Of the like nature are the deans, arch-deacons, chanters, ſub-chanters, treaſurers, chancellors, and others having the like titles, flowing from the pope and canon law only, who have no place in the reformed kirk.

The kirks alſo which are united together, and joined by annexation to their benefices, ought to be ſeparated and divided, and given to qualified miniſters, as God's word craves.

Neither ought ſuch abuſers of the kirk's patrimony to have vote in parliament, nor ſit in council, under the name of the kirk and kirkmen, to the hurt and prejudice of the liberty thereof, and laws of the realm, made in favour of the reformed kirk.

Much leſs is it lawful, that any perſon amongſt theſe men ſhould have five, ſixteen, twenty, or more kirks, all craving the charge of ſouls, and enjoy the patrimony thereof, either by admiſſion of the prince, or of the kirk, in this light of the goſpel: for it is but a mockage to crave reformation where ſuch-like have place.

And in ſo far as, in the order taken at Leith, in the year of our Lord 1571, it appears that ſuch may be admitted, being found qualified: either that pretended order is againſt all good order, or elſe it muſt be underſtood, not of them that be qualified in worldly affairs, or to ſerve in court, but of ſuch as are qualified to teach God's word, having their lawful admiſſion of the kirk.

As to biſhops, if the name ἐπισκοπος be properly taken, they are all one with the miniſters, as before was declared: for it is not a name of ſuperiority and lordſhip, but of office and watching.

Yet becauſe, in the corruption of the kirk, this name (as others) hath been abuſed, and yet is likely to be, we cannot allow the faſhion of theſe new-choſen biſhops, neither of the chapters, that are electors of them to ſuch an office as they are choſen unto.

True biſhops ſhould addict themſelves to a particular flock, which ſundry of them refuſe; neither ſhould they uſurp lordſhip over their brethren, and over the inheritance of Chriſt, as theſe men do.

Paſtors, in ſo far as they are paſtors, have not the office of viſitation of more kirks joined to the paſtorſhip, without it be given to them.

It is a corruption, that biſhops ſhould have further bounds to viſit nor they may lawfully.

No man ought to have the office of viſitation, but he that is lawfully choſen thereunto.

The elderſhips, being well eſtabliſhed, have power to ſend out viſitors one or more, with commiſſion to viſit the bounds within their elderſhip; and likewiſe, after account taken of them, either continue them, or remove them from time to time, to the which elderſhips they ſhould be always ſubject.

Criminal juriſdiction, in the perſon of a paſtor, is a corruption.

It agreeth not with the word of God, that biſhops ſhould be paſtors of paſtors, paſtors of many flocks, and yet without a certain flock, and without ordinary teaching.

It agreeth not with the Scriptures, that they ſhould be exeemed from the correction of their brethren, and diſcipline of the particular elderſhip of the kirk, where they ſhall ſerve; neither that they uſurp the office of viſitation of other kirks, nor any other function beſide other miniſters, but ſo far as ſhall be committed to them by the kirk.

Wherefore we deſire the biſhops that now are, either to agree to that order that God's word requires in them, as the general kirk will preſcribe unto them, not paſſing their bounds, either in eccleſiaſtical or civil affairs, or elſe to be depoſed from all function in the kirk.

We deny not, in the mean time, but miniſters may and ſhould aſſiſt their princes, when they are required, in all things agreeable to the word, whether it be in council or parliament, or otherwiſe; providing always they neither neglect their own charges, nor, through flattery of princes, hurt the public eſtate of the kirk.

But generally we ſay, No perſon, under whatſoever title of the kirk, and eſpecially the abuſed titles in Papiſtry, prelates, convents, and chapters, ought to attempt any act in the kirk's name, either in council or parliament, or out of council, having no commiſſion of the reformed kirk within this realm.

And by act of parliament it is provided, That the Papiſtical kirk and juriſdiction ſhould have no place within the ſame; and no biſhop, nor other prelate, in times coming, ſhould uſe any juriſdiction flowing from his authority.

And again, That no other eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction ſhould be acknowledged within this realm, but that which is and ſhall be in the reformed kirk, and flowing therefrom.

So we eſteem holding of chapters in a Papiſtical manner, either in cathedral-kirks, abbeys, colleges, or other conventual places, uſurping the name and authority of the kirk, to hurt the patrimony thereof, or uſe any other act to the prejudice of the ſame, ſince the year of our Lord 1560, to be an abuſe and corruption, contrary to the liberty of the true kirk, and laws of the realm; and therefore ought to be annulled, reduced, and, in times coming, utterly diſcharged.

The dependencies alſo of the Papiſtical juriſdiction are to be aboliſhed; of the which ſort is the mixed juriſdiction of the commiſſaries, in ſo far as they meddle with eccleſiaſtical matters, and have no commiſſion of the kirk thereto, but were elected in time of our ſovereign's mother, when things were out of order. It is an abſurd thing, that ſeveral of them, having no function of the kirk, ſhould be judges to miniſters, and depoſe them from their places. Therefore they either would be diſcharged to meddle with eccleſiaſtical matters; or it would be limited to them in what matters they might be judges, and not hurt the liberty of the kirk.

They alſo that formerly were of the eccleſiaſtic eſtate in the pope's kirk, or that are admitted of new to the Papiſtical titles, and now are tolerate, by the laws of the realm, to poſſeſs the two parts of their eccleſiaſtical rents, ought not to have any further liberty, but to intromit with the portion aſſigned and granted to them for their lifetimes; and not under the abuſed titles which they had, to diſpone the kirk-rents, ſet tacks and feus thereof at their pleaſure, to the great hurt of the kirk, and poor labourers that dwell upon the kirk-lands, contrary to all good conſcience and order.

CHAP. XII.

Certain ſpecial Heads of Reformation, which we crave.

WHATSOEVER hath been ſpoken of the offices of the kirk, of the ſeveral power of the office-bearers, of their conjunct power alſo, and laſt of the patrimony of the kirk, we underſtand it to be the right reformation which God craves at our hands, that the kirk be ordered according thereto, as with that order which is moſt agreeable to the word.

But becauſe ſomething would be touched in particular, concerning the eſtate of the country, and that which we principally ſeek to be reformed in the ſame, we have collected them in theſe heads following:

Seeing the whole country is divided into provinces, and theſe provinces again are divided into pariſhes, as well in landward as in towns, in every pariſh, and reaſonable congregation, there would be placed one or more paſtors to feed the flock; and no paſtor or miniſter always to be burdened with the particular charge of more kirks or flocks than one alone.

And becauſe it will be thought hard to find out paſtors or miniſters to all the pariſh-kirks of the realm, as well in landward as in towns, we think, by the advice of ſuch as commiſſion may be given to by the kirk and prince, pariſhes in landward, or ſmall villages, may be joined, two or three, or more, in ſome places together, and the principal and moſt commodious kirks to ſtand, and be repaired ſufficiently, and qualified miniſters placed thereat; and the other kirks, which are not found neceſſary, may be ſuffered to decay, their kirk-yards always being kept for burial-places; and in ſome places, where need requires, a pariſh, where the congregation is over-great for one kirk, may be divided in two or more.

Doctors would be appointed in univerſities, colleges, and in other places needful, and ſufficiently provided for, to open up the meaning of the Scriptures, and to have the charge of ſchools, and teach the rudiments of religion.

As for elders, there would be ſome to be cenſurers of the manners of the people, one or more in every congregation, but not an aſſembly of elders in every particular kirk, but only in towns and famous places, where reſort of men of judgment and ability to that effect may be had, where the elders of the particular kirks about may convene together, and have a common elderſhip and aſſembly-place among them, to treat of all things that concern the congregations of which they have the overſight.

And as there ought to be men appointed to unite and divide the pariſhes, as neceſſity and commodity requires; ſo would there be appointed by the general kirk, with aſſent of the prince, ſuch men as fear God, and know the eſtate of the countries, that were able to nominate and deſign the places where the particular elderſhips ſhould convene, taking conſideration of the dioceſes, as they were divided of old, and of the eſtate of the countries and provinces of the realm.

Likewiſe concerning provincial and ſynodal aſſemblies, conſideration were eaſy to be taken; how many, and in what places they were to be holden, and how oft they ſhould convene, ought to be referred to the liberty of the general kirk, and order to be appointed therein.

The national aſſemblies of this country, called commonly the general aſſemblies, ought always to be retained in their own liberty, and have their own place.

With power to the kirk to appoint times and places convenient for the ſame: and all men, as well magiſtrates as inferiors, to be ſubject to the judgment of the ſame in eccleſiaſtical cauſes, without any reclamation or appellation to any judge, civil or eccleſiaſtical, within the realm.

The liberty of the election of perſons called to the eccleſiaſtical functions, and obſerved, without interruption, ſo long as the kirk was not corrupted by Antichriſt, we deſire to be reſtored and retained within this realm.

So that none be intruded upon any congregation, either by the prince, or any inferior perſon, without lawful election, and the aſſent of the people over whom the perſon is placed, as the practice of the apoſtolical and primitive kirk, and good order crave.

And becauſe this order, which God's word craves, cannot ſtand with patronage, and preſentations to benefices, uſed in the pope's kirk, we deſire all them that truly fear God, earneſtly to conſider, that for as much as the names of patronages and benefices, together with the effect thereof, have flowed from the pope, and corruption of the canon law only, in ſo far as thereby any perſon was intruded or placed over kirks, having *curam animarum*.

And for as much as that manner of proceeding hath no ground in the word of God, but is contrary to the ſame, and to the ſaid liberty of election, they ought not now to have place in this light of reformation. And therefore, whoſoever will embrace God's word, and deſire the kingdom of his Son Chriſt Jeſus to be advanced, they will alſo embrace and receive that policy and order, which the word of God, and upright eſtate of his kirk crave, otherwiſe it is in vain that they have profeſſed the ſame.

Notwithſtanding, as concerning other patronages of benefices, that have not *curam animarum*, as they ſpeak; ſuch as are chaplainries, prebendaries founded upon temporal lands, annuals, and ſuchlike, may be reſerved unto the ancient patrons, to diſpone hereupon, when they vake, to ſcholars and burſars, as they are required by act of parliament.

As for the kirk-rents in general, we deſire that order be admitted and maintained amongſt us, that may ſtand with the ſincerity of God's word, and practice of the purity of the kirk of Chriſt.

To wit, That, as was before ſpoken, the whole rent and patrimony of the kirk, excepting the ſmall patronages before mentioned, may be divided in four portions: one thereof to be aſſigned to the paſtor, for his entertainment and hoſpitality: another to the elders, deacons, and other officers of the kirk; ſuch as clerks of aſſemblies, takers-up of the pſalms, bedals and keepers of the kirk, ſo far as is neceſſary; joining with them alſo the doctors, and ſchools, to help the ancient foundations, where need requires: the third portion to be beſtowed upon the poor members of the faithful, and on hoſpitals: the fourth for reparation of the kirks, and other extraordinary charges, as are profitable for the kirk, and alſo for the commonwealth, if need require.

We deſire therefore the eccleſiaſtical goods to be uplifted, and diſtributed faithfully to whom they appertain; and that by the miniſtry of the deacons, to whoſe office properly the collection and diſtribution thereof belongs; that the poor may be anſwered of their portion thereof, and they of the miniſtry live without care and ſolicitude: as alſo, the reſt of the treaſury of the kirk may be reſerved, and beſtowed to their right uſes.

If theſe deacons be elected with ſuch qualities as God's word craves to be in them, there is no fear that they ſhall abuſe themſelves in their office, as the profane collector did before.

Yet becauſe this vocation appeareth to many to be dangerous, let them be obliged, as they were of old, to give a yearly account to the paſtors and elderſhip; and if the kirk and prince think expedient, let cautioners be obliged for their fidelity, that the kirk-rents nowiſe be dilapidate.

And to the effect this order may take place, it is to be provided, that all other intromitters with the kirk-rent, collectors general or ſpecial, whether it be by appointment of the prince, or otherwiſe, may be denuded of further intromiſſion therewith, and ſuffer the kirk-rents, in time coming, to be wholly intromitted with by the miniſtry of the deacons, and diſtribute to the uſe before mentioned.

And alſo, to the effect that the eccleſiaſtical rents may ſuffice to theſe uſes for the which they are to be appointed, we think it neceſſary to be deſired,

that all alienations, ſetting of feus, or tacks of the rents of the kirk, as well lands as tiends, in hurt and diminution of the old rentals, be reduced and annulled, and the patrimony of the kirk reſtored to the former old liberty.

And likewiſe, that in times coming the tiends be ſet to none but to the labourers of the ground, or elſe not ſet at all, as was agreed upon, and ſubſcribed by the nobility before.

CHAP. XIII.

The Utility that ſhall flow from this Reformation to all Eſtates.

SEEING the end of this ſpiritual government and policy, whereof we ſpeak, is, that God may be glorified, the kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt advanced, and all who are of his myſtical body may live peaceable in conſcience; therefore we dare boldly affirm, that all thoſe who have true reſpect to theſe ends, will even for conſcience cauſe gladly agree and conform themſelves to this order, and advance the ſame, ſo far as lieth in them, that their conſcience being ſet at reſt, they may be repleniſhed with ſpiritual gladneſs, in giving full obedience to that which God's word, and the teſtimony of their own conſcience, do crave; and in refuſing all corruption contrary to the ſame.

Next, We ſhall become an example and pattern of good and godly order to other nations, countries, and kirks, profeſſing the ſame religion with us, that as they have glorified God in our continuing in the ſincerity of the word hitherto, without any errors (praiſe be to his name); ſo they may have the like occaſion in our converſation, when as we conform ourſelves to that diſcipline, policy, and good order, which the ſame word, and purity of reformation crave at our hands: otherwiſe that fearful ſentence may be juſtly ſaid to us, 'The ſervant knowing the will of his maſter, and not doing it,' *&c.*

Moreover, if we have any pity or reſpect to the poor members of Jeſus Chriſt, who ſo greatly increaſe and multiply amongſt us, we will not ſuffer them to be longer defrauded of that part of the patrimony of the kirk, which juſtly belongs unto them: and by this order, if it be duly put to execution, the burden of them ſhall be taken off us, to our great comfort; the ſtreets ſhall be cleanſed of the cryings and murmurings of them, as we ſhall no more be any ſcandal to other nations, as we have hitherto been, for not taking order with the poor amongſt us, and cauſing the word which we profeſs to be evil ſpoken of, giving occaſion of ſlander to the enemies, and offending the conſciences of the ſimple and godly.

Beſides this, it ſhall be a great eaſe and commodity to the whole common people, in relieving them of the building and upholding their kirks, of building of bridges, and other like public works; to the labourers of the ground, in payment of their tiends; and ſhortly, in all theſe things wherein they have been hitherto rigorouſly handled by them that were falſely called kirk-men, their tackſmen, factors, chamberlains, and extortioners.

Finally, To the king's majeſty, and commonwealth of the country, this profit ſhall redound, that the other affairs of the kirk being ſufficiently provided, according to the diſtribution, of the which hath been ſpoken, the ſuperplus, being collected in the treaſury of the kirk, may be profitably employed, and liberally beſtowed, upon the extraordinary ſupport of the affairs of the prince and commonwealth, and ſpecially of that part which is appointed for reparation of kirks.

So to conclude, All being willing to apply themſelves to this order, the people ſuffering themſelves to be ruled according thereto; the princes and magiſtrates not being exeemed, and they that are placed in the eccleſiaſtical eſtate rightly ruling and governing; God ſhall be glorified, the kirk edified, and the bounds thereof enlarged; Chriſt Jeſus and his kingdom ſet up; Satan and his kingdom ſubverted; and God ſhall dwell in the midſt of us, to our comfort, through Jeſus Chriſt; who, together with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, abides bleſſed in all eternity. Amen.

545

THE

FORM OF PROCESS

IN THE

JUDICATORIES

OF THE

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND,

WITH RELATION TO

SCANDALS AND CENSURES.

BRITISH MUSEUM

AN

ACT

OF THE

GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

Approving a FORM of PROCESS in the Judicatories of the Church, with relation to Scandals and Cenſures.

EDINBURGH, 18th *April* 1707. *Seſſ.* 11.

THE general aſſembly having this day, and at ſeveral former diets, had read in their audience the overtures concerning a Form of Proceſs in the Judicatories of this Church, with relation to Scandals and Cenſures, which were tranſmitted by the late general aſſembly to the ſeveral preſbyteries, for their judgment thereupon; and having maturely conſidered the ſaid whole overtures, with the remarks and obſervations of preſbyteries made upon the ſame, after full reaſoning, both in committees and open aſſembly, upon the ſeveral particulars contained in the ſaid Form of Proceſs, the general aſſembly did, by their votes *nemine contradicente*, and hereby do, ratify and approve the foreſaid Form of Proceſs, as now amended, in the whole heads and articles thereof; and appoint and ordain the ſame to be obſerved and practiſed by the reſpective judicatories of this church, as an act and ordinance of aſſembly, and as fixed binding rules and directions in the whole matters therein contained, except the 7th, 8th, and 9th paragraphs of the fourth chapter, and what concerns the preſſing of the oath of purgation: as to which the general aſſembly ſuperſedes at this time to enjoin the obſervation thereof as poſitive ſtanding rules; but they did, and hereby do, unanimouſly recommend to the ſeveral preſbyteries and other judicatories of the church, that they regulate themſelves, according to the advice therein inſinuated, as they ſhall find to tend moſt for edification. The tenor of which Form of Proceſs follows.

[illegible]

THE

FORM OF PROCESS.

CHAP. I.

Concerning Church-government, Diſcipline, Scandals, and Cenſures in general.

OUR Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath inſtituted a government, and governors eccleſiaſtical, in his houſe, with power to meet for the order and government thereof: and to that purpoſe, the apoſtles did immediately receive the keys from the hands of their Lord and Maſter Jeſus Chriſt, and did uſe and exerciſe the ſame upon all occaſions; and Chriſt hath, from time to time, furniſhed ſome in his church with gifts for government, and with commiſſion to exerciſe it when called thereunto, and has promiſed his preſence to be with them to the end of the world.

2. It is agreeable to, and founded on the word of God, that ſome others beſides theſe who labour in the word and doctrine be church-governors, to join with the miniſters of the word in the government of the church, and exerciſe of diſcipline, and overſight of the manners of the people; which officers are called ruling elders: as alſo, that the church be governed by ſeveral ſorts of judicatories, and one in ſubordination to the other; ſuch as kirk-ſeſſions, preſbyteries, provincial ſynods, and general aſſemblies.

3. Church diſcipline and cenſures, for judging and removing of offences, are of great uſe and neceſſity in the church, that the name of God, by reaſon of ungodly and wicked perſons living in the church, be not blaſphemed, nor his wrath provoked againſt his people; that the godly be not leavened with, but preſerved from the contagion, and ſtricken with fear; and that ſinners, who are to be cenſured, may be aſhamed, to the deſtruction of the fleſh, and ſaving of the ſpirit in the day of the Lord Jeſus.

4. Nothing ought to be admitted, by any church-judicatory, as the ground of a proceſs for cenſure, but what hath been declared cenſurable by the word of God, or ſome act of univerſal cuſtom of this national church agreeable thereto; and the ſeveral judicatories of this church ought to take timeous notice of all ſcandals: but it is judged, that if a ſcandal ſhall happen not to be noticed, in order to cenſure, for the ſpace of five years, it ſhould not be again revived, ſo as to enter in a proceſs thereanent, unleſs it be of an heinous nature, or become again flagrant; but the conſciences of ſuch perſons ought to be ſeriouſly dealt with in private, to bring them to a ſenſe of their ſin and duty.

5. Theſe aſſemblies or church-judicatories before mentioned, have power to convene and call before them any perſons within their own bounds, whom the eccleſiaſtic buſineſs, which is before them, doth concern, either as party, witneſs, or otherwiſe, and to examine them according to the nature of the affair; and to hear and determine in ſuch caſes as ſhall orderly come before them, and accordingly diſpenſe church-cenſures.

6. If a perſon be charged with a ſcandal, who lives within the bounds of another pariſh, the kirk-ſeſſion of the pariſh where that perſon reſides, ſhould be deſired to cauſe cite that perſon, to anſwer before the ſeſſion in whoſe bounds the ſcandal happened: and the ſame courſe is to be followed, in ſuch caſes, by the other judicatories of the church, ſeeing, for order's ſake, they ſhould not preſume to exerciſe their authority without their own bounds.

7. The miniſter of the word, being an office above that of the ruling elder, cannot be liable to the cenſure of the kirk-ſeſſion, but to the ſuperior judicatories of the church.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the entering of Proceſſes, Citation of Parties and Witneſſes, and taking Depoſitions; and anent Fugitives from Diſcipline.

MEMBERS of kirk-ſeſſions are wiſely to conſider the information they get of ſcandals, and conſult with their miniſter thereanent, even before the ſame be communicate to others, that thereby the ſpreading of the ſcandal may be prevented, and it may be removed by private admonition, according to our Lord and Saviour's rule, Matth. xviii. 15.; which, if amendment follow, is the far better way of gaining and recovering a lapſed brother; whereas the needleſs ſpreading of a ſcandal does ſometimes harden the guilty, grieve the godly, and is diſhonourable to religion.

2. When any buſineſs is moved in a church-judicatory, whether by information, petition, or otherwiſe, they are, in the firſt place, to conſider, whether the matter, in its circumſtantial caſe, be proper for them to enter upon; and whether it be orderly brought in, and proper for them to cognoſce and diſcuſs it themſelves, or prepare it for ſuperior judicatories; and ſhould endeavour to ſhorten their work as much as with the edification of the church they can, eſpecially as to the head of ſcandal: but ſtill, on all occaſions, the office-bearers in the houſe of God are to ſhew all prudent zeal againſt ſin.

3. In proceeding in all cauſes where there is any perſon or parties concerned, the judicatory is to ſee, that, before they proceed, theſe perſons or parties be duly ſiſted before them, by a legal and timeous citation in write, bearing its cauſe, either at the inſtance of a party complaining, or at leaſt by order of the judicatory: and if they be reſiding within the pariſh, the ſame may be upon forty-eight hours advertiſement; and the execution of the ſummons, bearing its cauſe, and made before two or three witneſſes inſert, is to be returned by the beadle or officer in writing; and the perſons cited called at the door: and this is eſpecially to be obſerved by preſbyteries, and other ſuperior judicatories of the church.

4. Sometimes it may be fit that the party be privately ſpoken to, before any citation be given, or proceſs begun, for their better gaining; in which caſe the miniſter is to exerciſe his own diſcretion, and take the concurrence of elders and others with him: but if the party, cited as above, appear not, there ought to be a ſecond, and then a third citation given, by the order of the ſeſſions and preſbyteries, either perſonally, or left at their dwelling-houſe, before the judicatory declare the perſon contumacious, unleſs the party be cited to appear before a ſuperior judicatory by reference or appeal; in which caſe there is not that need of ſo many citations before the ſuperior judicatory, the party having actually appeared before the inferior judicatory; and being cited *apud acta* to appear before the ſuperior, and the ſame marked in the minutes, or having been declared contumacious before the cauſe was brought before the ſuperior judicatory.

5. All citations *apud acta* are peremptory, and if inſtructed, infer contumacy, if not obeyed.

6. If the perſon do not appear on the third citation, or upon a citation *apud acta*, and no relevant excuſe adduced and verified, though in that caſe he be cenſurable for contumacy, yet it may be fit the judicatory proceed to take cognition, either by examining witneſſes upon oath, or by other documents, of the verity of the ſcandals delated againſt him, before they cenſure him for contumacy.

7. If the party appear, then the moderator is to inform the perſon of the occaſion of his being called; and to give him, if deſired, a ſhort note in writing thereof, with the names of the witneſſes that are to be made uſe of.

8. There ſeems to be no need of accuſers or informers in eccleſiaſtic proceſſes, where the ſame are not raiſed at the inſtance of a party complaining formally: but the party, if cited by order of the judicatory, is to anſwer the judicatory in what is laid to his charge; yet ſo, that if the party cited be found innocent and acquitted, thoſe who informed the judicatory, whether the party require it or not, ought to be noticed, for either their calumny or imprudence, as the judicatory ſhall find cauſe.

9. If there be witneſſes to be made uſe of in the proceſs, a liſt of their names ought to be given to the defenders ſome time before, or at leaſt at their compearance; and the witneſſes ought to be timeouſly cited to give evidence: and if they refuſe, after three citations given, and executions returned, may be proceeded with as contumacious; or, if

judged needful, after the firſt or ſecond citation, application may be made to the civil magiſtrate, that he may oblige them to appear.

10. Before the witneſſes be judicially examined, the accuſed perſon is to be called, and the relevancy of the libel diſcuſſed: and if the defender compear, he may object againſt any of them; and if the objection be relevant, and made evident to the judicatory, the witneſſes are to be caſt: but a perſon's being the delator or informer doth not hinder him to be a witneſs, except in the caſe where he formerly complained for his own intereſt, or of pregnant preſumptions of malice againſt the perſon accuſed.

11. Though there be no relevant objection, yet the witneſſes are ſolemnly to be purged of malice, bribe, or good deed done, or to be done, and of partial counſel.

12. The witneſſes are to be examined in preſence of the accuſed party, if compearing: and he may deſire the moderator to propoſe ſuch queſtions, or croſs queſtions, to the witneſſes, as may tend to his exculpation; which, if the judicatory think pertinent, are to be propoſed: but no accuſed perſon is to interrupt the witneſſes, or ſpeak during the time of depoſition.

13. If the party accuſed do, before probation, offer grounds of exculpation, to be proven by witneſſes, the moderator and clerk, if required, are to give warrant to cite the witneſſes, upon the party's charges, the relevancy of the offered exculpation being firſt conſidered and ſuſtained by the judicatory: and if the exculpation be fully proven, as to the ſubſtance of the ſcandal, all further proof of the libel and accuſation muſt there ſiſt, and the defender is to be abſoilzied; and if the libel be ſpecial as to the time and place of a fact, and the accuſed more pregnantly allege and clearly prove *alibi:* but if the ſubſtance of the ſcandal be once ſuſtained and deponed upon, there can be no place for exculpation, unleſs it be as to ſome extenuating or alleviating circumſtances, not contrary to, but conſiſtent with the depoſitions already taken.

14. If the witneſſes cannot ſubſcribe their names to their depoſitions, the clerk is to mark, that they declare they cannot write; and the moderator is to ſubſcribe the ſame, whether they can ſubſcribe or not.

15. After the depoſitions are ended, the parties being removed, the members of the judicatory, at the ſame, or ſome after diet thereto appointed, are to adviſe the cauſe, and there and then to reaſon the affair calmly, ſpeaking always to the moderator, one after another, without interrupting one another, uſing no reflecting language to or of one another, nor too long harangues or digreſſions.

16. If any perſon or perſons, under proceſs for ſcandal, abſcond, they ſhall, after being called before the judicatory, and not compearing, be cited firſt from the pulpit of the pariſh where the proceſs depends, and where they reſide: and if they do not thereupon appear before the judicatory, before whom the proceſs depends, they are, by order of the preſbytery, to be cited from the pulpits of all the kirks within their bounds, to compear before the preſbytery: and if they do not then compear, they are to be declared fugitive from the church-diſcipline; and the ſame intimate in all the kirks within the bounds of the preſbytery, deſiring, that if any knows of the ſaid fugitives, they may acquaint the miniſter or elder of the bounds thereof: and the preſbytery are to ſiſt there, until they get further notice of theſe perſons.

CHAP. III.

Concerning Swearers, Curſers, Profaners of the Lord's-day, Drunkards, and other Scandals of that Nature.

IT may fall out, that one ſingle act of drunkenneſs, or breach of the Lord's day, diſobedience to parents, or of ſwearing, curſing, ſcolding, fighting, lying, cheating, or ſtealing, may be clothed with ſuch circumſtances as may be a juſt ground of proceſs immediately, and even bring the perſons guilty under the cenſure of the leſſer excommunication, and ſuſpenſion from the benefit of the ſealing ordinances, and require their appearance, in preſence of the congregation, to be rebuked, before relaxation: but the weight of this is duly to be pondered; and church-judicatories, and members thereof, are to conſider, whether private admonition of the perſons, alleged and found guilty of the above ſcandals, if not clothed with ſuch circumſtances of the bringing them to the public, will tend moſt to edification, and proceed accordingly.

2. But ordinarily, in all ſuch offences, the guilty, for the firſt fault, would be ſpoken to in private by the miniſter, or an elder, and admoniſhed; and on promiſe, from a ſenſe of guilt, to amend, they may ſiſt there.

3. But if the perſon relapſe, he ſhould be called before the ſeſſion, and if found guilty, may be

there judicially rebuked; where the ſeſſion, on promiſe, from a due ſenſe of ſin, to amend, may again ſiſt.

4. But if the perſon amend not after that, the ſeſſion ſhould orderly proceed, unleſs repentance appear, and due ſatisfaction be offered, till they inflict the cenſure of the leſſer excommunication, and ſuſpenſion from the benefit of the ſealing ordinances; under which the cenſured are to lie, till amendment and reformation.

5. With reſpect to ſcandals, the groſſneſs whereof makes it neceſſary to bring the perſons guilty oftener than once before the congregation, the rules preſcribed by the fourth act of the general aſſembly, *anno* 1705, are to be followed.

6. If the guilty perſons continue in this condition, or lie under the cenſure of the leſſer excommunication a conſiderable time, and yet be found frequently relapſing in theſe vices they are cenſured for, it may be conſtructed ſuch a degree of contumacy, and ſo aggravate the crime, as to found a proceſs of the cenſure of the higher excommunication; which is to be inflicted, or not, as may tend moſt to the reclaiming of the guilty perſon, and edification of the church.

CHAP IV.

Concerning the Sin of Fornication, Adultery, and ſcandalous Carriage tending thereto.

IN delations about the ſin of uncleanneſs, it falls frequently out, that when the matter is put to the ſtricteſt trial, all that can be proven is but preſumptions of guilt, or ſcandalous behaviour, and not the act of uncleanneſs, the ſame being a work of darkneſs; and therefore this ſhould oblige the kirk-ſeſſion to be very cautious, how to admit the public entering a proceſs without good warrant, where there is not a child in the caſe, unleſs the ſcandal be very flagrant.

2. Many of theſe actions, which give occaſion to the raiſing a ſcandal of uncleanneſs, are ſuch as are not themſelves alone publicly cenſurable, but to be paſt by with a private rebuke of admonition.

3. Yet ſome of theſe actions, which come under the name of ſcandalous behaviour, may be ſo laſcivious and obſcene, and clothed with ſuch circumſtances, as may be as offenſive as the act of uncleanneſs itſelf, and as cenſurable.

4. If a married woman, whoſe huſband hath been notourly abſent for a conſiderable time, beyond the ordinary time that women uſe to go with child, be found with child, this alſo may give ground to a kirk-ſeſſion for a proceſs againſt her: but, in this caſe, judicatories would be prudent in conſidering well all circumſtances; and whether or not the perſon hath been always of entire fame before, as alſo how the public fame now runs.

5. When an unmarried woman is known to be with child, the fame gives ground to a kirk-ſeſſion for a proceſs againſt her: and after ſhe is cited before the ſeſſion, and appeareth, ſhe is to be interrogate, who is the father of that child? and though, in other caſes, the divulging of a ſecret may be very imprudent, and indeed the raiſing of a ſcandal; yet, in this caſe, where there is a child, whereby there is an undeniable ſcandal, and the keeping ſecret of the father a ground of greater offence, and of ſuſpecting many innocent perſons, if ſhe diſcover not the father, ſhe is to be looked upon as contumacious.

6. Prudence may ſometimes require, that the perſon ſhe nameth to be the father of the child be informed thereof, and ſpoke to privately: and if he deny the ſame, he is ſeriouſly to be dealt with to confeſs; but if he ſtill deny, then the ſeſſion is to cauſe cite him to appear before them.

7. In this proceſs, when the delated father compeareth, he is to be interrogate: and if he deny, he is to be confronted with the woman, and the preſumptions as particularly held forth as poſſible; and all along there ſhould be private treating with him, in all meekneſs, charity, and ſeriouſneſs: and if, after all this, he deny, though the woman's teſtimony can be no ſufficient evidence againſt him, yet pregnant preſumptions, ſuch as ſuſpicious frequenting her company, or being *ſolus cum ſola in loco ſuſpecto*, or in ſuſpect poſtures and ſuch like, which he cannot diſprove to the ſatisfaction of the ſeſſion, may ſo lay the guilt upon him, as to ſhew him, that there appears no other way of removing the ſcandal, but his appearance to be publicly rebuked therefor: if he will not ſubmit himſelf to be rebuked as above, it perhaps may be more for edification, that a true narrative of the caſe be laid before the congregation, and intimation given, that there can be no further procedure in that matter, till God in his providence give further light, to ſiſt there at the time, than that an oath be preſſed, and upon refuſal proceed to the higher excommunication: but if the perſon accuſed do offer his oath of purgation, and crave the privilege thereof, the preſbytery may (if they ſhall judge it for edification, and removing of the

ſcandal) allow the ſame; which may be to this purpoſe: "I *A. B.* now under proceſs, before preſbytery "of for that ſin of alleged to "be committed by me with *C. D.* and lying under "that grievous ſlander, being repute as one guilty "of that ſin; I, for ending of the ſaid proceſs, and "giving ſatisfaction to all good people, do declare "before God, and this that I am in-"nocent and free of the ſaid ſin of or "having carnal knowledge of the ſaid *C. D.* and "hereby call the great God, the judge and aven-"ger of all falſehood, to be witneſs and judge "againſt me in this matter, if I be guilty: and "this I do, by taking his bleſſed name in my "mouth, and ſwearing by him who is the great "judge, puniſher, and avenger, as ſaid is, and "that in the ſincerity of my heart, according to the "truth of the matter and mine own conſcience, "as I ſhall anſwer to God in the laſt and great "day, when I ſhall ſtand before him, to anſwer for "all that I do in the fleſh, and as I would partake "of his glory in heaven after this life is at an "end."

8. In taking this oath for purgation, all tenderneſs and caution is to be uſed; nor is the ſeſſion to preſs any man thereto, but they are to deal with him and his conſcience as in the ſight of God: and if he offer to give his oath, the judicatory are to accept it, or not, as they ſhall ſee cauſe; and then to proceed to remove the ſcandal, with the advice of the preſbytery, as may be moſt to edification: but this oath is not to be taken in any caſe but this, when the preſumptions are ſo great, that they create ſuch jealouſy in that congregation and ſeſſion, that nothing will remove the ſuſpicion but the man's oath of purgation, and when his oath will probably remove the ſcandal and ſuſpicion: in all other caſes, this oath is in vain, and ſo ſhould not be admitted; and never but by advice of the preſbytery.

9. This oath for purgation is to be taken either before the kirk-ſeſſion, or preſbytery, or the congregations, as the preſbytery ſhall determine: and if the oath be taken before the ſeſſion or preſbytery, it is to be intimate to the congregation, that ſuch a perſon hath taken ſuch an oath; and the party may be obliged to be preſent in the congregation, and may be put publicly to own his purging himſelf by oath, and ſo be declared free from the alleged ſcandal.

10. After an end is made, as above, with the delated father, the woman is to be dealt with to give the true father; and if, after all ſerious dealing and due diligence, ſhe give no other, ſhe is to be cenſured according to the quality of the offence confeſſed by her, without naming the perſon delated by her, the judicatory reſerving place for further cenſure upon further diſcovery.

11. If the woman who hath brought forth the child, doth declare ſhe knoweth not the father, alleging ſhe was forced, as in the fields by a perſon unknown, or any the like reaſon; in theſe caſes great prudence is to be uſed, the former behaviour of the woman exactly ſearched into, and ſhe ſeriouſly dealt with to be ingenuous: and if ſhe hath been of entire fame, ſhe may be put to it to declare the truth, as if ſhe were upon oath; but not without the advice of the preſbytery; and no formal oath ſhould be taken: and if the woman confeſs ſhe was not forced, but doth not know the man, whether married or unmarried, the ſame cenſure is to be inflicted upon her as in the caſe of adultery.

12. If a perſon doth voluntarily confeſs uncleanneſs, and if there be no child, and the caſe be brought to the kirk-ſeſſion, the ſeſſion is to inquire, what preſumptions there are of the truth of the thing confeſſed, or what may have moved the perſon to make that confeſſion, whether it floweth from diſquietneſs of mind, or from ſiniſterous deſign; as when a man ſuing to a woman for marriage is denied, and for revenge, or for to obtain his deſire, ſpreads the report that he hath been guilty with her, they are to be dealt with according as the preſumptions upon ſearch are found or not.

13. If it be found, that there is no ground for the confeſſion, and that it is falſe, the perſon confeſſing is to be cenſured as defaming himſelf, and likewiſe as a ſlanderer of the other party; and withal application is to be made by the ſeſſion to the civil magiſtrate, that he may be puniſhed according to law.

14. If there be need of witneſſes, the directions formerly mentioned, chap. ii. are to be followed.

15. When perſons guilty of uncleanneſs live one in one pariſh, and another in another pariſh, the proceſs againſt them, and cenſures, are to be before the ſeſſion of the pariſh where the woman liveth, or where the ſcandal is moſt notour.

16. If a ſcandal of uncleanneſs be committed where neither parties reſide, as if perſons having their fixed reſidence in one pariſh, do commit uncleanneſs in another pariſh, or perhaps in the fields,

or in the time of fairs or markets; in theſe caſes they are to be proceſſed and cenſured where their ordinary abode is, except the place of their abode be at a conſiderable diſtance from the place where the ſin was committed, and the ſcandal be moſt flagrant where it was committed.

17. When there is a ſcandal of uncleanneſs, whereof perſons are guilty living in different pariſhes, the ſeſſion where the ſin was committed, is to acquaint the other ſeſſions where any of the perſons reſide; who are *ex debito* to cauſe ſummon theſe perſons to appear before that ſeſſion where the ſcandal is to be tried.

18. When a perſon is convict of ſcandal, by a ſeſſion of another congregation than his own, and the cenſure of the leſſer excommunication is inflicted, the ſeſſion is to ſend an account thereof to that ſeſſion to which he belongs: but there is no need of any other ſentence of his own ſeſſion, to fix the cenſure on him, but only a public intimation thereof to be made in his own pariſh.

19. When a perſon is cenſured, and abſolved from his ſcandal, in another congregation than where he lives, he is to bring a teſtimonial of his abſolution; which is to be intimate to the congregation he lives in, if the ſcandal be alſo flagrant there, otherwiſe it will be ſufficient to intimate the ſame to the ſeſſion: and the ſame is to be done in the caſe of the profeſſion of repentance, where there has been a ſentence of the leſſer excommunication.

CHAP. V.

Concerning Appeals from a Kirk-ſeſſion to a Preſbytery, &c.

ALL perſons who judge themſelves leaſed by the procedure or ſentence of a kirk-ſeſſion, may appeal to the preſbytery, by declaring and proteſting at paſſing of the ſentence; and ſhould thereupon, according to the eight act of the general aſſembly 1694, give in the appeal, with the reaſons thereof, in writ, to the moderator or clerk of the ſeſſion, within the ſpace of ten days after the time of appealing, and procure extracts thereof; and preſent the ſame to the next meeting of the preſbytery thereafter, if there be a competent time, at leaſt ten days free betwixt the time of appealing and the meeting of the preſbytery: and ſhould then inſiſt in the appeal; wherein, if the appellant fail, the appeal *ipſo facto* falls and becomes null, and the appellant is to be held as contumacious, and proceeded againſt accordingly by the kirk-ſeſſion.

2. When an appeal is brought from a kirk-ſeſſion to a preſbytery, the preſbytery is to conſider, whether the cauſe is of that nature as it behoveth at length to come to the preſbytery, by the courſe of diſcipline, before the final determination thereof; as if it be in a proceſs of alleged adultery, or ſuch-like, then the preſbytery, to ſave themſelves time, may fall upon the conſideration of the affair, without inſiſting much upon the *bene* or *male appellatum*, though it ſeems to be prepoſterouſly appealed.

3. But if the cauſe be ſuch as the kirk-ſeſſion are the competent and proper judges of, even to its ultimate deciſion, and if there hath been no cauſe given by the kirk-ſeſſion, by their breaking the rules of an orderly proceſs, either by the courſe of the proceſs, or by the incompetency of the cenſure, the preſbytery is not to ſuſtain the appeal.

4. If the preſbytery do not ſuſtain the appeal, and find there hath been ſome fault, paſſion, or culpable miſtake in the appellant, the preſbytery is to inflict ſome cenſure; ſuch as a reproof before the preſbytery, or appoint an acknowleging of their precipitancy before their own ſeſſion, or ſuch-like, on theſe appealers they find to have been malicious and litigious, thereby to prevent unneceſſary appeals; and that beſides remitting back to the ſeſſion, to ſtand either to the cenſure of the ſeſſion, if it be inflicted already, or to ſiſt themſelves during the proceſs, if it be depending.

5. If the appeal be ſuſtained, and yet, upon proceeding on the cauſe, the presbytery find the appellant cenſurable, it is always to be minded, that whatever cenſure be inflicted, to remove the offence he hath given to the presbytery, yet the appellant, if found guilty, is to undergo a cenſure, either before the kirk-ſeſſion or congregation he belongs to, ſuch as the presbytery thinks he deſerves, elſe presbyteries will be always troubled with appeals.

6. If, on the other hand, on trial of the proceſs, the presbytery find the kirk-ſeſſion hath unwarrantably proceeded, either in contributing to the raiſing of a ſcandal, or inflicting the cenſure without a ſufficient cauſe, and thereby the appellant leaſed, the presbytery is not only to aſſoilzie the appellant, but to take ſuch ways as may be proper and effectual to vindicate the appellant's innocency, and wipe off the ſcandal taken at him.

7. Herein the preſbytery is to exerciſe great prudence, doing juſtice to the innocent, yet ſo as not to weaken the kirk-ſeſſion's authority in that congregation, if in juſtice it can be avoided.

8. But ſuch an emergent may very well occaſion the preſbytery's giving the miniſter, and elders of that ſeſſion, ſuitable injunctions and rules to walk by, or private admonitions, or to call for a viſitation of their ſeſſion-regiſter.

9. The ſame method is to be followed, in appeals from preſbyteries to ſynods, and from ſynods to general aſſemblies.

10. An appeal being made by parties, ſhould ſiſt the execution of the ſentence appealed from, only while the appeal is duly and diligently proſecute, and may thereby be determined, otherwiſe not, unleſs the judicatory appealed to receive the appeal, and take the affair before them; and, in that caſe, the judicatory appealed from is to ſiſt, until the appeal be diſcuſſed.

CHAP. VI.

Concerning Proceſſes, which natively begin at the Kirk-ſeſſion, but are not to be brought to a final Determination by them.

THERE are ſome proceſſes which natively begin at the kirk-ſeſſion, which, for the atrocity of the ſcandal, or difficulty in the affair, or general concern, the ſeſſion, having the opportunity of frequent meetings of the preſbytery to have recourſe thereunto, do not determine of themſelves; ſuch as ſcandals of inceſt, adultery, trilapſes in fornication, murder, atheiſm, idolatry, witchcraft, charming, and hereſy and error vented and made public by any in the congregation, ſchiſm and ſeparation from the public ordinances, proceſſes in order to the higheſt cenſures of the church, and continued contumacy: but the kirk-ſeſſion having received information of ſuch groſs ſcandals, they are to weigh the ſame according to the rules and directions preſcribed them in proceſſes, which belong to their peculiar province; and if they find good ground for a proceſs, they are to deal with the perſon accuſed, to confeſs that which now cannot be hid nor amended, till ſatisfaction be made to the church; which, when done, the ſeſſion is to refer the caſe, and ſend an extract of their procedure thereanent to the preſbytery.

2. When there is no confeſſion of the ſcandals above mentioned, the ſeſſion are not to proceed to lead probation by witneſſes or preſumptions, till an account of the matter be brought by reference to the preſbytery, as aforeſaid; and the preſbytery do thereupon appoint the ſeſſion to proceed, and lead probation: and after probation is led, the ſame is to be brought to the preſbytery, who may inflict what cenſure they ſee cauſe.

3. Sometimes it will fall out, that the proceſs is ſo clear, as in a caſe of judicial confeſſion, that the kirk-ſeſſion may ſummon the delinquent when before them *apud acta*, to compear before the preſbytery, without previous acquainting them thereof: but where there is any difficulty, the kirk-ſeſſion ſhould inform the preſbytery, and take their advice, before a party be ſummoned before them.

4. When the party or parties compear before the preſbytery, if they confeſs and profeſs repentance for their ſin, then the preſbytery, having gravely rebuked, and ſeriouſly exhorted the party or parties, are to determine the cenſure, and preſcribe the time and place of the parties, their profeſſion of their repentance publicly in the church of that congregation where the proceſs began, the ſcandal being there to be taken away; or remit them to the ſeſſion, to ſtand either to the cenſure of the ſeſſion, or to receive orders thereanent.

5. It is thought more fit, that the delinquents be appointed to remove the ſcandal in the congregation where the offence is moſt flagrant, eſpecially if they reſide there, rather than in the place where it was committed, if it be not public there; and that intimation of the removing thereof be made in other places, if the judicatory ſhall find it needful.

6. When perſons cenſured for theſe groſſer ſcandals, do apply to the kirk-ſeſſion for relaxation, they may both be privately conferred with, and likewiſe their acknowlegments heard before the ſeſſion; but they ought not to be brought before the congregation, in order to their abſolution, nor abſolved, but by advice and order of the preſbytery.

CHAP. VII.

Concerning Proceſſes againſt Miniſters.

ALL proceſſes againſt any miniſter, are to begin before the preſbytery to which he belongeth, and not before the kirk-ſeſſion of his own pariſh.

2. The credit and ſucceſs of the goſpel (in the way of an ordinary mean) much depending on the

entire credit and reputation of miniſters, their ſound doctrine, and holy converſation, no ſtain thereof ought lightly to be received, nor, when it comes before a judicatory, ought to be negligently inquired into, or, when found evident, ought to be ſlightly cenſured.

3. And becauſe a ſcandal committed by a miniſter hath, on theſe accounts, many aggravations, and once raiſed, though it may be found to be without any ground, yet it is not eaſily wipt of, therefore a preſbytery would exactly ponder by whoſe information and complaint it comes firſt before them: and a preſbytery is not ſo far to receive the information, as to proceed to the citation of a miniſter, or any way begin the proceſs, until there be firſt ſome perſon who, under his hand, gives in the complaint, with ſome account of its probability, and undertakes to make out the libel. 2*do*, Or at leaſt do, before the preſbytery, undertake to make it out, under the pain of being cenſured as ſlanderers. Or, 3*tio*, That the *fama clamoſa* of the ſcandal be ſo great, as that the preſbytery, for their own vindication, ſee themſelves neceſſitate to begin the proceſs, without any particular accuſer: but the preſbytery, in this caſe, would be careful, firſt, to inquire into the riſe, occaſion, brotchers, and grounds, of this *fama clamoſa*.

4. All Chriſtians ought to be ſo prudent and wary, in accuſing miniſters of any cenſurable fault, as that they ought neither to publiſh nor ſpread the ſame, nor accuſe the miniſter before the preſbytery, without firſt acquainting the miniſter himſelf, if they can have acceſs thereto; and then, if need be, ſome of the moſt prudent of the miniſters and elders of that preſbytery, and their advice got in the affair.

5. If there ſhall be ground found to enter in a proceſs againſt a miniſter, the preſbytery ſhould firſt conſider the libel, then order him to be cited, and to get a full copy, with a liſt of the witneſſes names to be led for proving thereof: and a formal citation in writ is to be made, either perſonally, or at his dwelling-houſe, bearing a competent time allowed to give in anſwer to the libel, and his juſt defence and objections againſt witneſſes, at leaſt ten free days before the day of compearance; and the citation ſhould bear the date when given, and the names of the witneſſes to the giving thereof: and the execution bearing its date, with the names and deſignations of the witneſſes, ſhould be made in writ, and ſigned by the officer and witneſſes; which being accordingly returned, he is to be called; and if he compear, the libel is to be read unto him, and he is to be inquired, if he has anſwers to give in to the libel, that they may be read and conſidered, in order to the diſcuſſing of the relevancy? and if the preſbytery find the ſame, and that there is cauſe to inſiſt, they are to endeavour to bring him to a confeſſion, whereby he may moſt glorify God: and if he confeſs, and the matter confeſſed be of a ſcandalous nature, cenſurable in others, ſuch as the ſin of uncleanneſs, or ſome other groſs ſcandal, the preſbytery (whatever be the nature of his penitency, though to the conviction of all) are *inſtanter* to depoſe him *ab officio*; and to appoint him, in due time, to appear before the congregation where the ſcandal was given, and in his own pariſh, for removing the offence, by the public profeſſion of his repentance.

6. If a miniſter be accuſed of any ſcandal, and cited to appear before his own preſbytery, and do abſent himſelf by leaving the place, and be contumacious, without making any relevant excuſe, after a new public citation and intimation made at his own church, when the congregation is met, he is to be holden as confeſſed, and to be depoſed, and cenſured *inſtanter* with the leſſer excommunication: but if, after ſome time, he do not return, and ſubject himſelf to the cenſure of the church, he may be proceeded againſt, till he be cenſured with the greater excommunication, if the judicatory ſee cauſe for it.

7. If the miniſter accuſed do appear, and deny the fact, after the relevancy is found, the preſbytery proceeding to probation, and to find the truth of the matter, all the circumſtances are to be exactly canvaſſed, and the accuſed heard to object againſt the witneſſes. As alſo, he ſhould be allowed to be preſent at the examination, and modeſtly to croſs-interrogate: and then the reputation of the witneſſes, and their hability, duly regarded, and the examination conſidered. If, after conſideration of all theſe, the judicatory ſhall find the ſcandal ſufficiently proven, they are to proceed to cenſure, as adviſed in the caſe of confeſſion, in paragraph 5th.

8. If the matter laid to the miniſter's charge, be ſuch practices as, in their own nature, manifeſtly ſubvert that order, unity, and peace, which Chriſt hath eſtabliſhed in his church, or unſoundneſs and heterodoxy in doctrine, then great caution ſhould be uſed, and the knowledge and underſtanding of witneſſes much looked into; and withal if the errors be not groſs, and ſtriking at the vitals of religion, or if they be not pertinaciouſly ſtuck unto,

or induſtriouſly ſpread, with a viſible deſign to corrupt, or that the errors are not ſpreading among the people, then lenitives, admonitions, inſtructions, and frequent conferences, are to be tried to reclaim without cutting off, and the advice of other preſbyteries ſought; and unleſs the thing be doing much hurt, ſo as it admits of no delay, the ſynod, or general aſſembly, may be adviſed with in the affair, and the ſame intimate to the miniſter concerned.

9. If the libel and complaint brought againſt a miniſter, be a multitude of ſmaller things laid together, as ſeveral acts of negligence, or other unſuitable actions, the preſbytery, in proceeding therein, are to make a preſbyterial viſitation of that pariſh to which the miniſter belongs; and, at the ſaid viſitation, are firſt to ſee, if any of theſe things, now laid to the miniſter's charge, were committed *prior* to the laſt preſbyterial viſitation of that pariſh, and whether they were then laid to his charge; and, if they were not, it ſhould be tried, how they come to be laid to his charge now.

10. If the preſbytery find theſe things laid to his charge, to be committed ſince the laſt viſitation, or find a ſatisfying reaſon wherefore they were not then tabled, they are to inquire, what diligence hath been uſed in acquainting the miniſter with the offence taken at theſe things, when firſt committed by him, and how far the miniſter hath been guilty of giving offence, after he knew offence to be taken.

11. It ſhould likewiſe, in this caſe, be inquired, whether any of the complainers did firſt, in a prudent, private way, inform any of the neighbour miniſters, of ſome of theſe things committed by their miniſter, who is now challenged, before theſe offences came to be ſo many, as to merit a public and ſolemn trial; and accordingly the preſbytery is to judge.

12. If the preſbytery find, upon trial, the complaint to reſolve upon the miniſter's having committed ſuch acts of infirmity or paſſion, as, conſidering all the circumſtances, may be either amended, and the people ſatisfied, and no ſuch offence taken, or at leaſt not to remain, ſo as to hinder the miniſter's profiting the people, and that the offence was taken by the miniſter's own people only or mainly; then the preſbytery is to take all prudent ways to ſatisfy and reclaim both miniſter and people, and do away the offence.

13. But before a miniſter, depoſed for ſcandalous carriage, can be reſtored to the exerciſe of the miniſtry, there ſhould not only be convincing evidences of a deep ſorrow for ſin, but an eminent and exemplary humble walk, and edifying converſation, ſo apparent and convincing as hath worn out and healed the wound the ſcandal gave.

14. Immediately on the miniſter's being depoſed by the preſbytery, the ſentence is to be intimate in his congregation, the church declared vacant, the planting thereof with another miniſter haſtened; and never delayed, on the expectation of his being reponed, it being almoſt impoſſible, that ever he can prove uſeful in that pariſh again.

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning Proceſſes in order to the Cenſure of the Greater Excommunication.

SINCE there is a diſtinction betwixt the greater and the leſſer excommunication, it ſeems that whatever have been the cauſes of the firſt proceſs, yet ordinarily all proceſſes that are in order to the greater excommunication, are to be grounded on manifeſt contumacy, or obſtinate continuance in ſcandalous practices; and, where there is no manifeſt contumacy, or continuance as aforeſaid, the leſſer excommunication needs only have place: yet, in ſome extraordinary caſes, the church, according to Scripture-warrant, hath ſummarily excommunicated perſons guilty of notour, atrocious, ſcandalous ſins, to ſhew the church's abhorrence of ſuch wickedneſs.

2. Even where there hath been a ſcandal delated, and contumacy following by not appearing, it would be conſidered, whether any ſcandalous practice hath been proven, or not: if not proven, then only the ſimple contumacy is to be proceeded againſt, for which it were hard to go a greater length than the leſſer excommunication.

3. If the ſcandal hath been proven, and the cenſure of the leſſer excommunication intimated, as in chapter iii. it ſeems moſt reaſonable, that there be no farther proceeding, unleſs the ſcandal be groſs, or of an heinous nature; or that it is ſpreading and infectious, as in hereſies, or ſchiſm, in the church: in which caſes, contumacy is to be proceeded againſt, in order to the greater excommunication.

4. The kirk-ſeſſion having brought the proceſs to an intimation of the cenſure of the leſſer excommunication, before they inflict the ſame, they are to refer the affair to the preſbytery, bringing their

whole proceedings before the preſbytery in writ, that the preſbytery may thereby have a clear and full view of the whole affair.

5. The preſbytery finding the kirk-ſeſſion hath orderly proceeded, and that the leſſer excommunication is not ſufficient, and that the affair is ſo weighty as to oblige them to enter on the proceſs, they are to cauſe their officer to cite the ſcandalous perſon.

6. If the party appear, then the preſbytery is to proceed in the inquiry at the accuſed, about the ſcandal alleged and libelled; and if he deny it, then they are to proceed and lead probation, as in other caſes.

7. But if the party appear not, but contemn the citation, the preſbytery cauſeth renew the ſame, until he hath got three citations; and after the three citations, he is to be cited out of the pulpit: and for the further conviction of all concerned, intimation is to be made, that the judicatory will proceed and inquire into the preſumptions or probation of the guilt; and this is to be done although the delinquent be abſent.

8. Then the preſbytery is to order the miniſter of the congregation, next Sabbath, after forenoon's ſermon, to acquaint the congregation, what proceedings the kirk-ſeſſion firſt, and thereafter the preſbytery hath made in the affair, and how contumacious the party was, and that the preſbytery intended to proceed to the higheſt cenſure: and the miniſter is gravely to admoniſh the party (if preſent) to repent and ſubmit himſelf to the diſcipline of the church, threatening him, if he continue impenitent, that the church will proceed; yea, though he be abſent, the miniſter is to acquaint the people, that the church requires him to repent and ſubmit, as above ſaid, under the foreſaid certification.

9. There ſhould be three public admonitions; and a preſbytery ſhould intervene betwixt each admonition: and if, after all, that perſon continue impenitent or contumacious, the ſame is to be repreſented to the preſbytery; who are thereupon to appoint public prayers thrice to be made, in which the miniſter is to exhort the congregation, ſeriouſly to join with him in prayer, for the ſcandalous, impenitent, or contumacious perſon, which he is ſolemnly to put up to God, humbly begging, that he would deal with the ſoul of the impenitent, and convince him of the evil of his ways.

10. Theſe public prayers of the church are to be put up three ſeveral Sabbath-days, a preſbytery (where its meetings are more frequent, once a month at leaſt) intervening betwixt each public prayer, both to ſhew the church's tenderneſs towards their lapſed brother, their earneſtneſs to have him reclaimed, and likewiſe to create a greater regard and terror of that dreadful cenſure, both in the party and in all the people.

11. If, after all, the ſcandalous perſon makes no application, but continues impenitent, the preſbytery, after prayer, is to paſs ſentence, and appoint a miniſter to intimate the ſame; and to ſhew the preſbytery's reſolution to proceed upon ſuch a Sabbath as they ſhall name, for pronouncing that dreadful ſentence ſolemnly in face of the congregation, unleſs either the party, or ſome for him, ſignify ſome relevant ground to ſtop their procedure.

12. That day being come, it were fit the miniſter did preach a ſermon ſuited to that ſolemn occaſion; or at leaſt, after ſermon, the miniſter ſhould ſhow the congregation, what he is going about, introducing the narrative of the proceſs, with a diſcourſe concerning the nature, uſe, and end of church-cenſures, particularly that of the greater excommunication, if he hath not done it fully in his ſermon.

13. Then narrating all the ſteps of the proceſs in order, ſhewing the church's faithfulneſs and tenderneſs towards the ſcandalous perſon, and declaring his obſtinate impenitency; and that now, after all other means were uſed, there remained only that of cutting off the ſcandalous perſon from the ſociety of the faithful, and intimating the church's warrant and order to him ſo to do.

14. And before the miniſter pronounce the ſentence, he is to pray, and deſire all the congregation to join with him therein, that God would grant repentance to the obſtinate perſon, would graciouſly bleſs his own ordinance, and make the cenſure effectual, both to edify others, and to be a mean to reclaim the obſtinate ſinner.

15. Then, after prayer, the miniſter is, with great gravity and authority, to pronounce the cenſure, ſhewing his warrant from our Lord's command, and the apoſtle Paul's direction, and recapitulating the preſbytery's warrant in obedience thereunto, and reſuming the ſcandalous and obſtinate perſon's behaviour, whom he is to name; he therefore, in the name and authority of our Lord and Maſter Jeſus Chriſt, doth, *in verbis de præſenti*, pronounce and declare him or her excommunicated, and ſhut out from the communion of the

faithful, debarring that perſon from their privileges; and, in the words of the apoſtle, delivering that perſon over to Satan: which ſentence is to be intimate, according to the 9th act of the aſſembly, *anno* 1704.

16. If, after prayer, or before the cenſure be pronounced, the ſcandalous perſon does make any public ſignification of his repentance, and of his deſire to have the cenſure ſtopt, the miniſter, upon apparent ſerioufneſs in the ſcandalous perſon, which he ſheweth to the congregation, may thereupon delay pronouncing the ſentence, till he report to the preſbytery at their next meeting; who are then to deal with the ſcandalous perſon as they ſhall find cauſe.

17. After the pronunciation of this ſentence, the people are to be warned, that they hold that perſon to be caſt out of the communion of the church, and that they ſhun all unneceſſary converſe with him or her: nevertheleſs excommunication diſſolveth not the bonds of civil or natural relations, nor exempts from the duties belonging to them.

18. Although it be the duty of paſtors and ruling elders, to uſe all diligence and vigilance, both by doctrine and diſcipline reſpectively, for preventing and purging out ſuch errors, hereſies, ſchiſms, and ſcandals, as tend to the detriment and diſturbance of the church; yet becauſe it may fall out, through the pride and ſtubbornneſs of offenders, that theſe means alone will not be effectual to that purpoſe, it is therefore neceſſary, after all this, to employ the aid of the civil magiſtrate, who ought to uſe his coercive power, for the ſuppreſſing of all ſuch offences, and vindicating the diſcipline of the church from contempt.

CHAP. IX.

Concerning the Order of proceeding to Abſolution.

IF, after excommunication, the ſigns of repentance appear in the excommunicated perſon, ſuch as godly ſorrow, for having incurred God's heavy diſpleaſure by his ſin, occaſioned grief to his brethren, and juſtly provoked the church to caſt him out of their communion, together with a full purpoſe of heart to turn from his ſin unto God through Chriſt, and to reform his life and converſation, with an humble deſire of recovering peace with God and his people, and to be reſtored to the favour of God, and light of his countenance, through the blood of Jeſus Chriſt, and to the communion of the church; and the preſbytery, upon his application, be ſatisfied therewith, and judge that he ought to be abſolved, and thereupon give warrant for his abſolution; he is to be brought before the congregation, and there alſo to make free confeſſion of his ſin and ſorrow for it, to call upon God for mercy in Chriſt, to ſeek to be reſtored to the communion of the church, promiſing to God, through grace, new obedience, and more holy and circumſpect walking, as becomes the goſpel: and that this appearance before the congregation, be as often as church-judicatories ſhall find may be for edification, and trial of the profeſſing penitent's ſincerity: and being ſatisfied in this, then the miniſter and congregation are to praiſe God, who delighteth not in the death of a ſinner, but rather that he ſhould repent and live; as alſo for bleſſing the ordinance of excommunication, and making it effectual, by his Spirit, to the recovering of this offender, to magnify the mercy of God through Jeſus Chriſt, in pardoning and receiving to his favour the moſt grievous offenders, whenſoever they unfeignedly repent, and forſake their ſins. But before the miniſter proceed to abſolution, he is to pray with the congregation, to this effect: 'That the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, Prophet, 'Prieſt, and King of his church, who, with the 'preaching of the goſpel, hath joined the power 'to bind and looſe the ſins of men; who hath alſo 'declared, that whatſoever, by his miniſters, is 'bound on earth, ſhall be bound in heaven; and 'alſo, that whatſoever is looſed by the ſame, ſhall 'be looſed and abſolved in heaven; would mercifully accept his creature *N.* whom Satan, of 'long time, hath holden in bondage, ſo that he 'not only drew him to iniquity, but alſo ſo hardened his heart, that he deſpiſed all admonitions, 'for the which his ſin and contempt, the church 'was compelled to excommunicate him from the 'ſociety of the faithful: but now ſeeing the Holy 'Spirit, by his grace, hath ſo prevailed, that he is 'returned, and profeſſeth repentance toward God, 'and faith toward our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that it 'may pleaſe God, by his Spirit and grace, to make 'him a ſincere and unfeigned penitent; and, for 'the obedience of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt unto 'death, ſo to accept of this poor, believing, and 'returning ſinner, that his former diſobedience be 'never laid to his charge; and that he may in'creaſe in all godlineſs, ſo that Satan, in the end, 'may be trodden under foot by the power of our

'Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and God may be glorified, 'the church edified, and the penitent ſaved in 'the day of the Lord.'

2. Then ſhall follow the ſentence of abſolution, in theſe, or the like words; 'Whereas thou, *N.* 'haſt, for thy ſin, been ſhut out from the commu- 'nion of the faithful, and haſt now manifeſted 'thy repentance, wherein the church reſteth ſatiſ- 'fied, I, in the name of the Lord Jeſus, before 'this congregation, pronounce and declare thee 'abſolved from the ſentence of excommunication, 'formerly denounced againſt thee; and do re- 'ceive thee to the communion of the church, and 'the free uſe of all the ordinances of Chriſt, that 'thou mayeſt be partaker of all his benefits to thy 'eternal ſalvation.'

3. After this ſentence of abſolution, the miniſter ſpeaketh to him as to a brother, exhorting him to watch and pray, and comforting him as there ſhall be cauſe; the elders embrace, and the whole congregation holdeth communion with him, as one of their own: and the abſolution ſhould be intimate in all the churches where the excommunication was intimate.

INDEX.

BRITISH MUSEUM

A

AARON's dignity freed him not from judgment 376
Abbey of Holyrood-houſe burnt by the Engliſhmen 92
Abbot of Paiſley (of many names) arrives from France 88
Abraham and ſeed, while in, and freed of bondage, differ 315
Act againſt the maſs, and the ſayers and hearers of it 242
—— for aboliſhing the pope's authority in Scotland *ibid.*
—— for deſtroying the monuments of idolatry 255
—— and proclamation for defence of the Papiſts, &c. 264
Acts anent the thirds of biſhops rents, &c. 272
Adam Reid's bold and godly anſwers 65
Adam Wallace's accuſation and anſwers 125
—— is burnt on the Caſtle-hill for hereſy alledged 126
Adminiſtration of the ſacraments in purity 261
Admonition to the commonalty of Scotland 381
—— to the profeſſors of the truth in England 387
—— ſecond, and requeſt to the queen regent 191
Advertiſement to the reader of God's juſt judgment 109
—— unto the profeſſors of the truth 348
Agreement of this, with other reformed churches 345
Ambaſſador's letter, of negociations, with queen of Scots at Paris 256
Ambaſſadors ſent to England, for conſtant aſſiſtance 244
Ambaſſador from the king of Sweden, for marriage with queen Mary 282
Anointing kings, ſince Chriſt, the pope's invention 64
—— was formerly a figure of Chriſt's unction 317
Antichriſt's great words and blaſphemies 113
Appellation of John Knox to the eſtates of Scotland 359
Apparel ſuperſtitious condemned in the Engliſh 350
Application of regal duties to princes and judges 370
Appointment concluded at Perth, preſently broken 161
Argyle's anſwers to the biſhop of St. Andrews' articles 137
—— charge, at death, to his ſon, concerning religion 140
Argyle and lord James treat, for agreement at Perth 160
Argyle and lord James deſert the queen regent, and avow it 161
Arithe, a friar, his ſermon at St. Andrews 72
Arrival of the Engliſh ſhips in the Firth of Forth 206
Articles, thirty-four, againſt profeſſors of the truth 64
—— of appointment at Leith, in July 1559 171
—— of agreement at Leith, &c. *anno* 1560 224
—— and petition of the general aſſembly to the queen, &c. 321
—— (ſix) required to be ratified in parliament; are anſwered by the queen herſelf 328, 329
Aſſault made upon the Frenchmen in Leith, 1560 222
Aſſurance (or truce) a few days at Coupar-muir 163
Auguſtine's words, how kings ſhould ſerve God 370
Authority and power of kings is not unlimited 460

B

BALFOUR (Sir James) diſſembles and apoſtatizeth 116
Bands of matrimony between the queen and Bothwel; are married with offence in May 1567; preſs a bond, and raiſe men to defend them 353
Banqueting and mirth at the court inſtead of mourning 306
Beaton (James) Archbiſhop of St. Andrews, a plurality man 65
Biſhop of Glaſgow's ridiculous ſermon at Air 94
Biſhop of St. Andrews' letter of credit to Argyle 135
Biſhops intrench on the king's humour and ſovereignity 73
—— pretend reformation in ſome circumſtantials 140
—— not feeding the flock are thieves and murderers 300

Blaſphemy, and blaſphemous expreſſions 247
Blood-ſhedders of Chriſtians are guilty with Cain, &c. 473
Bond of mutual defence, in the cauſe of religion 300
—— for defence of the young prince 353
Book of diſcipline, or church-policy, drawn up 244
—— ſubſcribed and approved in form *ibid.*
Bothwel (earl) takes Mr. Wiſhart 98
—— robs Ormiſton, bringing four thouſand crowns from Berwick 195
—— is married to Huntley's ſiſter 340
—— is divorced from her 353
—— is preferred to all with the queen, after David Rizio 343
—— is hurt at the border, viſited by the queen, and cured 345
—— his paſſion could not await divorce of the king 352
—— is put to an aſſize, for murdering the king *ibid.*
—— is pardoned for carrying off the queen, and all other crimes *ibid.*
—— his challenge is accepted by ſeveral lords 355
—— declared murderer, and one thouſand crowns bid for him 356
Brethren in Kyle remonſtrate againſt the maſs 324
Brochtie-craig, why ſeized by the lords, &c. 188
Buchanan (George) perſecuted, but eſcapeth 79
Burning of the bill, a ſign of recantation 78

C

CALF with two heads, ſhewed to the queen regent 129
Calumnies of the queen regent againſt the lords, &c. 168
——— may prevail for a time 190
Carberry-field, near Muſſelburgh, not bloody 355
Cardinal Beaton's cruelty, &c. noticed 78
—— is taken and confined, but makes his eſcape 86
—— impriſoned earl Rothes, lord Gray, &c. 91
—— his cruelty upon ſome in St. Johnſton *ibid.*
—— his boaſts of ſecurity from his enemies 108
—— his caſtle is ſeized, May 29th 1546, and he is ſlain 109
Captives taken in the caſtle are ill-entertained 122
—— ſet at liberty in July 1550 124
Caſtle of St. Andrews beſieged in Auguſt, until January; and heads of appointment with the beſiegers 110
—— beſieged the ſecond time, July 1547 116
Caſtle of Semple taken in, and why 244
Cauſes moving the nobility to oppoſe tyranny, &c. 189
—— why Chriſt's diſciples knew him not 396
—— of fear in the elect 404
—— why ſaints are now perſecuted 412
Cecil's letter to John Knox; and the anſwer 212, 213
Ceremonies abide not the fire of God's word 115
Chalmers of Gathgirth's bold words to the queen regent 130
Character of biſhops, Wolves, thieves, murderers, &c. 256
—— of the Hamiltons, by cardinal Beaton 85
Chatellet and the queen were too familiar; her deſire concerning him, and his death 291
Chriſt is ours, and hath done for us, &c. 57
—— came not to the diſciples till the fourth watch 395
—— and his word, in all ages miſtaken 396
—— uſes his word to relieve his people 399
Churchmen engage the king in a war with Henry VIII. 81
Church of malignants without the word 115
—— of Rome is the queen's church that ſhe will nurſe 267
Civil wars afford ſome reſpite to God's flock 76
Clawbacks enraged at abſolving Mr. Knox 304
Clothes of the dead fall to the hangman 351
Coldingham's laſt words, or meſſage to the queen 298
Comet, called the Fiery Beſom, appears November 1554 129
Coining-irons, why ſtaid by the lords 169
Commiſſioners ſent to the weſt by the general aſſembly 286
Commotions raiſed by the Gordons at Aberdeen 287
Communication of the earl of Bothwel with John Knox 278
Communing with the queen regent's party, at Preſton 168
——— ſecond, of John Knox with the queen 280
Compariſon betwixt faith and incredulity 69
——— between fathers and princes 267
Complaint in prayer, with confeſſion 409
Concluſion reaſoned and determined at Bononia 319
Concluſions, five, proved by the reaſoning with Lethington 318
Conditions, in admitting of councils and doctors 380
Confeſſion of faith, profeſſed in Scotland 231
Confederacy and league made with England 209
Congregation, the oppoſers of Popery, ſo called 135
——— and preachers ſtaid at Perth 152
——— comes to Edinburgh to reform 166
Conqueſt of Scotland intended by the French 216
Contract at Berwick, between Scotland and England *ibid.*
Convention of the eſtates at Edinburgh, October 21, 1559 192
——— of the nobility at Edinburgh, why 247
Converſion of the queen doubtful to ſome 310
Convocation of lieges may be lawful or unlawful 302
Correthie-field fight 287
Corruption prevails by carnal reaſons 262
Council's anſwer to the queen of England 260
Counſel to the weak in faith in time of trial 409
Coupar-muir, many aſſembled without blood, in June 1559 162

Court, its holy water inchanting to many 265
Covenant, the firſt at Edinburgh, December 3d 1557 134
—— the ſecond made at Perth, May 31ſt 1559 160
—— the third, or bond of defence, at Stirling 172
—— the fourth at Leith, April 27th 1560 220
—— betwixt Scotland and England 228
—— or bond at Air, *anno* 1562 286
Creature can never diſpute with God without ſin 392
Crown matrimonial, a court ſoleciſm, the ſecond time 326
Cruelty of Scots whores, harlots to the French 222

D

DANCERS, and dalliers with dames, preferred at court 306
David Rizio, an Italian, becomes great in court 307
—— has over-great familiarity, and is ſuſpected 340
—— gets a ſeal, like the king's, to uſe for him *ibid.*
—— his character and carriage 341
—— is ſlain (juſtly, p. 124) by nobles, March 9, 1566 *ibid.*
Dean John Annan declines diſputation with Mr. Knox 112
Dean of Reſtalrig, a ſpeaker of treaſon againſt God 296
Death of Panter, and Reid biſhop of Orkney 131
—— of a French plunderer in a tub 206
—— of Francis king of France, queen Mary's huſband 245
—— of Francis made alteration in France, England, and Scotland 246
Debates in the aſſembly anent the ſupplication 284
Declaration or claim of the blind, lame, &c. againſt friars 140
—— of the lords againſt the queen regent's proclamation 186
Defection general diſtinguiſhed from particular 375
Defence juſt and neceſſary, againſt cruelty and tyranny 155
Delivery of St. Johnſton again reſolved 164
Demands of the French ambaſſador 252
Departure of the lords from Edinburgh to Stirling 199
Deſpitefulneſs of the Papiſts at Edinburgh *ibid.*
Devil reigns by idolatry, ſuperſtition, and tyranny 394
Difference between the perſon, and the authority 156
Diſciples ſore afraid, though troubled at ſea before 390
Diſcomfiture of the congregation at Leith twice 187, 188
Diſputation accepted with conditions 148
Diſſimulation, or inconſtancy, in queen Elizabeth 338
Diſtribution of the miniſters to ſeveral places 229
Diverſe ways of deliverance of believers 409
Diviſion of the lords lands by the French in fancy 177
Doctrine of obedience to magiſtrates 182
Doctrines damnable, 229
Duke Hamilton's purgation by proclamation 191
Dunbar archbiſhop of Glaſgow a fool, and the cardinal proud 99
Duntibers, French dames, and prieſts, have maſs 299
Dury, biſhop of Galloway, his infidel death 131
Duty of the nobility anent reformation, &c. 134
—— to defend innocents, and bridle tyrants 155
—— of magiſtrates declared from Rom. xiii. 366
—— of God's people to confeſs him, &c. 461
—— of magiſtrates, required in the Scriptures 417
—— of people to covenant ſolemnly, as did Aſa, &c. 2 Chron. xv. 428
—— of all Chriſt's miniſters to reſiſt every uſurper, &c. 429

E

EARL of Arran made governor, reaſons thereof 86
—— oppoſition made to him, he renounceth 88
—— is reckoned baſtard, and earl Lennox his rival 89
—— joins with the congregation 182
Earl of Glencairn's reſolution provokes many 157
—— haſteth with relief to St. Johnſton 159
Earl Marſhal's vote, with ſolemn proteſtation 242
Earl Huntley's odd prayer before battle 287
—— his corps brought to Edinburgh 288
Earl of Murray denounced rebel, and Argyle 331
—— is conſtitute and proclaimed regent 357
Edgar the firſt king anointed in Scotland, 1100 64
Edinburgh burnt and ſpoiled by the Engliſh, 1544 92
Edinburgh-caſtle, as commanded, ſhoots at the town 334
Edward VI. king of England, died 6th July 1553 126
Enemies of truth are oft great politicians 393
England's intereſt is not to let Scotland periſh 209
—— called heretic, for renouncing the pope 81
—— their miſery may be a mirror to Scotland 379
—— their calamities by the Spaniſh king 398
Engliſh get ſtrengths delivered to them 93
—— their help and ſupport acknowleged by the Scots 206
Engliſh army enters into Scotland for aid 220
Epiſtle to the reader, before Mr. Knox's printed ſermon 457
Equality illuſtrated by the equal offering, Exod. xxx. 382
Erſkine, captain of the caſtle, is againſt the lords 170, 199
—— his plain words to the queen regent 223
—— is againſt the book of diſcipline, why 244
Eſcape of Mr. Kirkcaldy and others from priſon 123
Examples of the prieſts reſiſting Uzziah 317
—— of Paul's appeal to Cæſar, improved 363
—— extraordinary, conformable to the law, imitable 316

Examples of good king Hezekiah and Josiah, in reforming religion 367
—— of the godly kings of Judah do appertain to Christian powers 369
—— of the three children, Daniel, and Ebed-melech 371
Exclamation against England, by Mr. Knox 402
Exhortation by him to the lords, &c. at Coupar 204
—— to the elected minister, or superintendent 250
—— to God's people in England, in time of trouble 410
—— to England, for embracing the gospel 423
Experience of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, David, &c. 400

F

FACTS of Pharaoh, and of king Saul, applied 156
Facts of ancient prophets appertain to our age 311
Fact of a prophet, anointing Jehu to execute God's judgments, &c. 316
Faith, what it is, whence, and how it acteth 68
—— in Jesus Christ, compared with incredulity 69
—— resteth with God's people in greatest danger 406
—— not quenched by fear, danger, nor doubting 408
Famine and dearth for idolatry of rulers, &c. 292
Fear is greatest when deliverance is nearest 396
Fiddling and flinging, fidlers and flatterers, at court 281
Fire from heaven burns corns in both realms 129
Flatterers in courts, a contagious pestilence 418
Form of the election of superintendents, &c. 248
Fortification of Leith, by the French, alarms all 184
Fray among cross-bearers at Glasgow church 100
French galleys, twenty-one, arrive at St. Andrews, 1547 116
—— navy arrives, 1549 120
—— forces arrive in parcels, 1559 177
French come with their wives and children, why 180
—— shew their cruelty on aged, infirm, &c. 197
—— many drowned, while coming against us 203
French captain with his band slain in Fife 205
French waste and destroy towns and countries near Leith 219
French faction, their practisings, to raise new troubles 245
—— ambassador deals for peace 355
Frenzy discovered in the earl of Arran 280
Friar Forrest burnt at St. Andrews, 1526 76
Friars, &c. burnt for professing true religion 78
—— two gray, molest the people hearing Mr. Wishart 96
—— their opulent convents spoiled at Perth, 1559 153
Frost unusual 306
Furrour (Alexander) his examination and answers 73

G

GENERAL assembly of the church, May 28th 1561, supplicate 254
—— in December that year, division of lords at court 270
—— in June 1562, handle notable heads of order, &c. 282
—— in December 25th, the same year, great complaints, &c. 290
—— 25th December, 1563, quick reasonings among members 305
—— in June 1564, some nobles assist, and some accuse ministers 307
—— in December 1564, answers to Paul Methven's supplication 321
—— in July 1565, the church national presents articles, to be ratified by the queen 328
—— in December 25th 1565, two heads concluded 339
—— appoint public fasting in May *ibid.*
—— met at Edinburgh, 25th June 1566, supplicate 345
—— met at Edinburgh, December 25th 1566, their proceedings 347
—— met in June 1567, send letters to the lords 356
—— agree on eight articles to be ratified in parliament *ibid.*
George Wishart (Mr.) came to Scotland in 1544 93
—— his words in Dundee, when he was prohibited from preaching *ibid.*
—— preached at Air, in Machlyne-muir, &c. 94
—— returns to Dundee in their calamity *ibid.*
—— saves the priest, sent there to murder him 95
—— escapes a second plot laid for his life, at Montrose *ibid.*
—— his prophecy anent himself, and the church of Scotland *ibid.*
—— preached at Leith, Invereск, &c. 96
—— threatened the friars that molested the people *ibid.*
—— denounced vengeance against Haddington 97
—— is taken by Bothwel at Ormiston *ibid.*
—— is carried from Edinburgh to St. Andrews, 1546 99
—— his oration before the prelates, 101
—— answers 102
—— unjust sentence against him 105
—— his prayer before death 106
—— his martyrdom; and several sentiments thereanent 107
—— his words against Haddington are verified 124
God craves that we should oppose iniquity, &c. 314
—— his messengers may appeal from unjust sentences, and civil powers should admit their appeal, and support them 361
—— his judgments appear to carnal men rigorous 373

God brings not his people to trouble for hurt 395
—— his word hath power and efficacy with it 400
—— his works are ſufficient reaſon for themſelves 405
—— is near to deliver in extreme peril 406
—— his word the only ground of true religion 417
—— his promiſes are the chambers that his people muſt enter 471
Mr. Goodman, a miniſter, anſwered, and is checked 305
A gooſe eaten on Friday, coſt four men their lives 91
Gordon, for purſuing lord Ogilvy, is impriſoned 285
Goſpel, what it is, good tidings, &c. 67
Government of an ill woman is rage without reaſon 398
Ground of the Papiſtical religion, time, councils, multitude 417

H

HADDINGTON poſſeſſed and fortified by the Engliſhmen 119
——— beſieged; and a parliament held in the abbey there, 1549, in which they conclude the young queen's marriage 120
——— almoſt ſurpriſed by the Frenchmen 121
——— infected with peſtilence and famine 124
Haliburton, a captain, dies, confeſſing his faith 198
Mr. Patrick Hamilton is raiſed a witneſs, *anno* 1527 65
—— his determinations of the law, faith, &c. 67
John Hamilton of Milburn, a famous clerk, illiterate 118
Duke Hamilton, &c. againſt the Congregation, at Perth 154
Hamiltons againſt Bothwel and the marquis, a fray, &c. 277
Heads concerning religion concluded by the council 135
—— demanded of the queen regent by Proteſtants 168
—— of appointment notified by proclamation 172
Heads that rule over the whole world are two, Chriſt and Satan 473
Henry VIII. ſends an ambaſſador, to contract perpetual amity betwixt England and Scotland, and marriage 87
——— arreſts the Scots ſhips, &c. for breach of contract 89
——— denounced war, kept merchants, &c. priſoners *ibid.*
Henry king of France dies in his pride, 1559 169
Henry Stuart lord Darnley arrives in Scotland, 1565 323
——— is made earl of Roſs, and afterwards duke of Rothelay 327. 331
Henry Stuart's banns of marriage, and the queen's, proclaimed 331
——— his and the queen's progreſs againſt the Proteſtant lords, &c. 334
——— is murdered, February 9, 1567, and buried obſcurely 351
——— his character, carriage, age, and end *ibid.*
Honours which magiſtrates receive of God, ſhould move them to promote his religion 365
Hope, a truſty looking for of things promiſed 70
Hume-caſtle recovered from the Engliſh 121
Hypocritical oſtentation of worldlings with Bibles 87
Hypocrites are made manifeſt in the day of trouble 389

I J

KING James born in Edinburgh-caſtle, June 17, 1566 344
——— is baptized at Stirling with great pomp, December 17th 346
——— is crowned at Stirling in July 1567 357
Idol, ſtock Gile, or young St. Gile caſt down 131
Idolatry is no way to be countenanced 127
—— aboliſhed, and images broken in Perth 153
—— erected there again, contrary to the appointment 161
—— is introduced with the queen, and ſet up 263
—— to be puniſhed without reſpect of perſons 362
—— of a few brings wrath on the multitude 374
—— is the mother of all vice and immorality 419
—— defended is deſtruction to princes and poſterity 420
Jeremiah's cauſe and words applied by Mr. Knox 313
——— his caſe and appeal to the princes improved 361
Image of old St. Gile at Edinburgh aboliſhed 130
Imagination by the queen called conſcience 268
Inhumanity of the mercileſs French at Leith 222
Inſtructions to the Scots commiſſioners that went to Berwick 218
Intelligence with England grievous to the queen regent 183
Mr. John Craig's free and faithful dealing with Bothwel, &c. 353
St. Johnſton defends their liberty againſt lord Gray, &c. 90
——— embraced the goſpel of Chriſt, 1559 152
——— their firſt aſſembly for defence of preachers, &c. *ibid.*
——— ſummoned to ſurrender, communing there, &c. 164, 165
An Italian poſſet, or French figs, kill nobles 131
Judgment of the learned in all ages was free 266
Juſt cauſe of appellation, and what is not juſt 363

K

KENNEDY and Ruſſel condemned by the biſhop of Glaſgow, &c. 79
King James the Fifth's anſwer to the cardinal, &c. accuſing the lords 82
—— foretells his own death; died at Falkland 84, 85
King Henry's inconſtancy and weakneſs obſervable 343
—— grows into contempt with the queen, and all 345
—— complains to the pope, and to Popiſh princes *ibid.*
—— is poiſoned at Stirling; recovers at Glaſgow 346
—— and queen Mary prepare war againſt the lords 332
—— ſhows diſpleaſure at Mr. Knox's ſermon *ibid.*
—— march with eighteen thouſand to Dumfries, againſt the lords 337
Kings may be reſiſted lawfully by the people 313
—— guilty of crimes, ſhould ſuffer as offenders 318
Kinghorn taken and poſſeſſed by the Frenchmen 204
Kirkcaldy of Grange valiant againſt the French 205
——— cuts the bridge of Tullibody 206
Knave, Mr. Knox ſo termed by a mitred prelate 414
Mr. Knox enters the caſtle of St. Andrews, in 1547 111
—— his vocation to the miniſtry by the people *ibid.*
—— his firſt ſermon againſt Antichriſt, pope, &c; divers opinions of his ſermon; articles drawn from his doctrine diſputed 112, 113
—— his reaſoning with the ſub-prior and friar Arbuckil 114
—— his proteſtation, that he be heard ere people judge 116
—— his ſentiments of the caſtle of St. Andrews 117
—— is detained all winter in the French galleys *ibid.*
—— foretells temporal deliverance of, and counſels the captives 122, 123
—— delivered, preaches at Berwick, Newcaſtle, and London 123
—— accuſed of treaſon at Francfort, eſcapes *ibid.*
—— returns to Scotland at the end of harveſt, 1555 127
—— preaches frequently, ſome nobles attending him 128
—— called to Geneva, is burned in effigy, and appeals 129
—— his ſecond call by the lords from Geneva, March 1556 132
—— his third vocation by the lords and churches of Scotland 135
—— arrived from France, when preachers were ſummoned 152
—— his oration to the lords at Perth, and meſſage to the queen regent 158
—— his reſolution to preach, though threatened, at St. Andrews 162
—— his letter to the queen regent, October 26, 1559 190
Mr. Knox's judgment in the deprivation of the queen regent 192
—— his ſermon at Stirling, on Pſal. lxxx. with application 199
—— his letters to Sir William Cecil, queen Eliſabeth, and lords 206. 214
—— his judgment upon ſuffering the maſs again 265
—— anſwers the queen's accuſations againſt him 267
—— his judgment of queen Mary firſt and laſt 269
—— his judgment of the thirds of biſhops rents, &c. 275
—— his travels in the weſt 286
—— his letter to Argyle 294
—— his diſcharge to the earl of Murray 295
—— his diſcourſe of God's mercies, and man's ingratitude 296
—— his affirmation anent the queen's marriage *ibid.*
—— his diſcourſe to the ladies at court 297
—— his form of prayer in three petitions 298
—— his letter advertiſing the brethren to aſſemble 299
—— is called before the queen and council thereupon 301
—— his defence againſt the charge of treaſon, and anſwers 302
—— his anſwer to Lethington 309
—— his prayer for the queen *ibid.*
—— dares ſuſtain no untrue poſition, on Rom. xiii. 1. 312

L

LADY Forbes's words on Huntley's diſcomfiture 288
Lawder a prieſt, with a roll of curſings, &c. 101
Law and goſpel oppoſed 68
Law, though perfect, cannot give life, through our imperfection 236
Law againſt adultery, &c. the guilty to be carted 252
Laws made, *anno* 1534, againſt reformation 77
Leaſing of the ſons of the father of lies 248
Leith deſerts the Congregation, and ſurrenders to the French 170
—— what title the queen has to it, and how 187
—— ſummoned by the lords, October 25, 1559 195
—— beſieged more than three months, by eight thouſand men 220
Earl Lennox and his lady impriſoned in the tower, &c. 382
Lethington reforms the ſupplication into flattery 285
——— his prayer before battle at Aberdeen 288
——— his politic practice in England and Scotland 298
——— condemns Mr. Knox of treaſon 301
——— gives himſelf to the devil conditionally 306
——— his harangue at the general aſſemby, 1564 308
Letter, with demands, to the parliament, 1558 149

Letter to the queen regent, by the Congregation, at Perth 154
—— to the nobility of Scotland, monitory, &c. 155
—— to the peſtilent prelates and ſhavelings in Scotland 157
—— third, to the queen regent, by the lords, July 2, 1559 167
—— of lord James, in anſwer to the king of France and queen 174
—— to the queen regent, by the nobility 183
—— by lord James 185
—— by the general aſſembly, to their brethren in England, &c. 349
—— with additions, to the queen regent, by Mr. Knox 411
Letters minatory to d' Oſel, and other French men of war 154
—— to the queen regent, by the earl of Argyle and lord James 164
—— by the king and queen of France, to lord James, feigned 173, 174
Liberality of lord James earl of Murray for the public 248
Lindſay (Sir David) of the Mount with the reformed 111
Lockhart (Mr. Robert) his negociations for the queen regent 190
Lollards of Kyle, thirty of whom are accuſed, &c. 1
Lord James, ambaſſador, eſcapes from danger at Paris 255
Lords letter to lord Erſkine, captain of the caſtle, &c. 202
—— their firſt letter to Sir William Cecil, anent ſupplies 209
—— abide part at Glaſgow, part in Fife 214
—— their anſwer to the French ambaſſador's demands 255
—— divide from the brethren in the general aſſembly 307
—— get no ſupport or ſupply at Edinburgh 333
—— of the congregation, the chief nobility, are exiled 338
—— abſent, are ſummoned againſt a ſet day *ibid.*
—— not compearing, all muſt be attainted, &c. 340
—— return, on the king's letter, after David Rizio's death, &c. 342

M

MAGISTRATES ſuperior and inferior, their power is God's ordinance 240
Maitland of Lethington, how and why he left Leith 198
—— his mockage of God in his meſſengers 229
Malice of the devil compared to the ſtormy wind 391
Marriage contracted by commiſſioners betwixt king Edward VI. and Mary queen of Scots, the contract ſigned, &c. 88
Marriage of lord James earl of Murray 276
—— of Henry Stuart and queen Mary, July 19, 1565 332
Martick's cruel action at Glaſgow 219
Mary of Lorrain, wife to king James V. arrived, 1537 78
Mary queen in England, and Mary regent in Scotland, both ill 126
Maſk of Orleans, dancing, muſic, &c. 277
Maſs cannot be defended by the Papiſts, &c. 247
—— one is more terrible than ten thouſand enemies 247
—— is the invention of men, and an abomination 268
—— bended up again with all miſchievous ſolemnity 269
—— is the fountain of all impiety and immorality 282
Maſs-mongers taken and brought to judgment 294
Maſter of Maxwel's diſcharge to John Knox, &c. 300
—— his words in the general aſſembly 309
Merriment of an Engliſhman at St. Gile's fray 131
Merry fact, a painted lady caſt into the river 122
Walter Miln condemned and burnt, 1558 149
Miniſters of Chriſt not to wait on the court 282
—— have a double battle to fight, &c. 307
—— their complaint to God againſt mockers *ibid.*
—— ſupplicate the king and queen for their ſtipends 337
Modificators of the miniſters ſtipends appointed 275
Money received from England by the lords, &c. 213
—— demanded of Edinburgh by the court in loan 336
Monks preach againſt the biſhops vices 72
Monuments of idolatry, great edifices, demoliſhed 153
Mumbling pſalters, or reading homilies, cannot feed hungry ſouls 429
Murder and whoredom diſcovered at court 305

N

NAVY of ſhips arrives at Leith, May 3, 1544 92
Neceſſity of general aſſemblies in the church 271
Negociation betwixt the queens of England and Scotland 282
Nobility abſolve Mr. Knox of all crimes alleged 304
Nobles are born, and ſworn protectors of commons 194
—— ſeek money in loan at Berwick, &c. 196
—— being abſent, are denounced rebels, &c. 343
Norfolk (duke of) treats with the lords at Berwick 216
—— his comfortable meſſage to the beſiegers of Leith 222
Notes, by Mr. Knox, on Matth. xiv. 22. &c. 388
—— four, on the end of ſtorm and trouble 396

O

OBEDIENCE unto princes muſt not be unlawful 415
Obſtinacy and great blindneſs in ſinners 402
Occaſion painted with a bald hind-head, why 295
Occurrences from 1567, when this hiſtory ends, till 1644, when it was printed i. to xii.
Offer of the Papiſts, with reſerves, is rejected 148
Offer of ſound doctrine to Scotland 384
Offers of the Proteſtants to the queen regent, &c. 169
Oliver Sinclair, lieutenant general at Holway-moſs road 83
——— is taken without fighting a ſtroke, flying manfully 84
——— compared to Benhadad at Samaria, *ibid.*
Oration and petition of the Scots Proteſtants to the queen regent 147
Order of monks and nuns, a new one brought in 306
Order of Paul Methven's repentance 344

P

PAPIST'S cannot, or will not come to diſputation 268
Paſſages of Mr. Knox's life and death xiii to xxvi
Paul Craw burnt with a braſs ball in his mouth 1
Paul's fact anent a vow, &c. unwarrantable 128
Paul Methven's ſupplication to the general aſſembly 321
Parliament enacts reading the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue 87
——— lawful and free, without the king's preſence 243
Peace made between France, England, and Scotland 124
People may execute God's judgments on their kings 314
Perſuaſions of courtiers to ſpare the queen's idolatry 263
Peter was not faithleſs, yet feared and fainted 407
Petition of the Proteſtants for the rendering of Perth 159
——— of Proteſtants in other churches 360
——— of John Knox, in anſwer to an objection 365
——— of ſuch as are perſecuted by Papiſts 413
Pinky-cleugh, or Friday's chaſe 118
Placeboes inform the court againſt Mr. Knox 296
——— flatter the queen, and deal craftily with Mr. Knox 304
Poor of three ſorts, labourers, beggars, miniſters 283
Poulet the treaſurer compared to Shebnah, &c. 393
Power, and the perſon clothed with it, differ far 312
Practices of Papiſts to cover wickedneſs, &c. 116
Prayer for a bleſſing and aſſiſtance to the elected 256
——— with a condition or doubt warrantable 310
——— of the author, and his exhortation to others 395
Prayer-book, compiled by archbiſhop Laud, reviſed at Rome, viii
Preachers, Thomas Guilliam and John Rough, employed, 1543 86
Preachers in Scotland after king Edward's death, 1553, who 127
——— all put to the horn as rebels 152
——— their free preaching againſt vice called railing 289
——— are called the ſalt of the earth, why 389
Prelates, by their fruits, proven evil trees 156
——— ſome left Antichriſt, and adhered to Chriſt 229
——— termed place-holders of the miniſtry *ibid.*
——— claim prerogative and privilege in vain 376
——— hiſtories ſhew whence they arrogate immunity 377
——— the maintainers of their privileges plagued with them 378
Preſence of God, ſymbolical and ſpiritual ſigns of it 383
Prince is limited, and his will is not law 225
Princes miſinformed againſt God's ſervants 266
Proclamation by the queen regent, to delude the people 177. 185
——— by the lords, anſwering the queen regent's 178
——— of the agreement and peace, July 8, 1560 227
——— by the king and queen, againſt the lords as rebels 335
——— by the lords, declaring Bothwel a murderer; and another by the queen on the contrary, &c. 354
Profeſſors of the truth called Lollards 64
Promiſe of duke Hamilton, Huntley, &c. to the lords 172
Prophets touched policy, and reproved the corruptions thereof 182
——— privileges ſaved them not from death 372
Propoſitions made by the lords to the king and queen 335
——— two, to be noticed by princes 414
Proſperity ſucceeding a fact, ſhews it is approved, how 317
——— for a time proves not religion good 420
Proteſtation made in parliament, at Edinburgh, 1558 159
——— againſt the queen's maſs, &c. 264
——— in favours of the earl of Bothwel, who is attainted 326
Proteſtants firſt petition in Scotland, what 261
Proverb on Pittarro the comptroller, degenerate 275

Provoſt of Edinburgh, &c. ſlain by the Frenchmen 121
Purgatory proven by the friar from Virgil 115

Q

QUEEN Mary born at Linlithgow, November 8, 1542 84
——— her marriage-contract ratified a ſecond time 88
——— re-contracted, or ſold to France, in 1549 120
Queen mother paſſeth to France with ſome nobles 126
Queen regent, with her French faction, decrees war againſt England 129
—— grants ſome liberty to the reformed, with reſtrictions 149
—— her blaſphemy againſt miniſters and preaching 152. 204
—— her hypocriſy, malice, craft, and falſehood, evident 149. 152. 160. 175
—— her vow to deſtroy Perth, and complaint againſt it 153
—— her falſe ſuggeſtions againſt the Congregation 158
—— is freely warned of the danger and end of her courſe 159
—— ſcoffing at the lords, requiring reformation 169
—— her falſe, flattering letter to duke Hamilton 176
—— her craft, practiſing upon all the lords, &c. 184
—— can make no promiſe ſhe can keep, or the lords credit 161. 189
—— her letter and credit by lion-herald to the lords 192
—— order of her ſuſpenſion, and articles againſt her 192, 193
—— deprivation intimate to her, with the council's letter 195
—— her joy and behaviour at the French victory, &c. 197
—— her malediction to ill counſellors 221
—— her cruelty expreſſed againſt the Proteſtants 222
—— her miſerable death in the caſtle, June 9, 1560 223
—— her burial four months thereafter in France 254
Queen of England's letter to the Scots lords, &c. 258
Queen Mary's arrival from France, Auguſt 19, 1561 263
—— with her came dolor, darkneſs, and all impiety *ibid.*
—— her firſt practice is flattery, and pretending conſcience 265
—— her firſt conference with John Knox 265 to 268
—— is amazed, and her countenance altered 267
—— her firſt progreſs to Stirling, Perth, &c. 269
—— her firſt fray fancied in Holyrood-houſe 270
—— diſallows all conventions of the church 271
—— her mirth and dancing until the morning 280
—— viſits the north, where deviſed troubles ariſe 285
Queen Mary's marriage variouſly talked of by many 289
—— chides Mr. Knox for his plainneſs in the pulpit, weeps 297
—— liberates the impriſoned Papiſts, and viſits the weſt 298
—— her carriage, when ſhe had Mr. Knox a pannel 302
—— ſhews her purpoſe to marry lord Darnley 324
—— her letter to the town-council of Edinburgh 325
—— is once preſent at a Proteſtant baptiſm, &c. 330
—— commands four Proteſtants to be incarcerate, &c. *ibid.*
—— writes circular letters to many of the lords, &c. 331
—— is more afraid of faſting, &c. than of ten thouſand men 339
—— declares ſhe would ſtudy revenge for David Rizio's death 341
—— retires early, with the king, &c. to Dunbar privately 342
—— intends to pardon all the attainted lords, to be avenged on the ſlayers of David Rizio *ibid.*
—— bears a man-child in Edinburgh-caſtle, June 19, 1566 344
—— viſits Bothwel, lately hurt; her paſſion at Jedburgh 345, 346
—— grants the Proteſtants petitions 347
—— goes to Glaſgow, to viſit the king, recovering there 351
—— pretends a neceſſity to take arms againſt the lords, &c. 354
—— ſends Bothwel off, and ſurrenders to the lords, &c. 355
—— is ſent priſoner to the caſtle in Lochlevin *ibid.*
—— ſubſcribes a renunciation of the crown, &c. 357
Queſtion, If the queen's idolatrous maſs may be hindered 269. 314
Queſtions anent reformation, with anſwers 145. 210

R

RAITH (the laird) ſuffers death, for writing to his ſon 121
Readers not allowed to adminiſter the ſacraments 351
Reaſoning between the queen and Mr. John Knox 292
——— betwixt ſecretary Lethington and Mr. John Knox 308 to 319
Reconciliation betwixt the earls of Arran and Bothwel 279
Reformation by the lords of St. Andrews, in 1559 162
——— of religion pertains to civil powers 367
——— belongs to all who hope for life everlaſting 382
——— of ſome diſorders in England is required 428
Reformers moved to take up the ſword of juſt defence 145
Relief brought by lords and lairds to their brethren 159

Religion among the people, attended with two inconveniences 428
——— vain and idolatrous, what ſo called 360
——— is to be tried by the word of God 381
——— corrupted, brings a corrupt life with it 315
Remora to enemies deſigns, by the duke of Buckingham's death vi
Repentance requires that religion be reformed, kept pure, &c. 428
Reſby (James) burnt, 1422, for teſtifying againſt the pope 63
Reward of dancers, ſaid to be to drink in hell 281
Right that princes have to the patrimony of the church 275
Riot committed in Edinburgh by three lords 276
Robin-Hood, a fooliſh play, turned to a proverb 253
Roger (John) a black-friar, godly and learned, is murdered 92
Rhyme, by the earl of Glencairn, upon the gray-friars 80

S

SANDILANDS of Calder, the church's commiſſioner to the queen regent 146
Sands (Andrew) took two French ſhips in the Firth of Forth 205
Satan has obtained two things of the world, what 367
Scales made in St. Giles's church, for ſcaling Leith 195
Scoon ſpoiled and burnt, in June 1559 165, 166
Scroll of the nobility, held heretics by prelates, given to king James 82
Sea not ebbing and flowing for twenty-four hours 306
Security of the Engliſh, beſieging Leith, ſlays many 220
Sentence pronounced againſt Mr. Knox appealed from 360
Sharp ſentence againſt idolaters, executed 403
Sermon preached by Mr. Knox, upon Iſa. xxvi. 13, &c. 455
Seton (Alexander) a black-friar, his poſitions concerning the law, &c. 74
——— his accuſation, and bold witty anſwer to the biſhop *ibid.*
——— his letter to king James V. from Berwick 75
Sheep at length know the voice of their paſtors 401
Ship toſſed is a figure of Chriſt's church 391
Sinclair, dean of Reſtalrig, his hypocriſy detected 132
Skirmiſh with the Frenchmen at Petticur 204
Skirmiſhing at and near Dyſart with the French 205
——— at Leith, where three hundred French fell firſt 220
Slaves of Satan, how princes are ſo termed, &c. 311
Spaniards are the ſons of pride and ſuperſtition 399
Speech of an old matron, when Scoon was burning 156
Spence of Condie condoles Mr. Knox's caſe 301
Stirling taken by the lords, preventing the French 166
Straiton and Gourlay, two gentlemen, burnt, 1534
Subjects no leſs bound to believe than kings 38
——— may require true preachers from rulers 385
——— do offend oft with their princes, how ſo *ibid.*
——— ſhall be puniſhed with their princes, why 386
Supplication of the Proteſtants to the parliament 229
——— to the council, requiring ſeveral articles 254
——— of the profeſſors of the goſpel, for juſtice 276
——— by the aſſembly to the queen, againſt the maſs, &c. 282
——— againſt idolaters, maſs-mongers, and others 324
——— of the miniſters to the queen, for their ſtipends 343
——— by the general aſſembly to the lords, againſt wrong, &c. 347
Support ſought by the lords from England, and why 187
Suſpenſion of the queen regent from authority 193

T

TARBAT, a prieſt, ſerved with Eaſter-eggs at the market-croſs 325
Tempeſt of wind and rain impedes the army's march 333
Temptations of God's people in England, 1554 408
Thankſgiving for deliverance from the French 228
Thieves on the borders, fifty taken, and executed 282
Threatenings qualified without any flattery 380
Throgmorton comes ambaſſador from England 326
Tippet, ſurplice, &c. badges of idolatry 350
Tithe of fiſh demanded by biſhops agents 77
Tokens of love between the two queens 321
Townſmen impriſoned for David Rizio's death 343
Tranſubſtantiation overthrown by Thomas Cranmer 392
Treaſon among the council, 1559, diſcovering all 196
Treaſon it is to conceal treaſon in others 279
Treatiſe of juſtification by Mr. Balnaves, printed 1584 122
Trial of Paul Meffan's adultery at Jedburgh, who is convicted, and excommunicated 290, 291
Trial of one's faith, in declining times, &c. 409
Trumpet, firſt blaſt 431
——— contents of the ſecond blaſt 452
Tueſday's chaſe, near Haddington, 1544 129
Tyranny of the Frenchmen is hateful to the Scots 221
Tyranny cruelly contrived and practiſed 245
Tyrants cannot ceaſe to perſecute Chriſt's members 394

U

Unfaithful are all in bondage to one tyrant 311
Unthrifts of the time, and court-chaplains, admoniſhed 282

V

VARIANCE betwixt the earl of Murray and Mr. John Knox 295
Victory to be found in the croſs of Chriſt 412
Viſions of Sir James Hamilton and Thomas Scot to king James V. 79
Vocation of God makes none tyrants, &c. 249
Votes anent removal of the queen's maſs 319

W

WHOREDOM and idolatry agree well together 222
Whoſo can, and delivers not the innocent, is guilty 313
Why and *what* produce a ſad affirmative 262
Why all are held guilty of common corruption 314
Why no law was executed againſt the Gentiles, being idolaters 374
Why God lets tribulation abound and continue 397
Why Peter was ſuffered to ſink, and to fall after 406
Why we have leſs pretence of excuſe than Peter had 407
Wickedneſs of biſhops is ſheltered at the court 187
Wickedneſs muſt ſometimes declare itſelf, &c. 399
Will ruled, inſtead of law, &c. at the court 336
Willock (Mr. John) his ſecond return to Scotland 130
——— his diſcourſe anent the queen regent's ſuſpenſion 192
Wincheſter upbraided of treachery and ingratitude 399
Wind that blew in the days of king Henry VIII. 391
Windram (Mr. John) his ſermon againſt hereſy, &c. 100
Word of God, ancient laws, and godly councils, ſafe topics 360
——— is powerful, and moves great multitudes ſometimes 403
Words of the dying queen regent may warn other princes 223
Works, though good, make us not righteous, nor good, &c. 70
Worldly princes are conjured againſt God, &c. 408
When the goſpel was embraced by the Scots, and how; the denominations of the country and people; of the Culdees; of Paladius, and his inthralling of the church to Rome; paſſages of hiſtory, in the ſeveral ages, until the Reformation. xxvii. to lx.

CONTENTS of the BOOKS OF DISCIPLINE, and FORM OF PROCESS.

THE Books of Diſcipline 485
The preface 487
Acts of the general aſſembly, for clearing and confirming the ſaid Books, &c. 493
Act of parliament, for ratification of the liberty of the true kirk, &c. 503

The Firſt Book of Diſcipline.

THE firſt head, of doctrine 505
The explication of the firſt head *ibid.*
The ſecond head, of ſacraments 506
The third head, touching the aboliſhing of idolatry 507
The fourth head, concerning miniſters, and their lawful election *ibid.*
What may unable any perſon that he may not be admitted to the miniſtry 508
Explication *ibid.*
Admiſſion *ibid.*
For readers 509
The fifth head, concerning the proviſion for the miniſters, and for the diſtribution of the rents and poſſeſſions juſtly appertaining to the church 510
The head of the ſuperintendents 511
The names of the places of reſidence and ſeveral dioceſes of the ſuperintendents 512
The election of ſuperintendents *ibid.*
For ſchools 514
The neceſſity of ſchools *ibid.*
The times appointed to every courſe 515
Of the erection of univerſities *ibid.*
Of readers, and of the degrees and time of ſtudy *ibid.*
Of the ſtipends and expences neceſſary 517
Of the privileges of the univerſity *ibid.*
The ſixth head, of the rents and patrimony of the church 518
The ſeventh head, of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline 519
The order for public offenders 521
Perſons ſubject to diſcipline 522
The eighth head, touching the election of elders and deacons *ibid.*